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L'EX-DÉPUTÉ KURDE AKSOY EN PRISON JUSQU'À L'AN 2001

INCARCÉRÉ depuis le 14 octobre 1995 à la prison d'Ankara où il purge une peine de 3 ans pour délit d'opinion, Ibrahim Aksoy, ex-député kurde de Malatya et ancien président du parti DDP, vient de se voir signifier qu'en raison de récidive

dans ses délits d'opinion séparatiste, l'amende de 216 666 666 LT à laquelle il avait été condamné a été commuée en 5 ans de prison. Par ailleurs, la condamnation à 2 ans de prison avec sursis prononcée par la Cour de Sûreté de l'État d'Istanbul pour son article

"l'alévisme et la question kurde" a été ratifiée par la Cour de cassation turque. Celle-ci doit bientôt statuer sur une autre condamnation, à 16 mois de prison et à une amende de 133. 333. 333 LT, de cet homme politique kurde pacifiste pour un article intitulé "Bosnie-Somalie-Kurdistan". En l'état actuel de ses dossiers, Ibrahim Aksoy devrait rester en prison jusqu'au 17 février 2001! Si évidemment la machine judiciaire turque ne le condamne pas à

d'autres peines pour ses écrits et ses déclarations. Chargée de faire taire les opposants, la justice turque dispose toujours d'une batterie de dossiers sur les opposants lui permettant de garder ceux-ci en prison aussi longtemps que le souhaite le Conseil de Sécurité nationale à dominante militaire. En raison de cette singulière logique, le sociologue turc Ismail Besikçi, actuellement incarcéré à Bursa, est condamné à plus de siècles de prison pour ses écrits sur les Kurdes. L'ancien maire de Diyarbakir, Mehdi Zana, qui a déjà passé 15 années de sa vie derrière les barreaux, fait l'objet d'une série de nouvelles poursuites judiciaires qui ont à ce jour déjà abouti à des condamnations à 4,5 ans de prison pour deux livres de témoignage sur les prisons turques et les grèves de la faim qui y ont eu lieu.

Par ailleurs, la Cour de Sûreté de l'État d'Istanbul a décidé, le 16 janvier, la saisie de tous les exemplaires d'un ouvrage intitulé *Özgürlüğün Bedeli* (Le prix de la liberté) écrit par la journaliste allemande Lissy Schmidt. Celle-ci, après avoir travaillé pendant des années en Turquie, s'était, à partir de 1992, installée au Kurdistan irakien où, jusqu'à son meurtre mystérieux en 1994, elle travaillait pour plusieurs organes de presse européens dont l'AFP. Selon la cour turque, le livre de L. Schmidt ferait de "la propagande séparatiste" et son éditeur turc doit comparaître pour répondre de ce chef d'accusation.

Le même jour, Muslim Gündüz, écrivain islamiste et leader de la confrérie religieuse Aczemendi, a été condamné à 18 mois de prison par le tribunal

correctionnel de Sisli (Istanbul) pour avoir, dans une interview accordée en 1994 à la revue Taraf, "insulté la mémoire d'Atatürk". Dans cette interview, M. Gündüz avait déclaré "Je vais bientôt écrire un livre, ce livre sera intitulé *Zübeyde l'immorale et son fils illégitime*". Le tribunal turc a estimé que l'auteur par cette phrase visait Atatürk et sa mère Zübeyde et que cela constitue une insulte à la mémoire d'Atatürk, punie par la loi. L'accusé s'est défendu que Zübeyde dont il envisageait de faire le personnage central de son livre n'était pas Zübeyde Hanim (Madame Zübeyde), mère d'Atatürk car le prénom de Zübeyde est assez courant chez les musulmans. Mais le tribunal n'a voulu rien entendre. Il a condamné l'écrivain islamiste à 18 mois de prison ferme. Il a en outre condamné le même Gündüz à une peine supplémentaire de 6 mois pour avoir approuvé ses disciples qui ont battu des policiers lors d'une manifestation.

Le 17 janvier, 16 jeunes originaires de la ville turque de Manisa ont comparu devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'État d'Izmir, pour appartenance à une organisation illégale et slogans hostiles à l'État. A l'exception d'un enseignant de 32 ans, ces jeunes qui sont actuellement âgés de 15 à 24 ans avaient été arrêtés le 24 décembre 1995 par la section anti-terroriste de la Sûreté générale de Manisa qui les suspecte d'appartenance à une organisation turque d'extrême gauche, DHKP-C, et qui les avait sévèrement torturés. La torture infligée, pendant les 12 jours de garde-à-voir, à ces jeunes Turcs, dans une ville de l'Ouest turc, non soumis à l'état d'urgence, avait à l'époque choqué l'opinion publique. Au cours du procès,

l'accusation n'a pu apporter la moindre preuve des allégations d'appartenance à une organisation illégale. La défense a, de son côté, dénoncé "la dérive d'un système qui veut condamner ces jeunes gens, qui ne sont même pas porteurs d'un canif, pour appartenance à une organisation illégale et armée sur la base de simples dénonciations sans aucune preuve". Appelés à la barre, les prévenus ont déclaré qu'ils ne comprenaient toujours pas ce qu'ils leur arrivait, qu'ils étaient innocents et qu'ils souhaitaient que le cauchemar qu'ils vivent depuis un an prenne fin. L'un d'eux, Hüseyin Korkut, actuellement étudiant à l'université d'Istanbul, a déclaré, en pleurs, avant de s'évanouir sous le coup de l'émotion: "Après ma remise en liberté, j'ai déménagé à Istanbul pour essayer d'oublier tout cela. Mais là-bas aussi j'ai été en butte à la persécution de la police, il y a 3 jours, les policiers sont venus perquisitionner une nouvelle fois chez nous, en mettant tout sens dessus dessous. Ils m'ont à nouveau gardé à vue. Et pendant la garde à vue, ils m'ont menacé: "tu crois que vous allez en arriver à quelque chose en suivant ces avocats p... et ce député, Sabri Ergül (député CHP d'Izmir). Sais-tu combien d'individus comme toi nous avons fait disparaître?". La Cour a acquitté 5 des 16 prévenus. 10 prévenus ont été condamnés à des peines de prison allant de 2,5 à 12,5 ans de prison. Parmi eux, trois lycéennes âgées de 18 et 19 ans ont été condamnées à 2,5 ans de prison. Le dossier d'un lycéen âgé de 15 ans, M. G, sera transmis à une autre juridiction. Le verdict a suscité de vives réactions de la salle qui a protesté aux cris: "Justice, policiers-tortionnaires même combat". Il a été également mal

accueilli par une large fraction de l'opinion. Tandis que Bülent Ecevit critique *"le triste dysfonctionnement d'une justice qui condamne à 12 ans de prison ces jeunes gens dont le seul crime est d'avoir crié des slogans"*, le député d'Istanbul, E. Karakas, déclare que *"la conscience publique est choquée par ces lourdes condamnations alors que les gangs et la mafia courent librement nos rues"*. Les avocats vont faire appel devant la Cour de cassation et envisagent de saisir ensuite la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme.

Le 20 janvier, un jeune Kurde, Murat Akman, a été tué à son domicile dans la ville de Savur, province de Mardin, par un peloton d'équipes spéciales et de policiers. Sa famille a alerté les associations humanitaires et les avocats pour dénoncer *"cette exécution sommaire"*. Cependant, celle-ci était présentée par les autorités locales comme *"une mort survenue au cours d'affrontements avec les forces de l'ordre"*. L'Association turque des droits de l'homme a dépêché sur place une mission d'enquête. Les conclusions de l'enquête sont accablantes pour les forces de sécurité. L'enquête établit que celles-ci ont effectué, au petit matin, une perquisition chez les Akman. N'ayant rien trouvé, elles ont fait sortir les autres membres de la famille et abattu le jeune Murat dans sa chambre. Puis pour donner à cette exécution l'apparence d'un affrontement, elles ont mitraillé les murs de la pièce, placé à côté du corps inanimé de Murat une Kalashnikov et 3 chargeurs, photographié le tout, puis repris l'arme et les munitions avant d'aller annoncer que *"lors des affrontements avec le PKK, un terroriste avait été tué"*. Or, relève la mission d'enquête dans une

conférence de presse donnée le 26 janvier à Istanbul, Murat Akman était un citoyen ordinaire qui avait terminé 5 mois plus tôt son service militaire dans l'armée où il avait dû combattre le PKK dans la province de Sirmak. A ce titre, il détenait une carte verte de soins gratuits accordés aux anciens combattants. Citoyen ordinaire, ce jeune Kurde a été victime de la haine et de l'obsession ordinaires des forces turques qui voient en chaque Kurde un *"terroriste du PKK"*. *"Et, même s'il était du PKK, peut-on tuer quelqu'un sans jugement dans un État qui se dit de droit ?"* demandent les enquêteurs de l'IHD.

Par ailleurs, le 14 janvier au cours de descentes dans les locaux de 7 syndicats,

dans la ville de Mus, la police a arrêté et gardé à vue 26 personnes dont 3 institutrices. Pendant cette garde à vue, les jeunes femmes ont été mises à nue et longtemps interrogées sur leur vie sexuelle. Puis trois femmes policières ont *"vérifié"*, au milieu des ricanements, d'insultes et d'agressions verbales, la virginité des institutrices. Selon le quotidien Sabah du 26 janvier qui donne cette information, *"l'inquisition sexuelle des institutrices dans les locaux de la sûreté générale de Mus a duré 4,5 heures"*. Le parquet local n'a pas jugé nécessaire d'instruire la plainte des victimes. Ni le préfet de Mus, ni le ministre de l'Intérieur, Mme. Aksener, n'ont diligemment d'enquête contre les policiers de Mus.

LE PATRONAT TURC DÉNONCE "L'HÉGÉMONIE DES GANGS ET DES CONFRÉRIES" ET PROPOSE "UN PROJET DE DÉMOCRATISATION"

SELON son président, le patronat turc a *"honte de ce qui se passe chaque jour dans le pays"*. Il a *"honte de l'hégémonie des gangs et des confréries"*. Et pour sortir le pays de cet engrenage destructeur et le rapprocher de ses partenaires occidentaux le patronat (TUSIAD) propose un vaste *"projet de démocratisation"* que son président Halis Komili, a, le 20 janvier, solennellement remis au président de l'Assemblée nationale, Mustafa Kalemli, ainsi qu'au général Karadayi, chef d'état-major général des armées. Dans sa conférence de presse du 21 janvier à laquelle les médias turcs consacrent une large place (1, 5 p. dans le quotidien

Milliyet), M. Komili ne mâche pas ses mots sur la gravité de la situation, sur *"le manque de confiance de tous les secteurs de la société dans le système actuel"* et appelle à la mobilisation de tous pour engager rapidement les réformes indispensables pour *"une démocratie à l'européenne"*. Rappelant que *"l'économie de marché ne peut se développer sans la stabilité politique"* que *"la politique ne doit pas être considérée comme l'apanage de certains milieux mais l'affaire de tous"*. M. Komili a souligné que le pays avait besoin d'un *"véritable régime civil"*. *"Actuellement le Conseil de Sécurité nationale (organe non élu à dominante militaire) est élevé au rang du conseil*

des ministres. C'est une situation qu'on ne rencontre que dans des pays comme la Corée du Sud et l'Algérie alors que dans les pays démocratiques comme la France, l'Italie et les États-Unis ce genre de conseils ne sont formés que de techniciens" a-t-il ajouté. Un régime civil, cela notamment veut dire que l'état-major des armées doit être placé sous l'autorité du ministère de la défense, et non plus sous celle, théorique, du Premier ministre a poursuivi M. Komili pour résumer les grandes lignes des réformes proposées par le patronat. Parmi les mesures les plus significatives du patronat: abolition des articles 26 et 28 de la Constitution sur "les langues interdites" afin de permettre aux citoyens kurdes le libre usage de leur langue dans tous les domaines de la vie; liberté pour les Kurdes de donner à leurs enfants des noms de leur choix et d'utiliser, à la place des appellations turques imposées, les noms kurdes de leurs villes, villages et de lieux géographiques; abolition de l'article 8 de la loi anti-terreur et refonte des articles 158, 159, 311 et 312 du Code pénal afin d'assurer une véritable liberté d'expression; refonte de la loi électorale et de la loi sur les partis et les associations de façon à assurer effectivement la liberté d'association et une représentations équitable des citoyens; refonte de l'actuelle loi sur les prérogatives de la police héritée de la période du parti unique (1924-1945) afin de garantir le droit à la vie et l'intégrité physique des citoyens. Enfin, le patronat estimant que le concept même d'une "idéologie officielle de l'État" est incompatible avec une véritable démocratie pluraliste qui doit être fondée sur la neutralité de l'État vis-à-vis de toute idéologie et de toute religion, demande la suppression du 5ème

paragraphe du Préambule de la Constitution qui institue "le nationalisme d'Atatürk, les valeurs historiques et morales de la turquicité" en une idéologie officielle qui ne saurait en aucune manière être remise en cause. L'article 14 de la Constitution qui restreint gravement la liberté d'expression "afin d'empêcher un mauvais usage des libertés" doit également être abolie, souligne le "projet de démocratisation" du patronat qui, par ailleurs, demande une décentralisation des structures de l'État.

La démarche du patronat turc est saluée par la plupart des commentateurs comme "une action de salut public" bienvenue. Le président du Parlement s'est engagé à soumettre ces idées aux délibérations des députés. Cependant, l'état-major des armées a fait savoir que "ce projet est étranger aux réalités du pays", tandis que certains éditorialistes proches de l'armée raillent "ces patrons qui se mettent à la mode des intellectuels libéraux coupés des réalités du pays pour se faire bien voir de l'Europe".

UN JUGE ALLEMAND MET MME. ÇILLER EN CAUSE DANS LE TRAFIC DE DROGUE VERS L'EUROPE

A l'issue du procès de 3 trafiquants de drogue se déroulant depuis octobre dernier devant la 17ème chambre du Tribunal de Francfort, le président de cette Cour, le juge Rolf Schwalbe, en annonçant le verdict, a notamment déclaré: "Le trafic de drogue de Turquie vers l'Allemagne et vers les autres pays européens est organisé par les familles Senoglu et Baybasin et ces familles, selon les dépositions des témoins, sont protégées par le gouvernement turc et cela rend difficile de faire apparaître toute l'étendue de ce trafic. On affirme que ces deux familles de trafiquants ont des relations extrêmement étroites avec un ministre turc féminin". A la question de savoir qui est cette dame, le juge allemand a répondu: Tansu Çiller. La dépêche de l'agence allemande DPA datée du 21 janvier qui donne cette information indique que selon la Cour,

ce réseau a introduit au moins 100 kg d'héroïne en Allemagne et en Belgique et que l'enquête sur les ramifications du réseau se poursuivait. Les trois membres de ce réseau arrêtés à Francfort, un Turc, un Italien et un Belge, ont été respectivement condamnés à 9 ans, 7 ans et 2 mois et 4 ans et 11 mois de prison.

La mise en cause du gouvernement turc en général et de Mme. Çiller en particulier dans le trafic de drogue a été largement répercutée par les médias allemands et turcs. Une télévision allemande, NTV, a diffusé l'information dans ses bulletins avec l'image choc d'une seringue d'héroïne sur fond de drapeau turc. Mme. Çiller a écrit à son homologue allemand, M. Kinkel, pour "protester contre ces accusations sans fondements" et le porte-parole du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères a qualifié "d'inconvenantes et contraires

aux usages diplomatiques les *déclarations du juge allemand*". Celui-ci a refusé de recevoir le consul général turc à Francfort mais il a confirmé au quotidien *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* les informations diffusées par DPA. De son côté, le juge M. Dox Nevellling, porte parole du juge Schwalbe, a indiqué à l'AFP que l'enquête avait établi des liens entre les trafiquants de drogue et le gouvernement turc et que des éléments révélés par l'instruction ont tout à fait convaincu la Cour à ce sujet. A la question de savoir si les graves accusations lancées par la Cour n'allaient pas engendrer des réactions politiques, le juge répond "Cela se peut. Mais nous n'avons peur de rien. La justice allemande est indépendante". En Turquie, la nouvelle de la mise en cause de Mme. Çiller ne semble pas surprendre outre mesure les journaux. Dans son éditorial du 23 janvier, E. Özkök, directeur de *Hürriyet*, rappelle que déjà l'année dernière deux tribunaux allemands, ceux de Hannover et de Trier, avaient accusé le gouvernement turc de "soutenir les trafiquants de drogue. Cette fois-ci, la nouveauté est que le juge met en cause nommément Tansu Çiller (...) Quand on voit le lendemain sur la chaîne de télévision privée Kanal D l'étrange photo d'un extrémiste de droite, recherché pour meurtre par l'État et pour trafic de drogue par la communauté internationale, en compagnie de policiers officiels de l'État (...), quand on voit un certain Yasar Öz, porteur d'un passeport vert (de service) fourni par l'État, négociant aux États-Unis la vente d'héroïne avec des limiers du Bureau des narcotiques, quelles explications pourrions-nous

donner? (...) Désormais, le nom de notre pays figure d'une part aux côtés des États terroristes comme l'Iran, la Syrie et la Lybie, et d'autre part aux côtés des narco-Etats comme l'Équateur, le Pérou et le Guatemala. Le pire est qu'il n'y a pas un autre État impliqué à la fois dans le trafic de stupéfiants et dans la terreur". Son collègue Oktay Eksi, écrit dans le même quotidien, que "cette infamie salit le nom de tout le pays" et que "tous les porteurs de passeports turcs sont considérés par les douaniers comme des trafiquants de drogue potentiels". Il rappelle que l'Allemagne n'est pas le seul pays à pointer du doigt le gouvernement turc. "Notre journal avait, dans son numéro du 27 décembre 1996 écrit que les Pays-Bas n'avaient aucunement l'intention d'extrader vers la Turquie Husseyin Baybasin (NDLR. L'un des gros bonnets de la mafia) (...) Selon une conviction qui n'est pas exprimée officiellement, la Turquie est un pays où le trafic de drogue est mené par l'État lui-même. C'est pourquoi ils ne vont pas faire confiance à la Turquie pour lui renvoyer Baybasin. La politique pratiquée suit quasiment le principe suivant: au lieu de laisser le PKK tirer profit du trafic de drogue, profitons-en nous-mêmes. D'autant que nous disposons de tous les moyens de l'État. Il suffirait de s'assurer que la drogue transportée d'une frontière à l'autre ne soit pas saisie. Qui pourrait nous tenir tête?"

Le *Milliyet* du 24 janvier annonce en gros titre "le piège des trafiquants qui se referme sur la Turquie". Il fait état de l'information du *Daily Telegraph* du 23 janvier indiquant que "80% de l'héroïne vendue en Grande-Bretagne provient de la Turquie" et d'un rapport du

Département d'État rappelant que "la plus grosse partie du trafic d'héroïne en Europe est contrôlée par les trafiquants turcs". L'influent éditorialiste Cengiz Çandar affirme dans le *Sabah* du 25 janvier que "L'Occident assiège la Turquie sur la drogue". Selon lui, si le 23 janvier la Commission des Affaires étrangères de la Chambre des représentants des États-Unis a tenu sur ce sujet une audition à huis clos avec des chefs de la CIA, du DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) et des responsables du Département d'État c'est que la situation est très grave. A qui la faute ? ajoute-t-il. "Nous n'avons pas pris au sérieux les avertissements précédents des tribunaux allemands de Trier et de Hannover sur les liens des trafiquants de drogue avec le gouvernement turc. En outre, récemment, une fuite (de source gouvernementale allemande) a conduit plusieurs publications, dont l'hebdomadaire allemand *Focus*, à écrire qu'un dénommé Hüseyin Duman, recherché pour trafic de matériaux nucléaires, a rencontré à Baden Baden Özer Çiller (époux de Mme. Çiller). Le message politique de Bonn était clair: l'Allemagne a mis une croix sur le nom de Çiller. Voilà pourquoi le chancelier Kohl refuse avec insistance tout rendez-vous avec Çiller"

En Grande-Bretagne, la BBC estime que "la Turquie est devenue la Colombie du Moyen-Orient", tandis que Tom Sackville, ministre adjoint de l'Intérieur, dans une interview à *Sunday Times* du 26 janvier, souligne la responsabilité des autorités turques dans ce trafic. Extraits: "80% de l'héroïne saisie en Grande-Bretagne provient de Turquie. Il y a des faits qui ont été dévoilés à la

suite des événements et des investigations. Nous savons que des informations confidentielles concernant des opérations de narcotiques sont tombées dans les mains des trafiquants de drogue. Ce que je veux dire c'est que quand nous avons informé les autorités turques de ces opérations elles ont filtré l'information aux trafiquants de drogue et les opérations ont échoué". Remarquant que "l'implication des officiels du gouvernement et des hommes politiques avec des criminels condamnés par la justice ternissait l'image internationale de la Turquie" et précisant que l'inquiétude britannique vient des "rapports troublants affirmant que des membres de la police et même des membres du gouvernement sont impliqués dans le trafic de drogue", M. Sackville a ajouté qu'ils "ne pouvaient être sûrs de l'exactitude des informations transmises par les organismes de sécurité turcs aux autorités britanniques au sujet du trafic de drogue".

De son côté, l'Observatoire géopolitique de drogue, basé à Paris, a également accusé la Turquie d'être impliquée dans le trafic de drogue. Un dirigeant de l'Observatoire, cité par le *Turkish Daily News* du 27 janvier, indique que "70% de la drogue arrivant en Europe provient de Turquie et cela est impossible sans connexion politique". Soulignant que "la drogue saisie en Turquie n'est jamais ni détruite ni rapportée aux agences internationales" le porte-parole de l'Observatoire ajoute : "L'argent de la drogue saisie est donné à la milice officieuse qui combat le PKK. Cela est connu en Europe. Un vaste réseau de narcotiques a été découvert,

et c'est un réseau tellement vaste que chacun y est impliqué d'une manière ou d'une autre".

Reste que si cette "Turkish connection n'a fait pas que ternir l'image du pays, elle aggrave aussi des conditions de vie de millions de citoyens turcs vivant à l'étranger" commente, à juste titre, la BBC. Désormais tous les porteurs de passeports turcs sont considérés par les policiers européens comme de "possibles trafiquants de drogue". A qui la faute? Pas aux Européens dit l'ancien Premier ministre turc Mesut Yilmaz. "Comment peut-on donner à des trafiquants notoires de drogue des passeports de service réservés à des hauts fonctionnaires de l'État et s'étonner ensuite que l'on nous critique pour l'implication de notre gouvernement dans ce trafic" s'interroge-t-il.

La Turkish Connection semble aussi sévir aux Pays-Bas. Un rapport du "Comité d'investigations d'organisations criminelles d'origines étrangères" publié par le Parlement hollandais, souligne le rôle de "pays transit" joué par la Turquie dans le trafic de drogue international et l'implication des partis politiques turcs dans ce trafic. Le rapport met notamment en cause un groupe de militants du MHP (Parti d'action nationaliste du Colonel Türkes) protégé par le gouvernement turc et impliqué dans le trafic de drogue. Rappelant que ce parti d'extrême droite dispose d'une implantation substantielle dans la diaspora turque sous le nom d'organisation des "Loups Gris" (nom que se donnent les jeunes militants du MHP), le rapport affirme que les structures politiques du MHP ont pu servir de couverture à la mafia et que les

services de renseignements hollandais suivaient tout cela de près depuis les années 70. "Les revenus des entreprises criminelles qui proviennent particulièrement du trafic de drogue dans les années 70 et 80, sont utilisés dans les activités politiques" ajoute le rapport qui met aussi en cause d'autres partis politiques en Turquie: "les groupes mafieux qui étaient impliqués dans le trafic de drogue sont en contact avec tous les partis politiques, en particulier les partis d'extrême droite". D'autres détails accablants sont également mentionnés dans le rapport: "Les gros bonnets du trafic de drogue soutiennent les Loups Gris qui sont actifs dans ce domaine. Par exemple, Oflu et Drej Ali étaient des militants du MHP à Istanbul durant des années. Alaattin Çakici avait sur lui un passeport diplomatique fourni par le gouvernement turc. Celui-ci affirmait toujours qu'il avait une mission qui lui a été confiée par la nation turque. Les Loups Gris ont un nombre important de militants au sein de la jeunesse turque aux Pays-Bas. Ils sont impliqués dans le trafic de drogue, d'armes et d'extorsion de fonds".

Après la publication de ce rapport la police néerlandaise a procédé à des rafles dans les milieux nationalistes d'extrême droite turcs, arrêtant 80 personnes. Les Loups Gris fournissent le gros des combattants des Équipes spéciales (Özel Tim) sévissant au Kurdistan, réputées pour leur férocité et leur haine des Kurdes. Leurs militants les plus endurcis (Alaettin Çakici, Abdullah Çatli, Oral Çelik) ont été recrutés par l'ex-ministre turc de l'Intérieur dans "l'organisation extrajudiciaire" chargée de "combattre

la terreur par les méthodes terroristes" décrit par le chef de police H. Avcı et à qui sont imputés plusieurs milliers d'assassinats politiques en Turquie ainsi que des attentats contre les objectifs

arméniens et kurdes en Europe. Certains de leurs éléments, agissant à la demande des services spéciaux turcs, ont participé à la tentative du coup d'État contre le président azerbaïdjanais

Aliev (considéré par les ultranationalistes turcs comme moins pan-turquiste que son prédécesseur Elchibey) ainsi que dans la guerre de Tchétchénie.

LE DÉPARTEMENT D'ÉTAT AMÉRICAIN CONSTATE ET DOCUMENTE "LA POURSUITE DES VIOLATIONS DES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN TURQUIE EN 1996"

LE Département d'État américain dans son rapport annuel sur les droits de l'homme en 1996, rendu public le 30 janvier, fait en 30 pages un bilan exhaustif des violations des droits de l'homme en Turquie. Le gouvernement turc, qui avait procédé à un toilettage juridique de quelques lois répressives en 1995, s'est montré incapable de faire de même en 1996 et "dans certains cas, la situation s'est détériorée" affirme le rapport. En ce qui concerne la situation dans le Kurdistan le rapport note que "la situation dans le Sud-Est était particulièrement préoccupante. Le gouvernement a depuis longtemps privé la population kurde, située dans sa majorité au Sud-Est, de ses droits culturels et linguistiques élémentaires. Dans sa lutte contre le PKK, le gouvernement a déplacé de force un grand nombre de non-combattants, torturé des civils et restreint la liberté d'expression. De son côté le PKK a commis des violations à une grande échelle et usé du terrorisme d'une façon régulière contre les autorités et les civils, qui sont kurdes pour la plupart". Le nombre des déplacés kurdes se situerait autour de 3 millions de

personnes et quant aux villages évacués par l'armée, le rapport cite les sources du ministère des Affaires étrangères qui les évalue à 2600 villages et les organisations des droits de l'homme qui les évaluent à plus de 3000. Toutefois, les violations des droits de l'homme même si elles ont été commises en majorité dans le Sud-Est, ne sont pas limitées à cette région. Les assassinats extrajudiciaires, y compris en détention, dus à l'usage excessif de la torture, ont continué "avec un

rythme inquiétant" ajoute le rapport. L'absence ou la rareté de poursuites judiciaires à l'encontre des gardiens de prison ou des policiers et la mise au secret des détenus pendant la garde-à-vue de 15 à 30 jours, sans aucun de contact avec un avocat, sont un facteur majeur dans "l'usage de la torture par la police et les forces de sécurité" ajoute encore le rapport. Le ministère des Affaires étrangères, dont Mme. Çiller est en charge, considère ce rapport "inacceptable" et "les allégations par certaines ONG à l'étranger que la Turquie harcèle les défenseurs des droits de l'homme et les avocats sont inacceptables" a encore ajouté le communiqué du ministère des Affaires étrangères, publié le lendemain de la parution du rapport du Département d'État.

UN CHEF DE POLICE DÉCRIT "L'ORGANISATION EXTRAJUDICIAIRE" CHARGÉE DE BASSES BESOINS DE L'ÉTAT TURC

DÉPOSANT devant la Commission d'enquête parlementaire, le 4 février, Hanefi Avcı, chef-adjoint du Bureau du Renseignement de la Direction générale de la Sûreté, a fait des révélations importantes sur ce qu'il appelle lui-même "l'organisation extrajudiciaire de l'État". Extraits: "Nous avons réalisé qu'on ne pouvait aller nulle part dans la lutte contre la terreur en restant dans le cadre du

Droit. Pour cette raison, nous avons été conduits à créer une organisation hors Droit (extrajudiciaire) en vue de combattre la terreur et de recueillir des renseignements. Nous avons opté pour la règle d'anéantir la terreur par les méthodes des terroristes. Cette décision a été prise aux échelons supérieurs de l'État. Les principaux chefs de cette organisation extrajudiciaire étaient Mehmet Agar (directeur général de la Sûreté) pour la police, Mehmet Eymür

pour le Service des renseignements (MIT, dont il dirige le Bureau de contre-terrorisme), le commandant Ersever pour les services de renseignements et d'action de la gendarmerie (JITEM) et le général Veli Kuçuk pour l'armée. Mehmet Agar était le coordinateur politique de cette organisation jusqu'à sa nomination au poste de ministre de l'Intérieur. Les gens de JITEM ont été les premiers à passer à l'action. De nombreux meurtres "mystérieux" ont été perpétrés dans le Sud-Est, touchant en particulier les gens du DEP (Parti de la démocratie, pro-kurde). J'ai alors demandé à Ersever, du JITEM; "est-ce bien vous qui faites ces choses?". Il n'a pas nié. Après le JITEM, le MIT, puis la Sûreté se sont mis à utiliser ces méthodes. Mehmet Agar a formé sa propre équipe. L'un des membres de cette équipe, Korkut Eken, a été chargé de la direction des Ülkücü (Ndt. militants d'extrême droite, dits Loups gris, de l'organisation fascisante du Colonel Türkes) tandis que sa branche policière a été placée sous la direction d'Ibrahim Sahin. Cette organisation a progressivement échappé au contrôle de l'autorité politique. Elle s'est mise à coopérer avec des organisations criminelles illégales. Après avoir combattu le PKK dans le Sud-Est, ces gens ont étendu leurs activités à l'Ouest du pays dans des affaires mafieuses et crapuleuses". Pour illustrer son propos, M. Avci cite le général Kuçuk qui a formé dans la région de la Mer Noire "des groupes qui rançonnent les gens" et le baron de la mafia Alaettin Çakici qui a pu, grâce à l'entremise de l'époux de Mme. Çiller, créer une banque avec un homme d'affaires de Bursa (Ndt. Les barons de la mafia, pour blanchir leur argent sale ont recours à la création de

leur propre banque, à durée de vie éphémère, généralement dans le nord de Chypre sous occupation turque devenue un véritable paradis du blanchiment de l'argent de la drogue). Il évoque aussi le cas d'un propriétaire de télévision privée de Gazi Antep, Mehmet Ali Yaprak, enlevé d'abord sur ordre de Mehmet Agar par des gens de son équipe, libéré contre le paiement d'une forte rançon (de plusieurs millions de marks) et enlevé ensuite par les hommes du MIT d'Eymur, toujours pour lui faire payer une rançon.

A la question des députés "Pourquoi n'avez-vous pas informé les autorités de ce que vous saviez ?" le responsable policier répond amèrement: "dénoncer qui à qui? Voulez-vous que je dénonce le directeur général de la Sûreté (M. Agar) au directeur général de la Sûreté ?". Confirmant que les gangsters et mafiosi endurcis A. Çakici et A. Çatli travaillaient pour la Sûreté et pour le MIT, A. Avci attribue les développements récents de l'affaire des gangs aux rivalités entre la Sûreté et le MIT et plus particulièrement entre les clans Agar, Eymür et Eken. Ces scandales lui paraissent la partie visible de l'iceberg. "Je ne crois pas que vous arriverez à démêler ces affaires sans remonter au sommet du pouvoir" lance-t-il aux députés pour conclure sa déposition. Ces derniers se gardent de lui poser des questions sur l'identité des gens du "sommet du pouvoir".

Ces révélations qualifiées de "terribles" par le quotidien *Hürriyet* du 6 février auraient, dans tout autre pays, provoqué une véritable crise politique. Voilà donc un chef de police qui reconnaît devant les députés l'existence

d'une "organisation extrajudiciaire" créée "sur décision des échelons supérieurs de l'État" impliquée dans plusieurs milliers d'assassinats et des affaires crapuleuses de racket, de rançons, de trafic de drogue, dont les chefs et les principaux animateurs nommément désignés ne sont nullement inquiétés, alors que la justice turque veut condamner à la peine capitale deux jeunes Kurdes coupables d'avoir décroché le drapeau turc dans la salle du congrès d'un parti pro-kurde.

Cette "organisation extrajudiciaire" semble posséder une influence considérable au sein des principaux rouages de l'État. Deux journalistes de *Milliyet* qui ont voulu enquêter sur l'un de ses exécuteurs au Kurdistan, Mahmut Yildirim, dit Yesil (le Vert), accusé de plusieurs dizaines d'assassinats politiques, l'ont appris à leurs dépens. Extraits de leur reportage paru dans le numéro du 31 janvier de ce quotidien: "Nous sommes arrivés vers 16h à Solhan, pays de Yesil, sans révéler à personne l'objet de notre visite. Le maire de la bourgade nous avait promis son hospitalité et le commandant de la gendarmerie local "son aide en cas de difficulté". Après avoir traversé des rues vides, nous arrivons dans le bureau d'un journaliste local. A peine deux minutes plus tard, le téléphone sonne et on nous demande. Une voix que nous ne connaissons pas et parlant un turc parfait nous menace: "Je suis un citoyen. Je sais depuis Istanbul que vous êtes venus dans cette bourgade pour Yesil. Si vous remuez cette affaire, vous finirez mal. Si vous ne quittez pas immédiatement cette bourgade, il vous arrivera des choses terribles. Personne

ne pourra vous sauver". Nul ne savait qu'on était des journalistes car nous n'avions pas encore eu l'occasion de discuter avec les gens (...) Le lendemain matin, nous sommes allés à la mairie et à la sous-préfecture. Le maire avait l'air de nous en vouloir avant même de nous avoir rencontrés. Dans la rue, les gens nous étaient hostiles et nous étions constamment suivis par des voitures immatriculées à Ankara. Quelques habitants courageux nous ont appris sous le couvert de l'anonymat, comment les tueurs recrutés par Yesil, d'extraction pauvre, sont devenus des propriétaires de plusieurs Renaults 19 et de stations d'essence. Devant des récits qui donnent le frisson dans le dos, nous sommes allés à la gendarmerie pour connaître sa version. Personne ne voulait nous recevoir. Le lendemain matin, nous étions convoqués à 8h au bureau du maire qui n'avait visiblement pas dormi de la nuit et qui nous a demandé de quitter immédiatement la ville pour éviter le pire. "Vous êtes en grand danger, je ne pourrais pas vous protéger". Stupéfaits, nous avons tout de suite pris la route de Mus. Tout au long de cette route de 56 Km, nous avons été suivis de près par un véhicule gris immatriculé à Ankara. Logés à la maison des instituteurs, nous allions, après quelques heures de repos, sortir pour dîner. Le portier nous fixant des yeux stupéfaits, nous demande: "Qui êtes-vous donc! Pourquoi la police demande à chaque minute de vos nouvelles?"

Confirmant à sa manière les révélations du chef de police Avcı, un baron de la mafia turc, Nurettin Güven, exilé à

Londres, dénonce dans le quotidien *Hürriyet* et sur la chaîne de télévision privée *Kanal D* "La liste rouge des hommes à abattre" par l'organisation spéciale turque. Il affirme que son compatriote O. Topal, patron des salles de jeux, a été enlevé par l'équipe de Mehmet Agar, qu'il a payé une rançon de \$ 17 millions et qu'il a été malgré cela abattu alors même que Agar était ministre de l'Intérieur, probablement

parce que "la rançon a paru insuffisante à ces gens cupides". Il raconte aussi comment, au temps de sa collaboration avec la police, il a pu avoir un passeport de service (réservé en principe aux hauts fonctionnaires de l'État) pour mener à bien ses affaires (de trafic de drogue) alors que la justice française l'avait déjà condamné par contumace à 16 ans de prison pour trafic de stupéfiants.

DANS LE PROCÈS HADEP, LE PROCUREUR REQUIERT 2 CONDAMNATIONS À MORT ET 42 CONDAMNATIONS À DES PEINES ALLANT DE 15 ANS À 22,6 ANS DE RÉCLUSION

LE procès intenté aux 47 dirigeants du Parti populaire de la démocratie (HADEP), pro-kurde, approche de sa fin. Au cours de l'audience du 14 février devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'État d'Ankara, le procureur Nuh Mete Yuksel a requis la peine capitale pour "trahison à la patrie" à l'encontre des prévenus Faysal Akcan et G. Mordeniz. Le premier est accusé d'avoir, le 23 juin 1996, lors du 2ème congrès du HADEP, décroché le drapeau turc se trouvant sur un mur de la salle du congrès et accroché à sa place un drapeau du PKK ainsi qu'un portrait d'A. Ocalan, chef de cette organisation. Le second est accusé par le procureur d'avoir "ordonné cette action de haute trahison". Le procureur demande par ailleurs la condamnation à 22,6 ans de prison de 23 dirigeants du HADEP, dont son président Murat Bozlak, pour "constitution d'une organisation illégale", et la condamnation à 15 ans de prison de 19 autres responsables du HADEP pour

"appartenance à une organisation illégale". Pour le procureur, la cause est entendue: le HADEP est la branche politique du PKK. Et pour preuves, il cite des publications saisies au siège de ce parti ainsi que des "aveux des repentis" communiqués par la police sans qu'aucun d'entre eux n'apparaisse devant la Cour pour confirmer ces déclarations ou être confrontés aux prévenus. Autres preuves du "complot séparatiste" des prévenus: "leurs déclarations en faveur de la paix et contre la guerre sale", les discours en kurde au cours du congrès, la revendication en faveur de l'enseignement du kurde; dénonciation du coût de la guerre. "La Turquie est une chemise où les Turcs se sentent à l'étroit. Il n'est pas possible d'arracher une pièce à cette chemise. Il n'y a pas de place dans les frontières de la Turquie tracées par le Pacte national d'Atatürk à des délires sur l'éducation en kurde et la fédération" affirme le procureur, dans son réquisitoire, avant

d'ajouter: "En demandant l'arrêt de l'effusion de sang, de mettre un terme à la guerre sale qui absorbe une grande partie du budget, les dirigeants du Hadep cherchent en fait à légitimer le PKK et à le présenter comme un interlocuteur. Or la seule condition de la paix est que le chef des bandits se rende avec sa bande. Les prévenus n'ont jamais évoqué cette condition. Nous allons, bien entendu, faire des sacrifices et dépenser tout ce qui est nécessaire jusqu'à ce que les bandits soient anéantis. S'il le faut, tout le budget de l'État sera mis à la disposition de la grande armée turque et des forces de sécurité pour qu'elles accomplissent leur devoir d'assurer l'unité indivisible de notre territoire et de notre nation". Après ce réquisitoire, qui se passe de commentaires, la Cour, par la voix de son président, D. Karadeniz, a estimé "lourdes" les réquisitions du procureur. Elle souhaiterait juger 42 prévenus d'aide à des membres d'une organisation illégale (PKK), crime passible de 3 à 5 ans de prison. Quant aux deux principaux prévenus incriminés dans l'incident du drapeau, ils seront poursuivis pour "appartenance à organisation illégale" et pourraient être condamnés à 10 ans de réclusion. Après avoir rejeté les demandes de citations de témoins présentées par la défense, la Cour a renvoyé au 14 mars la prochaine audience au cours de laquelle les prévenus pourront présenter leur défense en fonction de la nouvelle qualification des chefs d'accusation sous lesquels ils seront jugés. Le verdict pourrait intervenir soit le 14 mars, soit à l'issue d'une audience ultime quelques semaines plus tard. Ainsi, le scénario appliqué lors du procès des

députés kurdes du DEP est suivi jusqu'à la caricature pour décapiter cette fois-ci le HADEP et interdire aux Kurdes toute possibilité de combat politique légal et pacifique. Dans un État de droit, la justice cherche à établir la vérité sur les faits reprochés aux prévenus et à les juger en fonction des faits établis,

incontestables. Dans le système turc, les Cours de Sûreté décident, en fonction des instructions reçues du Conseil de sécurité nationale, pour combien d'années mettre en prison tel ou tel Kurde indésirable et puis les juges trouvent les qualifications correspondant à ces peines.

LES CONFESSIONS DE L'UN DES ASSASSINS DU POÈTE MUSA ANTER

POÈTE, dramaturge et écrivain humaniste kurde Musa Anter avait été assassiné à l'âge 74 ans le 20 septembre 1992 à Diyarbakir où il se trouvait pour participer à un festival culturel. Sa mort avait suscité une vive émotion en Turquie et les autorités politiques avaient promis d'arrêter rapidement "les auteurs de ce lâche assassinat" tandis que les Kurdes montraient du doigt l'État turc. Finalement, encouragé par le climat de déballage qui se développe depuis l'affaire de Susurluk, un dénommé Murat Ipek, dans des déclarations à plusieurs quotidiens (*Radikal*, *Yeni Yüzyil*, *Özgür Politika* et *Demokrasi* du 11 février) avoue être l'un de ses assassins. Extraits de ses aveux: "Après avoir essayé vainement pendant toute la soirée du premier jour où nous avons reçu des instructions de l'amener d'obtenir un rendez-vous de Musa Anter, nous sommes revenus à la charge le lendemain avec un mot d'Alaettin Kanat (repenti du PKK employé par les escadrons de la mort de la police). Après un certain temps, Musa Anter a accepté notre demande d'entrevue, il est venu à la réception de son hôtel avec quelqu'un (Orhan

Miroglu). A la sortie de l'hôtel, je l'ai fait monter dans une voiture. Nous étions précédés par une voiture à bord de laquelle se trouvait A. Kanat et suivis d'un autre véhicule. A la sortie de Diyarbakir, nous avons bifurqué en direction d'Ergani. Après un certain temps, nous nous sommes arrêtés. A. Kanat est monté dans notre voiture. En le voyant, Musa Anter a compris ce qui se passait car il connaissait Kanat. Il s'est penché la tête et s'est tu. Son compagnon discutait avec nous. Notre voiture s'est engagée dans la route de Silvan. Après un moment, on s'est arrêté. Kanat a pris le bras de Musa Anter. Anter nous a dit alors: "les enfants, vous faites une erreur". Ils étaient devant, nous les suivions. Après avoir marché quelque temps, nous avons reçu le signal. A. Kanat a tiré la première balle dans la tête de Musa Anter. Puis, à notre tour, nous avons tiré. Anter a été tué de 4 balles et Miroglu s'est mis à fuir, nous avons tiré dans sa direction. Les sentinelles d'un camp militaire proche ont tiré en l'air. Pris de panique, nous sommes montés dans notre voiture et nous avons repris la route de Silvan. Nous nous sommes arrêtés devant la Faculté de médecine

de l'université Dicle. Après un bref intervalle, des policiers en civil sont venus à bord d'un minibus rouge. Nous sommes montés dans le minibus et les policiers ont pris notre voiture. Puis, nous nous sommes éloignés des lieux. Nous avons au total utilisé trois véhicules pour cette opération. L'un d'eux était volé, les deux autres appartenaient à l'armée. Nos armes étaient fournies par la police".

Affirmant appartenir à un escadron de 22 tueurs dirigé par A. Kanat, qui reçoit lui-même ses ordres de "Yesil" responsable de JITEM et du super-préfet régional, M. Ipek donne les détails suivants sur quelques-unes des opérations auxquelles il a participé: "Après le *Newroz* (NDLR. Le nouvel an kurde célébré le 21 mars) de 1992 Ünal Erkan (NDLR. Super-préfet régional) était venu à Sirmak. La population était rassemblée dans le stadium. Puis, il a demandé "qui sont les meneurs de ces événements?". Les policiers ont répondu: Biseng Anik. "Faites-le disparaître" a-t-il ordonné. Et comme je venais d'être recruté, ils ont voulu me mettre à l'épreuve en me confiant cette mission. Le domicile de B. Anik est devant la mosquée. Avec des policiers en civil, nous sommes allés le chercher. Au commissariat, ils l'ont torturé. Ils ont taillé son dos et la plante de ses pieds avec des lames de rasoir. On m'a donné un fusil G3 se trouvant au commissariat et j'ai tué B. Anik avec une seule balle tirée dans sa tête avec ce fusil. Quelques mois plus tard, le 18 août 1992, nous avons exécuté l'avocat A. Rahim Demir et Mehmet Ertak. Le directeur départemental de la Sûreté N. Altintas nous avait dit que le frère aîné de M.

Ertak était dans le maquis et qu'il fallait de ce fait le tuer. Nous l'avons embarqué dans un Panzer et l'amené en dehors de la ville près de la mine de charbon où nous l'avons débarqué et tué. Puis, nous l'avons vêtu d'une tenue de guérillero, mis une Kalashnikov entre ses mains et annoncé que nous venions de tuer un terroriste".

M. Ipek affirme que son chef direct, A. Kanat, vit actuellement dans le secteur résidentiel militaire de Diyarbakir. Il est au service du capitaine de gendarmerie Ersin Bacaksiz qui commande aussi à

un autre escadron de la mort dirigé par un certain Cemil. C'est cet escadron qui a enlevé le 1er octobre 1996 quatre instituteurs du village Hantepe qu'il a sommairement assassinés ajoute-t-il. Ce quadruple assassinat, survenu le jour même du lancement de la campagne d'Amensty International sur les violations des droits de l'homme en Turquie, avait été attribué par Ankara au PKK qui l'avait aussitôt rejeté. Les organisations turques des droits de l'homme avaient été empêchées par les autorités de mener une enquête indépendante sur cette affaire.

L'ARMÉE TURQUE SE CLASSE PARMIS LES DIX PLUS GRANDES DU MONDE

SELON une étude réalisée par *World Strategic Information Institute* l'armée turque, forte de 780.000 hommes, est la dixième armée la plus nombreuse du monde. Avec 16 sous-marins la Marine turque est la neuvième du monde tandis que par ses 4280 chars l'armée de terre occupe la cinquième place.

Selon le *Turkish Daily News* du 14 janvier qui publie cette information, l'armée turque est engagée dans un vaste projet de modernisation de ses armements. Le coût de ce projet est évalué à 150 milliards de dollars pour les 25 prochaines années. Au cours de cette période, l'armée de terre disposera de 60 milliards de dollars, l'armée de l'air de \$65 milliards et la marine de \$25 milliards. L'état-major turc indique qu'il a déjà programmé 1523 projets d'un coût total de \$67 milliards d'ici l'an 2004.

En Turquie malgré la grave crise économique, malgré le niveau de vie frôlant la misère de la majorité de la population, l'état-major de l'armée fixe souverainement le budget de ses projets d'armement pour les années à venir, sans débat parlementaire. Et aucun gouvernement civil n'a le courage de mettre en cause cet état de fait. C'est dans le cadre de ce vaste programme que Ankara a signé avec Eurocopter un contrat de 430 millions de dollars. Un accord de principe sur les grandes lignes de ce projet avait été conclu en juin 1995 entre le président français Chirac et l'ancien Premier ministre turc Tansu Çiller. Après la chute du gouvernement Çiller, les termes de l'accord ont été changés et les deux parties se sont mis d'accord sur une production conjointe en Turquie. C'est sur cette base que le groupe franco-allemand Eurocopter, filiale d'Aérospatiale, a signé jeudi 13 février, à

Ankara, un contrat de 430 millions de dollars pour la vente et la coproduction en Turquie de 30 hélicoptères Cougar AS-532 MK1. Cet accord prévoit l'achat direct par la Turquie de deux premiers appareils qui seront livrés en juillet 1999, les 28 autres seront fabriqués conjointement dans les usines de la

compagnie Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI). Cette compagnie assemble également des chasseurs F-16 aux termes d'un accord avec la firme américaine Lockheed Martin. La Turquie s'engage maintenant dans des négociations avec la France pour la coproduction des missiles Exocet.

Selon le ministre, cette affluence touristique a apporté entre 6 et 6,5 milliards de dollars en devises à l'économie turque. Ce chiffre, en nette augmentation par rapport aux années précédentes, représente cependant tout juste le quart des **25 milliards de dollars que la Turquie tire de son rôle de "pays de transit" du trafic international de drogue**, selon l'estimation qu'un haut dirigeant des services de renseignements turcs "MIT", Mehmet Eymür, cité par le quotidien *Hürriyet* du 27 décembre 1996, a avancé lors de son audition devant la Commission d'enquête du Parlement turc.

AINSI QUE...

• **COPENHAGUE POURSUIT ANKARA DEVANT LA COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME.** A la suite de l'arrestation d'un citoyen danois d'origine kurde, Kemal Koc, pendant un mois et demi, suivie de l'arrestation et de l'expulsion d'un député danois qui avait assisté au procès de celui-ci, le Danemark a décidé de poursuivre la Turquie devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Selon Copenhague, le ressortissant danois, Kemal Koc, a été détenu et torturé par les autorités turques durant son arrestation, au cours de l'été 1996. Le ministre danois des Affaires étrangères, Niels Helveg Petersen, a précisé à la presse que cette démarche serait effectuée mardi à Strasbourg, siège de la Cour. Il espère une instruction rapide de ce dossier. Il s'agit d'une violation de l'article 3 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'Homme, interdisant l'usage de la torture, a estimé M. Helveg Petersen, indiquant qu'Ankara avait été prévenu vendredi, 3 janvier 1997, de la démarche danoise.

• **LA LIVRE TURQUE, APRÈS LE KWANZA ANGOLAIS, EST LA MONNAIE LA PLUS DÉPRÉCIEE DU MONDE.** C'est ce que montre un

classement portant sur la valeur d'échange par rapport au dollar de 203 monnaies nationales actuellement en circulation dans le monde que publie le quotidien *Milliyet* du 14 janvier. La livre turque arrive juste avant dernière devant le kwanza angolais. Actuellement un dollar vaut 209.925 kwanza et 110.630 livres turques, contre 0,47 livre chypriote, 247 drachmes grecques, 24 livres syriennes, 24 dinars irakiens, 3000 rials iraniens, 446 drams arméniens ou 5585 roubles russes, pour prendre l'exemple des voisins géographiques de la Turquie. A l'heure où la dépréciation constante de la monnaie turque oblige la Banque centrale d'Ankara à émettre des billets de 5 millions de livres, la presse reproche aux autorités de ne pas réagir à l'image déplorable du pays et de sa monnaie. Et les humoristes ajoutent: *"notre régime a peut-être échoué dans beaucoup de domaines, mais il peut se prévaloir d'au moins d'un succès incontesté: nous sommes l'un des rares pays du monde où le plus pauvre des citoyens est multimillionnaire!"* Le bas niveau de vie fait de la Turquie l'un des pays le moins chers pour le tourisme. En 1996, selon l'estimation du ministre du tourisme, rendue publique le 6 janvier, 8,6 millions de touristes sont venus en Turquie.

• **LA POPULATION PÉNITENTIAIRE EN TURQUIE.** Selon les données rendues publiques par le ministère de la Justice, au 1er 1997 la Turquie comptait 56 082 détenus dans ses 562 prisons. 24 992 de ces derniers sont en détention préventive dans l'attente de la conclusion de leurs procès. Les prisonniers politiques, au nombre de 9241, constituent environ un cinquième de la population pénitentiaire du pays. Le ministère classe 523 de ces prisonniers politiques à droite, les 8713 restants à gauche. 2920 prisonniers politiques ont été jugés, 6321 sont en détention préventive.

• **PARUTION DE LA TRADUCTION ALLEMANDE DES "ÉCRITS DE PRISON" DE LEYLA ZANA.** Les *"Écrits de prison"*, parus d'abord en français, en novembre 1995, aux éditions des Femmes, viennent d'être publiés en allemand sous le titre *"Eine Kurdin meldet sich zu Wort Leyla Zana, Briefe und Schriften aus dem Gefängnis"* aux éditions Montage

Verlag, Dötlingen, Allemagne, 122p. L'édition anglaise des "Écrits de prison", actuellement en cours de réalisation, paraîtra en automne prochain au État-Unis. Le 25 avril 1997 à 9h aura lieu à Strasbourg l'audience de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme sur la première partie de l'affaire de Leyla Zana et de ses amis. La Cour statuera d'abord sur la légalité et la durée excessive (de 12 à 15 jours) de la garde-à-vue et sur la détention préventive des députés kurdes. Ensuite, dans quelques mois, elle examinera le fond de l'affaire, à savoir la compatibilité du verdict des tribunaux turcs avec la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme dont la Turquie est signataire.

• **LE CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ NATIONALE PRÉCONISE DES MESURES D'INTERDICTION "DES ÉMISSIONS ET PUBLICATIONS SÉPARATISTES"**. Considéré comme le "super gouvernement" de la Turquie, le Conseil de sécurité nationale, à dominante militaire, s'est réuni le 27 janvier à Ankara sous la présidence de M. Demirel. D'après le communiqué rendu public à l'issue de cette réunion qui a duré 4,5 h, trois sujets ont été débattus: les conséquences de la mise en cause du gouvernement turc par plusieurs pays européens (Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne, France et Pays-Bas), dans le trafic de drogue; la situation à Chypre et les mesures à prendre pour interdire l'accès au territoire turc des "publications et émissions destructives et séparatistes". Sur le premier sujet, le CSN a entendu un rapport du directeur de la Sûreté générale vantant "la lutte exemplaire de ses services contre la

drogue" qui auraient au cours des deux dernières années saisi le tiers de l'ensemble de l'héroïne saisie par les polices européennes. Ensuite, le CSN a adopté des "mesures fermes" concernant Chypre qui seront appliquées quel que soit le gouvernement car "la question chypriote relève de la politique nationale de la Turquie". Enfin, le Conseil après avoir entendu les rapports du ministre des télécommunications sur "les mesures légales, administratives et techniques à prendre contre toute émission électromagnétique, y compris des émissions de radio et de télévision, destructives, séparatistes et illégales diffusées à partir de la Turquie ou de l'extérieur". Le CSN demande la modification à bref délai de la loi 3984 sur la radiodiffusion afin d'autoriser le Conseil supérieur de radiotélévision à "fermer les radios et les télévisions diffusant des émissions à caractère séparatiste et destructif". En ce qui concerne les radiotélévisions émettant de l'extérieur de la Turquie, la Direction générale des communications sans fil est chargée de les brouiller afin de les rendre inaccessibles aux habitants de la Turquie. Sous ces généralités, le régime turc vise d'une part les télévisions privées turques qui de temps à autre organisent des débats sur la question kurde ou sur "la situation dans le Sud-Est", d'autre part MED-TV, chaîne de télévision kurde émettant par satellite à partir d'Europe et qui est regardée par nombre de Kurdes. Le 11 février, Necati Bilican, le super-préfet des provinces kurdes, lors de sa visite en compagnie du général Altan Tokat dans la province de Hakkari a déclaré à ce sujet : "Nous poursuivons nos travaux pour purifier les citoyens de cette région des

émissions séparatistes et des programmes destructifs contre l'unité indivisible du pays. Pour empêcher des émissions sales restant en dehors des émissions nationales, les antennes paraboliques peuvent être interdites si nécessaires" a-t-il déclaré. Depuis, la police demande aux vendeurs d'antennes paraboliques de lui communiquer les noms et adresses des acheteurs de ce matériel.

• **154 JOURNALISTES VICTIMES DE VIOLENCES POLICIÈRES, SELON REPORTERS SANS FRONTIÈRES**. Au cours d'une conférence de presse, tenue mardi 4 février à Istanbul, Reporters Sans Frontières affirme que "154 journalistes membres de la presse d'opposition ont été victimes des violences policières en 1996 dont un, Metin Goktepe, a été battu à mort". "31 journalistes ont été torturés en détention, 53 interpellés avec brutalité et 69 agressés, menacés ou harcelés par la police" ajoute encore le rapport. La torture en détention est exercée comme "moyen d'intimidation" à l'encontre des journalistes pro-kurdes et d'une presse considérée par le gouvernement comme "hostile". Le procès des policiers accusés du meurtre du journaliste Metin Goktepe, initialement intenté à Istanbul, lieu du meurtre, s'était ouvert une première fois le 18 octobre dernier à Aydin, à 600 km à l'ouest d'Istanbul, officiellement pour des raisons de sécurité. Ce procès devait se poursuivre le 6 février et cette fois dans la ville d'Afyon à 300 km d'Istanbul. S'exprimant au nom de Reporters sans frontières, M. Jean Chichizola a déclaré que son organisme était "inquiet du fait que le lieu du procès a été changé deux fois, de ville

en ville", et "du fait qu'un an après son ouverture, il n'en sera qu'à sa deuxième audience" le 6 février et que "Reporters sans frontières veut croire à un procès équitable, impartial et rapide".

• **DES KURDES SONT UTILISÉS COMME DES DÉTECTEURS HUMAINS DANS DES OPÉRATIONS DE DÉMINAGE.** C'est ce qu'a déclaré, le 19 février, le député de Batman Musa Okcu au nom de la Commission parlementaire des droits de l'homme du Parlement turc appelée à mener une enquête sur cette affaire. L'affaire a eu lieu à la fin du mois de décembre dernier lorsque des soldats turcs ont contraint une cinquantaine d'hommes du village de Tekevler, dans le district de Sason, de les devancer dans leurs opérations de déminage dans cette région. Interrogé par Reuters, M. Okcu a déclaré que "les villageois m'ont expliqué que les forces de sécurité les ont forcés d'être leurs détecteurs humains". Les villageois ont porté plainte auprès du sous-préfet de Sason qui leur a déclaré: "Je ne suis pas compétent pour intervenir dans les affaires des militaires". Selon le quotidien *Özgür Politika* du 20 février, le 31 janvier des habitants des villages Gundê Nû et Kelhesna, toujours dans le district de Sason, ont subi le même sort. Ces paysans ont tous un point commun: leur refus de devenir des protecteurs de village, malgré la menace de destruction de leurs villages par l'armée. Celle-ci semble vouloir les punir en les utilisant comme des cobayes.

• **DEUX CHAÎNES DE TÉLÉVISION CONDAMNÉES POUR AVOIR DIFFUSÉ DES RÉVÉ-**

LATIONS SUR LE TRAFIC DE DROGUE. Le Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel de Turquie a, le 24 février, condamné les chaînes de télévision privée *Kanal D* et *Show TV* à une interdiction de diffusion d'une journée pour avoir interviewé un baron de la drogue, H. Baybasin. Ce dernier, menacé de mort et actuellement réfugié aux Pays-Bas, avait, dans ces interviews diffusées, le 29 décembre 1996, fait des révélations retentissantes sur les ministres, hommes politiques et responsables de forces de sécurité turques impliqués dans le trafic de l'héroïne. Il avait en particulier expliqué comment depuis le début des années 1980 de hauts responsables policiers les avaient recrutés, organisés et protégés pour ce trafic, comment des voitures officielles et des passeports diplomatiques avaient été mis à leur disposition. Parmi les complices de ce trafic, le chef de police Agar, devenu plus tard ministre de la justice, puis ministre de l'Intérieur, un ministre d'État, un neveu du président Demirel, le super-préfet des provinces kurdes et plusieurs policiers et militaires de haut rang. A l'appui de ses dires, Baybasin avait produit dans les médias turcs, à une chaîne de télévision allemande et devant la justice néerlandaise des photos le montrant en compagnie de ces hauts responsables de l'État turc. Sans se prononcer sur la véracité de ces allégations, le Conseil supérieur de l'Audiovisuel turc condamne les deux chaînes privées pour atteinte à la réputation de l'État. En conséquence, *Show TV* devra cesser ses émissions le 13 mars à partir de minuit pour 24h et *Kanal D* est condamné à la même peine pour le 14 mars. Par ailleurs, le Conseil turc a condamné la télévision locale de

Diyarbakir, *Metro TV*, à un mois de suspension de diffusion pour avoir permis "des émissions de nature à inciter la société à la violence, à la terreur, à la discrimination ethnique et à des sentiments de haine". Sok Radio, radio locale d'Içel, sur la côte méditerranéenne a été également interdite de diffusion pendant un mois pour "des émissions faisant l'éloge du séparatisme et dénigrant les forces de sécurité". Ces condamnations interviennent à la suite des mesures adoptées en décembre dernier par le Conseil de sécurité nationale pour "une surveillance plus étroite des médias". Dans le cadre de cette politique, la police et les soldats ont saisi et détruit des centaines d'antennes paraboliques dans les provinces kurdes arguant qu'elles étaient utilisées pour capter les émissions en kurde de *Med-TV*. Par ailleurs, le quotidien *Özgür Politika* publie dans son numéro du 27 février des extraits d'une circulaire "confidentielle" du Conseil de sécurité nationale enjoignant aux autorités civiles et militaires de "faire taire" 22 journaux et revues, 19 groupes de musique, 14 centres culturels, 11 associations, 11 radios locales et de surveiller de près certaines émissions de débats, des chaînes de télévision privées, d'interdire le passage sur les antennes des télévisions d'État de certains intellectuels et artistes suspectés de sympathies pro-séparatistes, comme Yachar Kemal, les journalistes M. Ali Birand et C. Candan ou les chanteuses Melike Demirag et Sezen Aksu. La circulaire donne à côté du nom de chaque publication, association ou groupe à faire taire un motif sommaire pour lequel il faudrait le faire taire ou entraver ses activités.

Par ailleurs, selon le Conseil de la presse, une association de défense des droits des journalistes basée à Istanbul, le bilan des atteintes contre les journalistes et les organes de presse du seul mois de février est comme suit: 2 revues saisies; perquisition par la police dans les locaux d'un journal et d'une chaîne de télévision; huit radios et chaînes de télévision interdites de diffusion et un journaliste attaqué.

• **MME. ÇILLER ÉCHAPPE UNE NOUVELLE FOIS À LA COUR SUPRÊME.** A trois reprises, le mardi 18 et le mercredi 19 février, le Parlement turc a rejeté par 270 contre 263 voix l'envoi de Mme. Çiller devant la Haute Cour. La motion déposée au vote par l'opposition devant le Parlement portait sur les malversations dans l'administration de la compagnie d'électricité Tedas ainsi que sur celles relevées dans la vente de parts étatiques de la compagnie automobile Tofas datant de l'époque où Mme. Çiller était Premier ministre. Ainsi, le parti de la prospérité du Premier ministre Erbakan, qui avait pourtant mené sa campagne électorale sur le thème de la lutte anticorruption, a joint ses voix à celles de ses partenaires du DYP de Mme. Çiller pour disculper celle-ci. Cette alliance cynique est de plus en plus mal ressentie par l'opinion publique turque. Pour se faire entendre une campagne civile a été lancée le 1er février intitulée "une minute dans le noir pour faire la lumière"; à 21 heures précises, des lumières s'éteignent dans l'ensemble de la Turquie. Ce mouvement populaire prends de plus en plus d'ampleur; dans les grandes villes les gens descendent dans les rues pour accompagner leur minute

d'obscurité d'une cacophonie de couvercles de casserole, de Klaxons et de sifflet, empruntés aux manifestants de Belgrade. Par ailleurs, le Parlement turc a rejeté, le 25 février, une autre motion de censure présentée par deux partis d'opposition, le CHP de Deniz

Baykal et DSP de Bülent Ecevit, contre le gouvernement de coalition. Les députés ont rejeté par 281 voix contre 246 cette motion accusant le gouvernement de "protéger les mouvements menaçant la structure laïque de l'État".

EN BREF, LA REVUE DE PRESSE

LA MÉMOIRE MEURTRIE DE MAHABAD. CINQUANTE ANS APRES LA DISSOLUTION DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE KURDE. Ville maudite de l'Iran, sous les islamistes comme sous le chah, pour s'être érigée en République autonome kurde au lendemain de la seconde guerre mondiale, ce gros bourg rural de soixante mille habitants demeure sous haute surveillance militaire. Isolée administrativement de la province du Kurdistan, asphyxiée économiquement, niée culturellement, dépourvue de son identité et de son histoire, l'ancienne cité-symbole de l'indépendantisme kurde n'est plus qu'un obscur exemple de la répression ordinaire subie en permanence par les Kurdes d'Iran et d'ailleurs. **QUATORZE MOIS D'AUTONOMIE.** (*Le Monde, Diplomatie*, janvier 1997), p. 1-3.

TURCS ET KURDES RÉCONCILIÉS PAR LE CINÉMA. (*Le Monde, Diplomatie*, janvier 1997), p. 3-4.

OUVERTURE D'UNE BRANCHE D'AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL À IZMIR. (*Turkish Daily News*, 1 janvier 1997), p. 4.

UNION DES JOURNALISTES: 1996 ÉTAIT UNE MAUVAISE ANNÉE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 1 janvier 1997), p. 4.

L'AMBASSADEUR TURC KANDEMIR: " EN 1997 NOUS DEVONS DEPLOYER DES EFFORTS POUR AVOIR UN BON

PARTENARIAT RENFORCÉ AVEC LES ETATS-UNIS. " (*Turkish Daily News*, 1^{er} janvier 1997), p. 5-6.

LES TROUPES TURQUES À LA POURSUITE DES KURDES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 1 janvier 1997), p. 7.

LA POLICE S'EN PREND À UNE DÉLÉGATION À LICE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 1 janvier 1997), p. 7.

LE PKK ATTAQUE UNE STATION DE RADIO DANS LE SUD-EST. (*The Washington Post*, 2 janvier 1997), p. 8.

LA VALISE DE ÇILLER FAMILIÈRE À " LA DOUANE ". (*Turkish Daily News*, 2 janvier 1997), p. 9-10.

PERTES ÉLEVÉES DU PKK LORS DE L'INCURSION TURQUE DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 2 janvier 1997), p. 10.

TURQUIE-IRAK-KURDES : CENT SÉPARATISTES KURDES TUÉS PAR L'ARMÉE TURQUE, SELON UN NOUVEAU BILAN. Appuyées par un soutien aérien, les troupes turques ont détruit trois camps du PKK dans la région de Sinath selon un communiqué de l'État-major turc. (*A.F.P.*, 2 janvier 1997), p. 10 - 11, 11-12.

IRAK-TURQUIE : BAGDAD CRITIQUE

ANKARA ET WASHINGTON POUR L'OPÉRATION MILITAIRE TURQUE. La Turquie "a déjà essayé les opérations militaires, qui ne lui ont jamais assuré la sécurité" selon le quotidien as-Saoura, organe du parti Baas au pouvoir, qui a "dénoncé et rejeté" l'opération de l'armée turque. TURQUE-KURDES : LE CHEF DU PKK RENOUVELLE SON APPEL AU DIALOGUE AVEC ANKARA. Ocalan (alias "Apo") a déclaré : "Il faut surmonter la question, non en s'entre-tuant mais par la voie de dialogue". (A.F.P., 2 janvier 1997), p. 12, 13.

LA SYRIE CONFIRME L'EXPLOSION D'UNE BOMBE DANS UN BUS À DAMAS. (International Herald Tribune, 3 janvier 1997), p. 13-14.

DÉBATS SCIENTIFIQUES SUR LES GAZ INNERVANTS COMME CAUSE DU SYNDROME DE LA GUERRE DE GOLFE. (International Herald Tribune, 3 janvier 1997), p. 14-15.

UNION DOUANIÈRE, — QUELLE UNION DOUANIÈRE ? Les violeurs des droits de l'homme en Turquie continuent leur besogne comme de rien n'était "business as usual". (Turkish Daily News, 3 janvier 1997), p. 15-16.

LA CRISE BUDGÉTAIRE DANOISE EST À LA SOURCE DU PROBLÈME BILATÉRAL, AFFIRME ANKARA. — Selon un haut responsable du Ministère des Affaires étrangères la Turquie est sérieusement prête à partager l'expérience danoise des droits de l'homme mais l'attitude de Copenhague est loin de la courtoisie diplomatique. (Turkish Daily News, 3 janvier 1997), p. 16.

COMMENT PEUT-ON ÊTRE IRANIEN ? Appréhendant en profondeur l'Iran, Jean-Pierre Digard, Bernard Hourcade et Yann Richard dépassent la simple perception islamique. L'Iran au XXe siècle, Chez Payard. (Le Monde, 3 janvier 1997), p. 17.

SYRIE : QUATRE PISTES POUR UN ATTENTAT. L'explosion d'un bus à Damas aurait fait quinze morts. Plusieurs pistes sont évoquées à la fois par les diplomates et les opposants syriens réfugiés à l'étranger, même si tous conviennent que "rien ne peut être retenu avec certitude". Quatre retiennent plus particulièrement l'attention. (Libération, 3 janvier 1997), p. 18-19.

DANEMARK-TURQUIE-KURDES : COPENHAGUE POURSUIT ANKARA DEVANT LA COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. Selon Copenhague, le ressortissant danois, Kemal Koc, a été détenu et torturé par les autorités turques pendant un mois et demi à Ankara, au cours de l'été 1997. (A.F.P., 4 janvier, Turkish Daily News, 5 janvier 1997), p. 20, 21.

TURQUIE-KURDES : CRÉATION D'UN NOUVEAU PARTI PRO-KURDE. 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 selon l'agence Anatolie. (A.F.P., 3 janvier 1997), p. 20-21.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS SOUTIENNENT L'INCURSION TURQUE DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK. (Turkish Daily News, 4 janvier 1997), p. 21.

LE D-8 VA FORMER UNE ORGANISATION GLOBALE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT. — SELON ERBAKAN "IL PROFITERA À TOUTE L'HUMANITÉ". (Turkish Daily News, 5 et 6 janvier 1997), p. 22-23.

CRIME: SUSURLUK CHOQUE LA NATION, ÉBRANLE L'ESTABLISHMENT. (Turkish Daily News, 7 janvier 1997), p. 23-26.

LA TURQUIE S'ÉLOIGNE DE L'EUROPE, DÉCLARE KINKEL. (Turkish Daily News, 8 janvier 1997), p. 26.

DANEMARK: LA PLAINTE POUR "TORTURE" A ÉTÉ DÉPOSÉE HIER PAR LE DANEMARK CONTRE LA TURQUIE DEVANT LA COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. Les sources turques affirment que les média danois ont commencé une campagne majeure autour du citoyen danois Kemal Koç qui aurait été torturé pendant sa garde-à-vue en Turquie. (Turkish Daily News, 8 janvier 1997), p. 27.

NOUVELLES INITIATIVES POUR LA PAIX AU NORD DE L'IRAK. (Turkish Daily News, 8 janvier 1997), p. 27.

QUE LES TURCS TOURNENT-ILS LE DOS À L'OCCIDENT ? Ankara est frustré par l'Union européenne et la Grèce. (International Herald Tribune, 9 janvier 1997), p. 28.

LA TURQUIE CRITIQUE LE DANEMARK POUR SA PLAINTE CONCERNANT LES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (Turkish Daily News, 9 janvier 1997), p. 28.

LES DÉFENSEURS DES DROITS DE L'HOMME SE RENDENT À LICE. (Turkish Daily News, 9 janvier 1997), p. 29.

L'ENVOYÉ DE L'UNION EUROPÉENNE AFFIRME QUE L'IMAGE DE LA TURQUIE EN MATIÈRE DE DROITS DE L'HOMME AFFECTE SES EXPORTATIONS. (Turkish Daily News, 9 janvier 1997), p. 29.

POINT SUR LA SITUATION EN TURQUIE. L'ancien Premier ministre conservateur turc se fait depuis quelques semaines le principal accusateur de la dérive mafieuse de l'État turc. Selon un bilan officiel, la guerre du Kurdistan a fait 3 460 morts en 1997. Copenhague poursuit Ankara devant la Cour européenne des Droits de l'homme. La Turquie achète des missiles Work Silk à la Chine et 30 hélicoptères à la France. (Gambk, 9 janvier 1997), p. 29-31.

LE BILAN DES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN TURQUIE: L'ANNÉE (1996) DE TOUS LES

DANGERS. — Plus il y a des gangs, moins les droits de l'homme sont protégés. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 janvier 1997), p. 31-33.

LES FACTIONS KURDES IRAKIENNES SE RENCONTRERONT À ANKARA LA SEMAINE PROCHAINE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 janvier 1997), p. 34.

DES PARLEMENTAIRES SE RENDENT À LICE LE MARDI. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 janvier 1997), p. 34-35.

UN ÉDITEUR TURC CONDAMNÉ À RESTER EN PRISON AU TERME DE SA PEINE. L'éditeur, dont trente-six livres ont été saisis et contre lequel soixante-deux procès ont été ouverts, s'est rebellé contre son sort. (*Le Monde*, 12/13 janvier 1997), p. 35.

CINDORUK: ÇILLER DOIT ÊTRE ÉCARTÉE. — Rappelant que son parti a été créé en réaction à Çiller et à son despotisme, l'ancien président du Parlement turc affirme qu'on ne sait même pas quand et comment les ministres et les membres du Parlement sont choisis. Selon Cindoruk le DYP (de Mme Çiller) et le Refah ismaïste sont devenus des compagnies familiales. (*Turkish Daily News*, 13 janvier 1997), p. 35-36.

LA LENTE MARCHÉ VERS LA PAIX AU NORD DE L'IRAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 13 janvier 1997), p. 36.

L'IRAK INCITE LES KURDES À CONTER L'INFLUENCE AMÉRICAINE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 13 janvier 1997), p. 37.

LES ORGANISATIONS DÉMOCRATIQUES COMMÉMORERONT METIN GÖKTEPE, journaliste turc tué en garde-à-vue il y a un an. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 38.

LES STATUES DU NÉMRUD DAGH (AU KURDISTAN TURC) SONT MENACÉES.

(*Turkish Daily News*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 38.

LE PARLEMENT ET LES PROCUREURS À POURCHASSENT LES " GANGS " ALORS QUE LE PREMIER MINISTRE DIT QU'IL N'YA PAS DE " GANG ". (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 39-40.

LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION PARLEMENTAIRE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME CRITIQUE L'ASSOCIATION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME (IHD). Selon ce député proche de Mme Çiller, l'IHD est coupable de diffuser et de publier une propagande anti-turque. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 40.

DES POURSUITES CONTRE LA TURQUIE POUR VIOLATIONS DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ONT DOUBLÉ EN 1996. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 40.

LE PKK ORGANISE UNE CONFÉRENCE À MOSCOU. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 41.

ANKARA BRANDIT LA MENACE MILITAIRE EN CAS D'INSTALLATION DE MISSILES À CHYPRE. Un émissaire américain tente de désamorcer la crise dans la région. A son arrivée à Chypre l'émissaire américain Carey Cavanaugh a critiqué la décision des autorités chypriotes grecques d'acheter des missiles sol-air à la Russie. Il a toutefois rejeté les menaces brandies par Ankara, estimant qu'il n'y avait " aucune justification pour une action militaire à Chypre ". (*Le Monde*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 41.

L'ARMÉE TURQUE SE CLASSE PARMIS LES DIX PLUS GRANDES DU MONDE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 42.

LE GOUVERNEMENT NE PARVIENT PAS À ENRAYER L'INFLATION EN TURQUIE. (*Le Monde*, 14 janvier 1997), p. 42.

DÉBUT MOUVEMENTÉ POUR LES POURPARLERS DE PAIX NORD-IRAKIEN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 janvier 1997), p. 43.

LE PROCÈS DES MILITANTS DU PKK ACCUSÉS DE CRIMES DE MASSE SE POURSUIT EN ALLEMAGNE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 janvier 1997), p. 43.

ILS S'EN VONT AUX CHAMPS AU LIEU D'ALLER À L'ÉCOLE. — Les élèves de Hantepe, un village de Diyarbakir, dont les instituteurs ont été enlevés et tués par les séparatistes du PKK travaillent dans les champs au lieu de fréquenter les bancs de l'école. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 janvier 1997), p. 44.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS, ÉMERGENT COMME LE GRAND PERDANT DU CONFLIT KURDE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 janvier 1997), p. 44-45.

LES RELATIONS EXTÉRIEURES DE LA TURQUIE EN 1996. — La lune de miel de la Turquie avec Israël s'est poursuivie en 1996. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 janvier 1997), p. 45-46.

LES NÉGOCIATIONS CONCERNANT LE NORD DE L'IRAK SE TERMINENT, LES QUESTIONS PRINCIPALES RESTENT ENCORE À RÉSOUDRE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 46.

YILMAZ: " ERBAKAN A COUVERT LES VOLEURS. IL VA MAINTENANT COUVRIR LES GANGS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 47.

YILMAZ DÉSINCUPLÉ PAR LA COMMISSION PARLEMENTAIRE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 47.

LE PROCÈS DES CHEFS DE POLICE ACCUSÉS DE CORRUPTION. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 47.

REFAH À LA RESCOUSSE DE ÇILLER DANS UNE TROISIÈME ENQUÊTE POUR CORRUPTION. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 48.

LE PKK ET LE DHKP/C CONCLUENT UN ACCORD POUR LES ATTAQUES URBAINS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 48-49.

SELON L'ASSOCIATION TURQUE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME, LES HABITANTS DE LICE ONT ÉTÉ FORCÉS À S'ENROLER COMME " PROTECTEURS DE VILLAGES ". (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 49.

PARIS A DEMANDÉ À L'IRAK LE STRICT RESPECT DES RÉSOLUTIONS DE L'ONU. L'Unscorn continue de soupçonner Bagdad de dissimuler entre six et seize missiles. (*Le Monde*, 16 janvier 1997), p. 50.

TURQUIE : LE CHEF DU PKK EST-IL UN AGENT DES SERVICES TURCS ? S'appuyant sur l'enquête du journaliste assassiné Ugur Mumcu, un grand chroniqueur turc affirme que le principal dirigeant du parti nationaliste kurde, Abdullah Öcalan dit "Apo", pourrait être un agent provocateur depuis 1971. (*Courrier International*, 16-22 janvier 1997), p. 50-51.

DES ACTES FORTS POUR FAIRE RESPECTER LES DOITS DE L'HOMME. TURQUIE : POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE. Les parlementaires européens dialoguent avec les éditeurs de la presse turque. (*Faits & arguments sur l'union européenne*, janvier-février 1997), p. 52.

LES INFORMATEURS DU PKK SE TRANSFORMENT EN TUEURS AU SERVICE DE L'ÉTAT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 janvier 1997), p. 52-53.

SCÈNES DE HONTE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 janvier 1997), p. 53.

LE NOUVEAU PARTI DE S. ELÇI, LE DKP:

" LE PARTI DES OPPRIMÉS ". — À QUI EST-CE CE GANG ? (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 janvier 1997), p. 54-57.

TALABANI RÉAFFIRME SON ENGAGEMENT POUR UN IRAK UNIFIÉ ET DÉMOCRATIQUE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 janvier 1997), p. 58.

GREVE DE LA FAIM DE CENTAINES DE RÉFUGIÉS KURDES TURCS D'IRAK. Pour empêcher l'évacuation forcée par le Haut-Commissariat des Nations unies (HCR), vers la Turquie, de plus de 15 000 Kurdes turcs, réfugiés dans le nord de l'Irak depuis 1994, des centaines d'entre eux observent depuis le 18 décembre une grève de la faim. (*Le Monde*, 17 janvier 1996), p. 59.

LE PROCES D'UN ÉDITEUR ET D'UN TRADUCTEUR EST UN " SCÉNARIO ABSURDE ". (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 janvier 1996), p. 59.

IRAN : LE BILAN DES MOLLAHS. — LE POUVOIR ABSOLU DU LEADER. — LE CLERGÉ COMBATTANT ET LES CLERCS. — Un contrôle dual. (*The Economist*, 18 janvier 1996), p. 60 - 64.

LES FIERES-À-BRAS AU TRAVAIL. — DERRIÈRE LE TCHADOR. — AMIS ET ADVERSAIRES. — Des temps difficiles. — Pourquoi les Iraniens sont-ils si las ? — L'aspiration au changements. (*The Economist*, 18 janvier 1996), p. 65 - 73.

L'IRAK AVERTIT PARIS AU SUJET DU FILS (BLESSÉ) DE SADDAM. (*International Herald Tribune*, 18-19 janvier 1997), p. 74.

LA DISTRIBUTION DE NOURRITURE À DIYABAKIR PROVOQUE UN TOLLÉ. — LA FAMINE À DIYABAKIR À L'ORDRE DU JOUR DU PARLEMENT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 janvier 1997), p. 74.

TALABANI: LA DÉMOCRATISATION EST UN PRÉALABLE AUX NÉGOCIATIONS

AVEC L'IRAK. — Le leader de l'UPK affirme que Bagdad a cherché l'aide de la Russie pour l'amener à dialoguer et renouvelle son appel au PKK a abandonner la violence. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 janvier 1997), p. 75-76.

LES CHEFS DE POLICE IMPLIQUÉS DANS L'AFFAIRE DE SÖYLEMEZ GARDÉS À VUE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 janvier 1997), p. 76.

WASHINGTON: UN MILITANT PRO-PKK ARRÊTÉ DE NOUVEAU. — Xulam accusé de parjure et d'usage de faux. (*Turkish Daily News*, 19 janvier 1997), p. 77.

L'IRAK ESSAYE D'ACHETER DES ARMES BRITANNIQUES, SELON LE SUNDAY TIMES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 janvier 1997), p. 77.

LA TURQUIE POURRAIT NE PLUS RECONNAÎTRE LA JURIDICTION DE LA COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. Des dirigeants turcs affirment que la Cour européenne a oublié sa mission d'administrer la justice et elle est devenue un instrument pour les milieux anti-turcs. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 janvier 1997), p. 78.

TALABANI: LES ÉTATS-UNIS PEUVENT CONFIER À LA TURQUIE LA GESTION DES REVENUS DES DOUANES À LA FRONTIÈRE TURCO-IRAKIENNE, ACTUELLEMENT CONTRÔLÉE PAR LE PDK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 janvier 1997), p. 79-80.

QU'EST-CE QU'ATTEND LA TURQUIE SUR LE FRONT EUROPÉEN ? (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 janvier 1997), p. 80 - 81.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH S'OPPOSE AUX COMMANDES TURQUES D'HÉLICOPTÈRES DE COMBATS AMERICAINS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 21 janvier 1997), p. 81 - 82.

ENQUÊTE À URFA SUR DE MYSTÉRIEUSES MORTS D'ENFANTS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 21 janvier 1997), p. 82.

LE MINISTRE DU COMMERCE EREZ DÉNONCE LE RAPPORT DE DÉMOCRATISATION DE TUSIAD. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 janvier 1997), p. 83.

LE PKK MENACE DE RECOURIR À LA FORCE SI LES RÉFUGIÉS D'ATRUCH RETOURNENT EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 janvier 1997), p. 83 - 84.

LA COMMISSION PARLEMENTAIRE DE SUSURLUK AUDITIONNE LE DÉPUTÉ BUCAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 janvier 1997), p. 84 - 85.

L'UNION DOUANIÈRE N'EST PAS À COURT TERME BÉNÉFIQUE POUR LA TURQUIE, SELON UN CHERCHEUR DE CAMBRIDGE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 janvier 1997), p. 85 - 86.

LE POINT SUR LA TURQUIE : Onze policiers impliqués dans l'assassinat du journaliste M. Goktepe retrouvent leurs postes. La Turquie est un des meilleurs "clients" de la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme pour l'année 96. (*Gamk*, 22 janvier 1997), p. 86 - 87.

LA TUSIAD (PATRONAT TURC) A FAIT SON DEVOIR POUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT D'UN SYSTÈME DÉMOCRATIQUE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 janvier 1997), p. 88.

LE DYP MINIMISE LE VERDICT DE LA COUR ALLEMANDE. — La confusion règne après les commentaires d'un juge allemand (évoquant les liens de Mme Çiller avec la mafia. Les députés de l'opposition demandent une clarification et une enquête complète. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 janvier 1997), p. 88 - 89.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS DÉCLARENT QUE XULAM EST POURSUIVI POUR NEUF CHEFS D'ACCUSATION DE FÉLONIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 janvier 1997), p. 90.

LA TURQUIE REJETTE LES COMMENTAIRES ANTI-TURCS DU JUGE ALLEMAND DANS UNE AFFAIRE DE DROGUE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 janvier 1997), p. 90 - 91.

TURQUIE-KURDES-PÉTROLE : ATTENTAT À LA BOMBE DU PKK CONTRE L'OLÉODUC IRAKO-TURC PRES DE MARDIN. Le brut qui s'est dégagé de l'oléoduc s'est répandu sur une surface importante et s'est enflammé sous le choc de l'explosion. (*A.F.P.*, 23 janvier 1997), p. 91.

USA-TURQUIE-PRESSE : CAMPAGNE POUR LA LIBÉRATION D'UN JOURNALISTE TURC EMPRISONNÉ. Ancien responsable de la publication du quotidien *Özgür Gündem*, aujourd'hui disparu, M. Yurtçu a été condamné à une peine de 15 ans et dix mois et purge actuellement sa troisième année de prison. (*A.F.P.*, 23 janvier 1997), p. 91 - 92.

LA TURQUIE PROTESTE CONTRE L'ALLEMAGNE DANS L'AFFAIRE DE DROGUE (où la justice allemande implique certains dirigeants turcs). (*International Herald Tribune*, 9 janvier 1997), p. 92.

LE DÉBAT SUR LE RAPPORT DE " DÉMOCRATISATION " DE TUSIAD ÉCLIPSE SON CONGRÈS ANNUEL. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 93 - 94.

UNE DYNAMIQUE DE CROISSANCE ET UNE INTÉGRATION SOCIALE ET ÉCONOMIQUE SONT ÉTABLIES ENTRE LA TURQUIE ET L'UNION EUROPÉENNE, SELON L'AMBASSADEUR DE L'U.E MICHAEL LAKE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 94.

LE RAPPORT SUR " LA DÉMOCRATISATION DE TUSIAD NE PLAÎT À PERSONNE ". (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 95.

LES CONFRÉRIES ET LES CONGRÉGATIONS RELIGIEUSES EN TURQUIE. — Infiltration — Éducation. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 96 - 100.

LA TURQUIE PARMIS LES PAYS QUI VONT RECEVOIR DES COMPENSATIONS PAR LE FONDS DE LA GUERRE DU GOLFE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 100.

LE GOUVERNEMENT MINIMISE LES ATTENDUS CONTROVERSÉS DU VERDICT DE LA COUR ALLEMANDE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 101.

POURQUOI BONN DEVRAIT-IL S'EXCUSER AUPRÈS DE ÇILLER? (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 102.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS PROPOSENT QUATRE ALTERNATIVES À L'ACCORD GAZIER TURCO-IRANIEN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 janvier 1997), p. 102.

LE FILS DE SADDAM POURRAIT ÊTRE PARALYSÉ À LA SUITE DE SES BLESSURES. 600 arrestations dans des rafles opérées depuis l'attaque du 12 décembre. (*International Herald Tribune*, 25-26 janvier 1997), p. 103.

L'ATTENTAT CONTRE LE FILS AÎNÉ DE SADDAM HUSSEIN POURRAIT RELEVER D'UN RÈGLEMENT DE COMPTES FAMILIAL. Depuis cet attentat immédiatement annoncé par la télévision irakienne, contrairement aux coutumes du secret qui prévalent à Bagdad, de nombreuses rumeurs courent sur les éventuels auteurs. (*Le Monde*, 25 janvier 1997), p. 104.

TURQUIE-UE : ÇILLER RENCONTRERA CINQ MINISTRES EUROPÉEN À ROME. Lors de cette réunion, les six ministres aborderont notamment le problème de l'application de l'accord d'union douanière entre l'UE et la Turquie, la récente crise des missiles avec Chypre et les projets d'expansion de l'UE. (A.F.P., 24 janvier 1997), p. 105.

CHYPRE-USA-TURQUIE : WASHINGTON N'EST PAS DISPOSÉ À DONNER DES GARANTIES DE SÉCURITÉ À CHYPRE. (A.F.P., 24 janvier 1997), p. 105.

TURQUIE-DROGUE : LOURDES ACCUSATIONS CONTRE LA TURQUIE D'UN HAUT RESPONSABLE BRITANNIQUE. Le vice-ministre britannique de l'Intérieur, Tom Sackville, assure que certains membres du gouvernement turc et de la police sont impliqués dans le trafic de drogue à destination de son pays. — Ankara rejette les accusations britanniques. (A.F.P., 26 janvier 1997), p. 106, 106 - 107.

IRAK-GB-TURQUIE : L'IRAK CRITIQUE LA GRANDE-BRETAGNE POUR AVOIR DÉPECHÉ DES DIPLOMATES DANS LE NORD. L'Irak a critiqué la Grande-Bretagne pour avoir envoyé dans le Kurdistan de s diplomates de son ambassade à Ankara et reproché à la Turquie d'avoir autorisé leur passage en territoire irakien. (A.F.P., 26 janvier 1997), p. 107.

TURQUIE-ISRAËL : DAVID LEVY PROBABLEMENT EN TURQUIE EN FÉVRIER. (A.F.P., 26 janvier 1997), p. 108.

LA TURQUIE VA POURSUIVRE UN JUGE ALLEMAND. (International Herald Tribune, 27 janvier 1997), p. 108.

YACHAR KEMAL REÇOIT LE PRIX LITTÉRAIRE NONINO. (Turkish Daily News, 27 janvier 1997), p. 108.

LA TURQUIE REJETTE LES ACUSATIONS

VENANT D'OCCIDENT D'IMPLICATIONS DANS DES AFFAIRES DE DROGUE. (Turkish Daily News, 27 janvier 1997), p. 109.

L'ARGENT NOIR NOIRCIT L'IMAGE DU PAYS. (Turkish Daily News, 29 janvier 1997), p. 109-112.

TURQUIE: LE DERNIER SUJET DE DISCUSSION AU DANEMARK. (Turkish Daily News, 28 janvier 1997), p. 113-114.

LA POLICE TURQUE DÉNONCE L'HYPOCRISIE EUROPÉENNE EN MATIÈRE DE LA LUTE CONTRE LE TRAFIC DE DROGUE. (Turkish Daily News, 28 janvier 1997), p. 114-115.

DE NOUVELLES ÉNIGMES À DAMAS. — Répression de la corruption ou manœuvres pour la succession ? (International Herald Tribune, 29 janvier 1997), p. 115-116.

LA LUTTE CONTRE LE TERRORISME EST ALIMENTÉE PAR L'ARGENT DE DROGUE, SELON UN GROUPE DE RECHERCHE FRANÇAIS. (Turkish Daily News, 29 janvier 1997), p. 116.

DES RESPONSABLES DU GOUVERNEMENT RENCONTRE LE PDK POUR LA QUESTION DU CHAMP D'ATRUSH. (Turkish Daily News, 29 janvier 1997), p. 117.

UNE DÉLÉGATION DE HADEP SERA REÇUE PAR DEMIREL. (Turkish Daily News, 29 janvier 1997), p. 117.

LA TURQUIE MISE EN CAUSE DANS LE TRAFIC DE DROGUE VERS L'EUROPE. — Des mafieux turcs impliqués dans la guerre du Karabagh. (Gamk, 29 janvier 1997), p. 117-119.

IL Y A UNE LUTTE DE POUVOIR À BAGDAD, SELON LES ÉTATS-UNIS. (International Herald Tribune, 30 janvier 1997), p. 119-120.

UN CORRIDOR DU SÉCURITÉ SERA ÉTABLI POUR LES RÉFUGIÉS D'ATRUSH. (Turkish Daily News, 30 janvier 1997), p. 121.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS CONDAMNENT LE PKK ET LE GOUVERNEMENT DANS LEURS VIOLATIONS DES DROITS L'HOMME. (Turkish Daily News, 31 janvier 1997), p. 121.

ANKARA APPELÉ À RESTER DANS L'EUROPE MAIS AVERTI SUR LA QUESTION DES DROIT DE L'HOMME. Les cinq puissances d'Europe expriment leur compréhension pour les frustrations de la Turquie mais elles ajoutent que des " questions importantes " ne facilitent pas une adhésion rapide d'Ankara. (Turkish Daily News, 31 janvier 1997), p. 122.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS METTENT TOUT LEUR POIDS POUR LA DEMANDE TURQUE D'ADHÉSION À L'EUROPE. (Turkish Daily News, 31 janvier 1997), p. 122-123.

LE GOUVERNEMENT TURC POURSUIVI POUR VIOL, TORTURES ET INCENDIES DEVANT LA COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (Gamk, 31 janvier 1997), p. 123.

UTILISATION DES " REPENTIS " DANS LES ASSASSINATS POLITIQUES. — LA SITUATION DES KURDES S'AMÉLIORE EN ARMÉNIE. (Gamk, 31 janvier 1997), p. 124.

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TURQUIE: CRÉATION D'UN NOUVEAU PARTI PRO-KURDE. " Le Parti des Masses démocratiques " (DKP) qui préconise une " solution politique à la question kurde, tout en respectant les frontières actuelles de la Turquie " vient d'être créé par, l'ancien

ministre des Travaux publics des années 70, Serafettin Elçi. — ANKARA ACHÈTE 30 HÉLICOPTÈRES ET NÉGOCIE 18 MISSILES AVEC LA FRANCE. (*Le Peuple Breton*, Février 1997), p.2.

LES PRINCIPAUX POINTS DU RAPPORT DU DÉPARTEMENT D'ÉTAT AMÉRICAIN SUR LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 1^{er} février 1997), p.3-4.

L'EMBARGO SECRET SUR LES ARMES AMÉRICAINES À DESTINATION DE LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 3 février 1997), p.4.

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SELON TÉHÉРАН, L'EUROPE ET LE JAPON LUI GARANTISSENT DES PRÊTS DE 5 MILLIARDS DE DOLLARDS. (*International Herald Tribune*, 3 février 1997), p.5-6.

LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION PARLEMENTAIRE SUR LE SCANDALE DE SUSURLUK VEXÉ PAR LE REFUS DES MILITAIRES DE VENIR TÉMOIGNER. — Les dirigeants du HADEP remettent à la Commission les dossiers de 131 "meurtres mystérieux" (*Turkish Daily News*, 4 février 1997), p.6-7.

LE SOUTIEN DES EUROPÉENS AU PROCÈS DES TUERUS DU JOURNALISTE METIN KÖKTEPE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 4 février 1997), p.7.

LA TURQUIE ACCUSÉE DE TRAFIC DE DROGUE, L'EUROPE RÉAGIT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 4 février 1997), p.7-9.

OVERDOSE D'HERÏNE DANS LES RELATIONS TURCO-EUROPÉENNE. — TANSU Çiller EST-ELLE UNE MARRAIEN ? (*Turkish Daily News*, 4 février 1997), p.9-10.

CEUX QUI NE VEULENT PAS UNE RÉELLE DÉMOCRATIE SONT AU TRAVAIL. (*Turkish Daily News*, 3 février 1997), p.11.

EN IRAN, LE RETOUR À LA RIGUEUR FINANCIÈRE A STOPPÉ LES RÉFORMES ÉCONOMIQUES. (*Le Monde*, 4 février 1997), p.12.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS DÉMENTENT AVOIR PLANIFIÉ UNE ATTAQUE CONTRE L'IRAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5 février 1997), p.13-14.

REPORTERS SANS FRONTIÈRES DÉNONCE LA VIOLENCE POLICIÈRE CONTRE LES JOURNALISTES TURCS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5 février 1997), p.14.

LE PRÉSIDENT DU DKP ACQUITTÉ DE NOUVEAU. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5 février 1997), p.14.

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL DE L'OTAN SOLANA SE RENDRA EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5 février 1997), p.15.

LA TENSION MONTE À LA SUITE DE L'ATTAQUE FANATIQUE. — Les chars roulent dans une banlieue d'Ankara alors que l'opposition se prépare à renverser le gouvernement. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5 février 1997), p.15-16.

LA SÉQUESTRATION D'UN ÉCRIVAIN IRANIEN COMPROMET LES RELATIONS ENTRE BONN ET TÉHÉРАН. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5 février 1997), p.17.

IRAK-KURDES: M. TALABANI ACCUSE L'IRAK D'"ACTES TERRORISTES" AU KURDISTAN. (*A.F.P.*, 5 février 1997), p.17-18.

CRITIQUES VIRULENTES D'UN JOURNAL IRAKIEN CONTRE LES ÉTATS-UNIS. (*A.F.P.*, 6 février 1997), p.19.

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AVERTISSEMENT ? (*Turkish Daily News*, 6 février 1997), p.20.

LES LOUPS GRIS D'EXTRÊME DROITE PROTÉGÉS PAR LE GOUVERNEMENT TURCS SONT IMPLIQUÉS DANS LE TRAFIC DE DROGUE AUX PAYS-BAS selon un rapport du parlement néerlandais. (*Turkish Daily News*, 7 février 1997), p.21.

LE PROCÈS DU JOURNALISTE GÖKTEPE SE POURSUIT À AFYON. (*Turkish Daily News*, 7 février 1997), p.21.

TENSION EN TURQUIE ENTRE L'ARMÉE ET LE GOUVERNEMENT. — Les militaires ont fait déployer des chars près d'Ankara pour intimider une municipalité islamiste. (*Le Monde*, 7 février 1997), p.22.

DES EXPERTS DE L'ONU PRÉPARENT LA DISTRIBUTION DES VIVRES AUX IRAKIENS. (*A.F.P.*, 6 février 1997), p.22-23.

ONU-IRAK-KOWEÏT : NEUF PAYS DEMANDENT 32 MILLIARDS DE DOLLARS POUR DÉGÂTS CAUSÉS À L'ENVIRONNEMENT. (*A.F.P.*, 7 février 1997), p.23-24.

OTAN-UE-TURQUIE: MALAISE À L'OTAN FACE À DES MENACES TURQUES DE PLUS EN PLUS PRESSANTES. (*A.F.P.*, 7 février 1997), p.25-27.

DES GROUPES KURDES D'IRAK DU NORD ENVISAGENT UN ÉCHANGE DE PRISONNIERS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 8 février 1997), p.27-28.

ÉTATS-UNIS: LA TURQUIE NE PEUT TOURNER LE DOS À L'EXPANSION DE L'OTAN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 8 février 1997), p.28-29.

L'AIDE AMÉRICAINNE À LA TURQUIE INCHANGÉE EN 1998. (*Turkish Daily News*, 8 février 1997), p.29-31.

LE PÉTROLE IRAKIEN DE NOUVEAU

SUR LE MARCHÉ SELON L'ONU. (*Turkish Daily News*, 8 février 1997), p.31.

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CINQUANTE ANS APRÈS LA DISSOLUTION DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE KURDE

La mémoire meurtrie de Mahabad

VILLE maudite de l'Iran, sous les islamistes comme sous le chah, pour s'être érigée en République autonome kurde au lendemain de la seconde guerre mondiale, ce gros bourg rural de soixante mille habitants demeure sous haute surveillance militaire. Isolée administrativement de la province du Kurdistan, asphyxiée économiquement, niée culturellement, dépouillée de son identité et de son histoire, l'ancienne cité-symbole de l'indépendantisme kurde n'est plus qu'un obscur exemple de la répression ordinaire subie en permanence par les Kurdes d'Iran et d'ailleurs.

Par notre envoyé spécial JAN PIRUZ

Mahabad, cœur de l'éphémère République kurde proclamée en Iran le 22 janvier 1946 et dissoute par les troupes du chah Mohammed Reza en décembre de la même année, se situe à moins de 100 kilomètres à l'est de la frontière irakienne. Un demi-siècle plus tard, que reste-t-il de cette ville, qui a profondément marqué l'imaginaire kurde ?

La militarisation de la région est manifeste et fausse la perception des distances. Le relief tourmenté ne facilite pas le contrôle de ces espaces que Téhéran voudrait bien voir délimités par une « zone de sécurité » afin d'y instaurer un *no man's land* maîtrisable. L'agglomération de Mahabad regroupe soixante mille habitants (seize mille en 1946). Avec les villages limitrophes, le *sharestan* (district) de Mahabad en totalise environ cent dix mille. Une croissance démographique modeste si on la mesure à l'échelle de l'Iran dont le taux d'accroissement naturel a été de 3,5 % en 1993. Mais le Kurdistan est marqué par les stigmates du passé.

Le découpage administratif de Mahabad est un premier paradoxe. De manière arbitraire, l'ancienne capitale kurde n'appartient pas à l'*ostan* (province) du Kurdistan, mais à celle de l'Azerbaïdjan occidental. Les autorités régionales ont centré le Kurdistan iranien (1) sur la ville de Sanandaj (ex-Sinneh), située à 280 kilomètres au sud de Mahabad. De timides mouvements d'opinion locaux ont pourtant plaidé pour un rattachement à la province du Kurdistan, telle que constituée dans les

années 30, ou bien en faveur de la création d'un autre Kurdistan dont l'épicentre serait Mahabad. En vain. Le pouvoir central iranien, sous les chahs comme sous les mollahs, se refuse à accorder au Kurdistan une expression administrative qui correspondrait plus fidèlement à l'aire de peuplement de la population kurdophone.

En outre, Mahabad, « ville de la lune » en persan, est un nom imposé par Reza Chah il y a plus de soixante ans dans le cadre d'une vaste politique de persanification des toponymes. L'ancienne dénomination, *Saubolagh*, était d'origine turque. La ville fut fondée au XVII^e siècle par un sultan qadjar dont on peut voir le mausolée près du nouveau cimetière. Pour son malheur, aux yeux du pouvoir iranien, Mahabad ne pouvait se faire valoir d'aucune antique légitimité perse.

La ville a été implantée dans un bassin d'altitude, encaissé dans les contreforts des monts Zagros dont les pics culminent à plus de 2 000 mètres. Cette situation renforce le sentiment d'isolement des habitants et les expose aux rigueurs de l'hiver. Au nord-est, la silhouette de l'une des montagnes qui barrent l'horizon est évocatrice. Elle se dénomme *Qulqulaq*, ce qui, dans un turc approximatif, veut dire « oreille de loup ». En scrutant les sommets, on découvre que les crêtes sont parsemées d'installations militaires qui placent la ville sous contrôle permanent. La méfiance règne. Pis : les abords de ces installations sont minés et provoquent des accidents presque quotidiens au sein de la population terrorisée.

Il est interdit de se souvenir

POUR s'en convaincre, il suffit de visiter l'hôpital de Mahabad, construit par le dernier chah et rebaptisé Ayatollah-Khomeiny après la révolution islamique. Les victimes des mines – bergers, promeneurs, enfants – y sont entassées sans ménagement. De quoi rappeler un autre événement inscrit dans toutes les mémoires. Pendant la guerre irano-irakienne, Mahabad fut bombardée pendant plus de vingt jours par l'armée iranienne. Suspectée d'abriter le Parti démocratique kurde iranien (PDKI) et les Moudjahidines de M. Massoud Radjavi – en partie ralliés à l'Irak –, la ville a été pilonnée par les troupes iraniennes. Lors de ce siège punitif, la population qui n'avait pas réussi à fuir a dû se terrer dans les caves et les sous-sols. Ceux qui en sortaient en quête de nourriture le faisaient au risque de leur vie. On estime que près de mille cinq cents habitants, majoritairement des civils, ont péri pendant cette opération militaire qui confinait à la guerre civile. L'objectif proclamé des responsables iraniens est resté tristement célèbre :

« La tête du serpent kurde est à Mahabad, il faut l'écraser. » Cet acharnement aveugle a laissé des traces.

Malgré ses soixante mille habitants, il est difficile de considérer Mahabad comme une ville à part entière. Il s'agit plutôt d'une grosse bourgade commerçante tournée vers son environnement agricole et rural. La dynastie des Pahlavi pas plus que la République islamique

n'ont cherché à développer le tissu industriel de la ville, comme pour la condamner à une lente asphyxie. Les promesses de développement industriel du président Ali Akbar Rafsandjani, de passage à Mahabad en août 1995, sont restées lettre morte.

L'activité agricole est de plus en plus fragilisée, faute de débouchés. Certes, le barrage de Mahabad, construit par les Yougoslaves dans les années 60, a permis d'irriguer les champs de betteraves à sucre, de tomates et de tabac, mais les retombées locales sont faibles. La valorisation de ces produits par le biais d'une industrie agroalimentaire se fait ailleurs. Un vif sentiment d'abandon s'insinue chez les habitants. Surplombant la ville, un silo à grain délabré, hérité des Soviétiques, est là pour incarner leur misère.

L'anémie économique pousse la jeunesse kurde hors de la région, à la recherche d'un travail, l'exposant ainsi à l'assimilation par la culture dominante perse. A Mahabad, la formation universitaire est dévolue, depuis peu, à une

« université libre islamique » qui attire également quelques étudiants des villes limitrophes, principalement d'Ourmieh, la capitale de l'Azerbaïdjan occidental. Il s'agit d'un établissement privé, assez onéreux et dont tous les enseignements sont subordonnés à la religion chiite, majoritaire en Iran. Or le Kurdistan est essentiellement sunnite (2), d'où de nombreuses provocations et frictions.

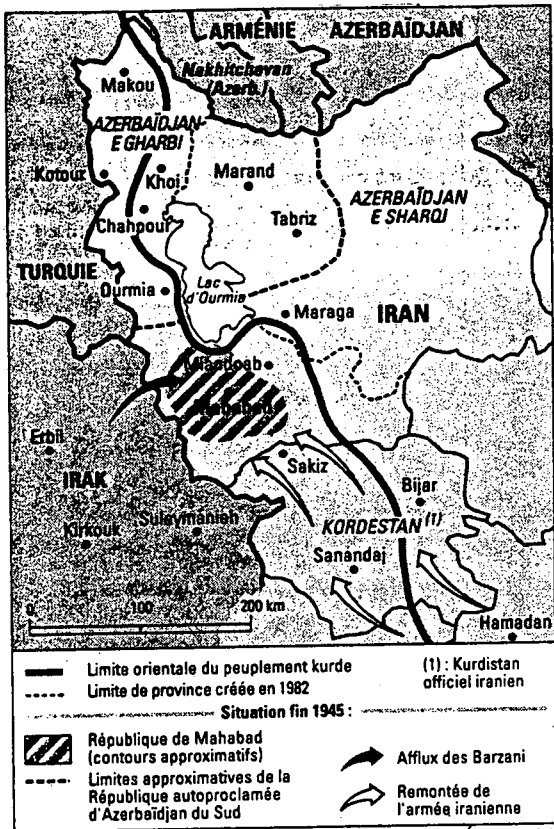
Inutile de dire qu'il n'y a eu aucune manifestation publique ni officielle pour commémorer les cinquante ans de la République kurde. Il est interdit de se souvenir ouvertement. De même, les recherches historiques sur cet épisode sont inconcevables ; si le livre référence de William Eagleton (3) a été traduit en persan et en kurde kurmandji par un historien local, la diffusion de cette traduction a été interdite dès la fin de 1982. Les témoins directs de la République disparaissent peu à peu, quand ils ne sont pas liquidés. Pourtant, un patient travail de sauvetage et de restauration de cette mémoire confisquée s'opère dans l'ombre. Les tombes des trois dirigeants historiques de la République kurde – notamment celle du « président » Mohamad Quazi – pendus après l'entrée des troupes iraniennes dans Mahabad, restent visibles dans l'ancien cimetière. D'accès difficile, entourées de hauts murs, de barrières et de barbelés, elles sont entretenues en catimini.

La place dite des « Quatre Lampes » est doublement connotée. C'est là que Mohamad Quazi instaura la République, le 22 janvier 1946, et c'est là que ses trois principaux dirigeants furent pendus le 31 mars 1947. Mais aucun bâtiment officiel n'a survécu. Tout au plus, le nouveau responsable de la ville y a fait installer astucieusement quatre lampadaires destinés à rappeler les événements qui se déroulèrent sur cette place circulaire.

Autre lieu de mémoire, le nouveau cimetière dans lequel un périmètre est utilisé – sans aucune autorisation – pour y concentrer les sépultures d'écrivains patriotes vénérés, natis de Mahabad. Plusieurs de ces tombes ornées de poèmes invitant le peuple kurde au sursaut portent des traces de balles. Sur l'une des stèles, un mot a été particulièrement visé et mutilé : « liberté ».

Alors comment être kurde à Mahabad ? Le plein exercice, à découvert, de son identité kurde est périlleux. Dans ce règne de l'arbitraire, il faut trouver des voies détournées, biaisées. Le double jeu et la ruse prédominent. La peur tenaille, alimentée par la répression militaire et policière. Si la pratique de la langue kurde dans les lieux publics est en principe tolérée en Iran, l'expression culturelle demeure contrariée (c'est un euphémisme), en particulier dans les médias et l'édition. Ceux qui s'aventurent à publier en kurde sont très rapidement contraints à l'exil.

Immédiatement après la révolution islamique, les partis, organisations, journaux et revues kurdophones ont fleuri pendant deux ans. Cette époque dorée est révolue. Deux publications kurdes,



CÉCILE MARIN

UN RÊVE ÉPHÉMÈRE

En 1946, pendant un an, la République kurde de Mahabad concrétise les aspirations d'un peuple.

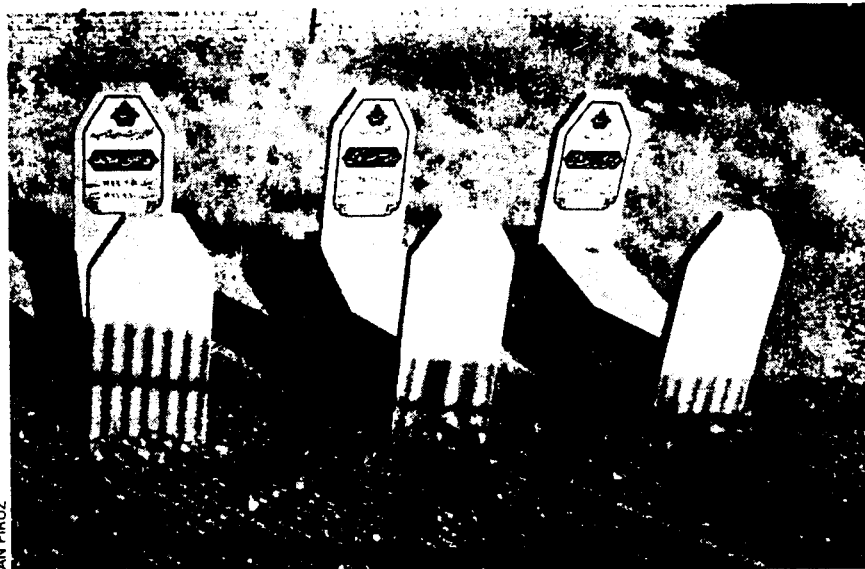
strictement littéraires, ont survécu : *Serva*, à Ourmieh, et *Alvena*, à Téhéran. Aucune à Mahabad. En outre, les émissions en kurde à la radio et la télévision publiques ne sont que des traductions exhaustives des bulletins officiels et ne recueillent que très peu d'audience. Afin de pallier l'absence de médias privés, les plus nantis se sont dotés d'antennes paraboliques. Diabolisées par le régime iranien, elles sont détruites ou confisquées par les pasdarans (gardiens de la révolution). Pour assouvir leur besoin d'information libre et d'images du monde entier, les habitants prennent maintenant leurs précautions. Ils ne sortent leurs paraboles qu'à la nuit tombée.

Ainsi, une cinquantaine de familles suivent régulièrement les émissions de MED-TV, canal kurde émis depuis Londres. La conscience pankurde peut ainsi s'aiguiser, sur les vestiges de la République de Mahabad. Mais les tentatives de renaissance politique sont violemment réprimées. Le PDK iranien, fondé à Mahabad, est présenté par le pouvoir comme une clique de terroristes contre-révolutionnaires et traité comme telle. Les internements arbitraires, la torture et les exécutions sommaires sont légion. Toute initiative citoyenne, même prudente et respectueuse de la légalité islamique, est systématiquement contrariée par Téhéran. Cinquante ans après, les Kurdes de Mahabad semblent continuer à devoir payer leurs audaces passées.

(1) Le Kurdistan, région peuplée par les Kurdes, est à cheval sur la Turquie, l'Irak et l'Iran. Dans chacun de ces pays, les Kurdes luttent pour la reconnaissance de leurs droits.

(2) Il existe des Kurdes chiites ou « gens de la vérité », dans la partie méridionale du Kurdistan iranien. La proportion de chrétiens est très faible.

(3) William Eagleton, *La République kurde de 1946*, Complexe, Bruxelles, 1987.



IAN PIRUZ

TOMBES DES TROIS PENDUS DE MAHABAD (août 1996)

Quatorze mois d'autonomie

L'EXPERIENCE d'autonomie kurde à Mahabad est née dans le contexte de la seconde guerre mondiale. En 1941, l'occupation de l'Iran par les Soviétiques au nord et les Britanniques au sud, et l'abdication de Reza Chah libèrent le nationalisme kurde iranien de la féroce répression exercée jusqu'alors par le pouvoir central. A Mahabad, Mohamad Quazi en profite pour prendre en main le gouvernement de sa ville et de la région qui l'entoure, du lac d'Ourmich à Sakiz.

Mohamad Quazi est avant tout un négociateur qui recherche le soutien des Soviétiques, tout en essayant de s'entendre avec Téhéran. Faute de résultat, il finit par adopter une attitude plus belliqueuse en 1944 : signant un accord d'aide mutuelle pour la création du grand Kurdistan avec les dirigeants kurdes d'Irak et de Turquie, il se rallie tardivement au Komala (organisation secrète pour la renaissance kurde en Iran, ancêtre du PDKI, Parti démocratique du Kurdistan d'Irak). Et, le 17 décembre 1945, il fait hisser le drapeau kurde sur les bâtiments officiels de Mahabad. Cette fois, il obtient la protection de l'Union soviétique, qui a des vues sur le Kurdistan.

Le 22 janvier 1946, Mohamad Quazi proclame la naissance de la première République autonome kurde. De faible importance territoriale (15 000 km²) et sans grands moyens, la République a surtout une importance culturelle et symbolique. Ainsi, de nombreux Kurdes d'Irak viennent aussitôt s'installer à Mahabad. Et ce sont eux, sous la direction du général Mohamad Barzani, qui repoussent les premières attaques de l'armée iranienne.

Mais le contexte international évolue défavorablement. En mai 1946, sous la pression des puissances occidentales, les militaires soviétiques évacuent l'Iran. En août, Mohamad Quazi va une fois de plus à Téhéran pour négocier un modus vivendi. En vain, le nouveau chah, Mohamad Reza, enfin maître chez lui, renoue avec la sanglante politique antikurde de son père. Le 27 novembre, l'armée iranienne attaque. Mahabad capitule le 16 décembre. Le 31 mars 1947, Mohamad Quazi est pendu sur la place publique. Cette même place où il avait proclamé quatorze mois plus tôt la naissance de la République de Mahabad.

JANVIER 1997 - LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE

Turcs et Kurdes réconciliés par le cinéma

Par
NICOLAS
MONCEAU *

JAMAIS encore le conflit dans le Sud-Est anatolien n'avait été abordé de front par une œuvre cinématographique. *Que les lumières ne s'éteignent pas*, premier long métrage du réalisateur turc Reis Çelik, traite pour la première fois de ce sujet « sensible ». Un groupe du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) et une unité militaire turque, qui s'affrontent sur les hauteurs de la frontière, sont décimés par une avalanche. Seuls survivants, l'officier turc et le chef des rebelles - avec, pour un temps, une jeune militante -, sont contraints de s'entraider afin de survivre dans ces conditions extrêmes. L'observation de l'« autre » et le

dialogue s'installent peu à peu, avant la descente au village et le retour aux réalités du conflit.

Volontairement didactique, le récit pêche parfois par simplisme. Au cours de leur errance, les personnages expriment et confrontent leurs divergences - le discours officiel de l'Etat turc d'un côté, les revendications des rebelles de l'autre -, au risque d'apparaître comme des stéréotypes. Cette pluralité des points de vue et la nécessaire neutralité qui s'impose au cinéaste pour d'évidentes raisons de censure (la loi de 1986 sur le cinéma interdit, entre autres, toute forme de « propagande séparatiste ») s'accompagnent toutefois de choix narratifs et de mise en scène plus audacieux.

En ouverture du film, le meurtre d'un *korucu* (gardien de village, rémunéré par l'Etat turc) au cours de l'attaque d'un bus par les rebelles souligne le détachement de la population locale entre les exigences de leur « cause » et les contraintes matérielles. Plus tard, la vision d'un village en ruine, totalement dévasté,

* Institut français d'études anatoliennes (IFEA), Istanbul.

en dit long sur la violence des combats qui se sont déroulés dans la région. Les militants du PKK y sont présentés comme des êtres humains, nourris d'espoirs et de doutes. Une image qui contraste avec le discours officiel des autorités militaires ou politiques sur les « terroristes ». La fraternité naissante entre le soldat et le rebelle suggère, très prudemment, que l'affrontement n'est pas irrémédiable. Et la conclusion du film est étonnante. Un villageois menace indistinctement les deux ennemis désarmés, symbolisant ainsi la responsabilité partagée de l'armée et des activistes kurdes dans la dévastation de la région.

Un tel film n'aurait pas vu le jour sans un assouplissement sensible de la censure en Turquie. La levée de l'interdiction de l'œuvre de Yılmaz Güney et de ses collaborateurs, officialisée par la projection, en 1995, de ses films majeurs (*L'Espoir*, *Yol*, ou *Le Mur*) au Festival du cinéma d'Ankara témoignent de cette ouverture dans le domaine culturel. Il en va de même pour les adaptations cinématographiques des textes de Nazim Hikmet, ou, dans un registre différent, pour la diffusion sur le petit écran de *Midnight Express* d'Alan Parker.

Cependant, si *Que les lumières ne s'éteignent pas* a pu traverser les mailles des différentes commissions de censure, où siègent des représentants du conseil pour la sécurité nationale et du ministère de l'intérieur, ses

difficultés ne sont pas terminées pour autant. La Cour de sûreté de l'Etat qui, en mars 1996, condamnait l'écrivain Yachar Kemal à vingt mois d'emprisonnement avec sursis pour des écrits jugés « subversifs » sur les droits du peuple kurde a entrepris d'engager des poursuites à l'encontre du film.

Le film est sorti en salle le 25 octobre 1996. En dépit des mesures de sécurité renforcées à l'entrée des salles et d'une distribution réduite – seulement six copies à travers le pays –, plus de 40 000 spectateurs, turcs et kurdes confondus, ont assisté à sa projection durant les quinze premiers jours. Son lancement a également suscité l'intérêt des milieux politiques ou associatifs qualifiés de « progressistes ». L'avant-première du film, organisée dans un cinéma d'Istanbul, a rassemblé de nombreuses personnalités politiques. M. Ercan Karakas, député du Parti républicain du peuple (CHP), connu pour son militantisme actif en faveur des droits de l'homme en Turquie, a proposé d'organiser une soirée à Ankara autour du film en réunissant les principaux dirigeants des partis politiques ainsi que les parlementaires turcs. Cette « plateforme » pour la paix devrait permettre, selon ses promoteurs, de développer un débat à l'échelon national à travers une œuvre qui dépasse largement le cadre du cinéma.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1997

Amnesty International branch for İzmir

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A meeting to establish a branch of Amnesty International in İzmir will be held on Jan. 18, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Heather McGill and Julia Sherwood from Amnesty International's European development branch will attend the İzmir meeting. Associations such as the İzmir Chamber of Medical Doctors, the İzmir Bar Association, and the Aegean branch of the Contemporary Journalists Association will contribute to the estab-

lishment of the new branch.

Amnesty International, whose center is in London, organizes campaigns concerning human rights violations all over the world. According to Amnesty International's founding principles, Turkish members of the organization cannot deal with their own country's human rights violations. The Amnesty International information bulletin is published monthly in English, Arabic, French, Spanish and Turkish.

Journalists' union; '96 was a bad year

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Turkish Journalists' Union (TGS) criticized the year 1996, declaring it one full of restrictions, arrests and sentences in the world of communication, the Anatolia news agency reported.

A written statement from TGS stated that three journalists had been killed, 209 were taken into custody or arrested, and 90 were physically attacked while performing their work over the past twelve months.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1997

The statement also noted some important 1996 incidents, such as the condemnation of Yaşar Kemal, the suit brought against Çetin Altan, the trial of 1,079 writers who signed the book "Freedom of Thought," and the arrest of artist Şanar Yurdutapan. Mention was given to limitations the Welfare Party-True Path Party coalition government attempted to bring upon the press. The draft bill, or so-called "Censor Law," which proposed new censorship plans, never crystallized due to reactions of the press and the public.

Ambassador Kandemir: 'In 1997, we must strive for enhanced partnership'

Kandemir expects Kurdish lobby
to expand in Washington

*'US administration is looking more
positively at RP-DYP government'*

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON — The ship of Turkish-U.S. relations during the past year has ridden waves high and low, sailed quite a bit on an even keel, yet still is some distance away from the safe port of "enhanced partnership," according to a senior Turkish diplomat who should know — Nüzhet Kandemir, Turkish ambassador to Washington since 1989.

"We have to rest our bi-lateral relations on a firmer foundation in 1997 and expand our non-military cooperation as well," he said. "We are friends but sometimes friends can disagree among themselves. We have to accept that we do not have to agree on everything to reinforce this foundation," he added.

Commenting on the perception of RP-DYP coalition in Washington, Kandemir said the Administration was now regarding the Turkish government headed by Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan in a more positive light than before. "There are mutual interests in our bilateral relations and we'll continue on that basis," he said.

The highs

During his annual wrap-up of the U.S.-Turkish relations with Turkish journalists in Washington, Kandemir has drawn attention to the following high points:

1) Washington gave its full support to Ankara in Turkey's eventual full-membership in the European Union. Should Turkey use its veto power over NATO expansion to secure entrance to the EU, a journalist asked. "Using such a tactic may actually backfire. One has to be very careful and calibrate the dosage well," Kandemir warned.

2) U.S. continues to support Turkey on the Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline to carry Azeri crude to European markets.

3) Turkey and the United States continue to cooperate fully in fighting terrorism. "Consultations that began three years ago are expected to continue in 1997, in Washington," Kandemir said.

4) Turkey proved its worth as a reliable ally by shouldering the responsibility of train-and-equip program devised by the United States for the troops of Bosnian-Croat Federation.

On the economic front, Kandemir said U.S.-Turkish Joint Economic Commission meeting held in Ankara was a success. Business Development Council agreement and the agreement to avoid double-taxation were among the important achievements of the year in bi-lateral relations.

"As of November 1, 1996, the mutual trade volume hit the \$4 billion mark," Kandemir noted. "But we are still running a trade deficit of \$1 billion in Washington's favor. By expanding our bilateral relations we have to move towards a more balanced trade exchange," he noted.

As to that lofty target of an ideal Turkish-American relationship, i.e. an "enhanced partnership" which transcends the parameters of a mere military-geostrategic alliance and thrives on extended economic and cultural linkages as well, Kandemir said "such an understanding is gaining a firm hold on both sides." Yet, the full realization of such a vision "may take a little bit more time," he added.

And the lows

Turning to the less pleasing developments of the year, Kandemir, with perhaps a dash of diplomatic understatement, allowed that "the importance of military and economic assistance has declined considerably." Economic Support Fund grants (only 422 million for FY'97) was reduced to a symbolic gesture. Foreign Military Financing, which was all grant in 1993, is now a credit (of a mere \$175 million for FY'97) extended over the current market rates, Kandemir observed.

Anti-Turkish lobbies

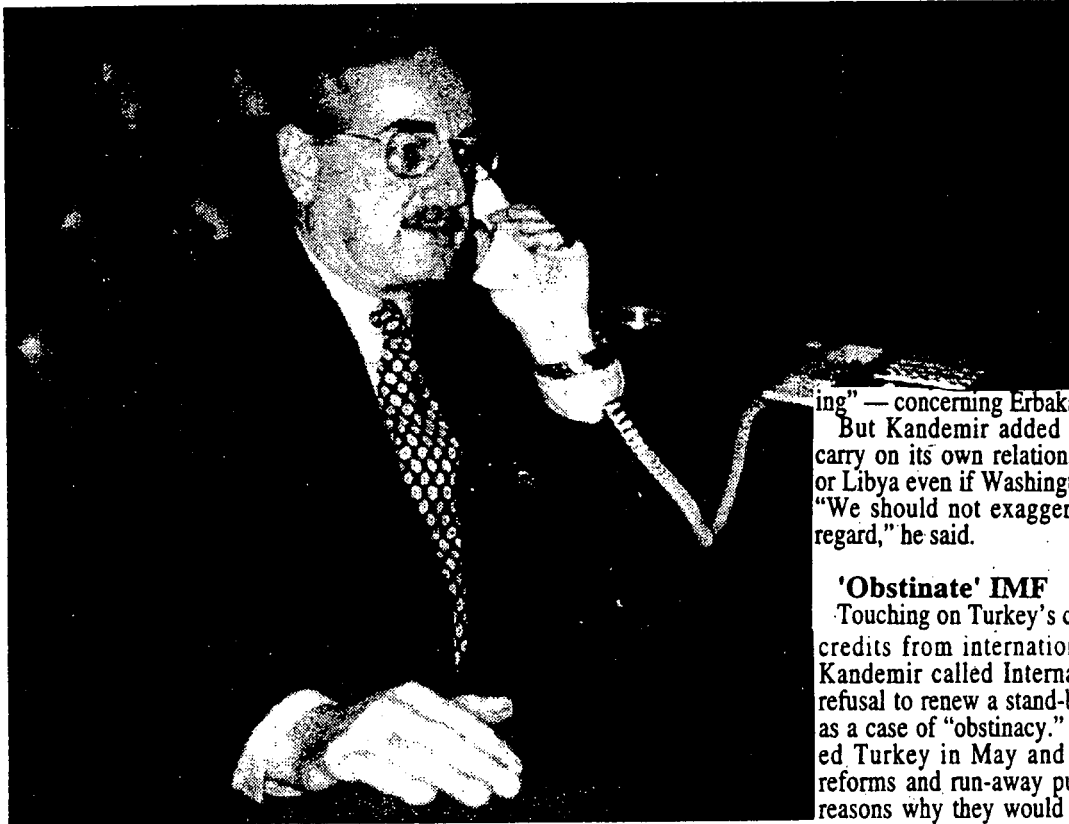
Concerning the activities of anti-Turkish groups in America, the senior Turkish diplomat said he was not hopeful that they would cease and desist in 1997. "I think the Administration would not be able to contain their questionable activities," he said.

He recalled that the combined efforts of Armenian, Greek and Kurdish lobbies in 1996 have indeed been successful in blocking the orders Turkey placed with Pentagon for ten Super Cobra helicopters and three frigates. "We expect such opposition to continue in the coming year, as well as our firm determination to counter it," he said.

Kurdish lobby

Commenting on the Kurdish lobby in Washington represented by such organizations as American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN), Washington Kurdish Institute (WKI) and others, Kandemir said he expected the influx of Kurdish refugees from northern Iraq to contribute to the expansion of Kurdish lobbying activities in America. Washington Post reported that 2,200 such Kurds have already arrived in America from Guam, with about 350 of them settled in Maryland, Virginia and Washington D.C. areas.

Turkish ambassador commented on the insufficient efforts of the Administration to counter the



Nüzhet Kandemir, Turkish ambassador to Washington

questionable activities of such groups as well. He, for example, mentioned the case of Kani Xulam, the director of AKIN, who was tried on charges of federal passport fraud and yet was sentenced by an Armenian-American judge in California to only 400 hours of "community service" in (among all places) the AKIN office in Washington, where he was working at in the first place.

"That was a ridiculous trial and a ridiculous sentence. There is no way to explain it rationally," Kandemir said.

Arrow left the bow

Concerning the influx of Kurdish refugees from Guam to the United States, Kandemir said "the arrow has left the bow already."

He added that Turkey would be relying on the "understanding" of the United States government to monitor the possible anti-Turkish activities of various Kurdish groups in America. He said he shared with Administration officials as well as the representatives of IntelSat satellite company the grave concerns Turkey has against the broadcasts of MED-TV, which is controlled by the PKK. MED-TV had a contract to use IntelSat satellites.

Reactions to Refah

When asked the sort of difference the RP-DYP coalition, headed by the Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, made in Clinton Administration's perception of the bi-lateral relations, Kandemir said "this Administration has more and more started to take this coalition government as its normal counterpart."

Concerning Erbakan's eventful visit to Libya, where he called the U.S. a "terrorist state," Kandemir admitted that the Administration officials have conveyed him their "sorrow" — if not "warn-

ing" — concerning Erbakan's allegation.

But Kandemir added that Turkey is bound to carry on its own relations with countries like Iran or Libya even if Washington does not agree with it. "We should not exaggerate the problems in that regard," he said.

'Obstinate' IMF

Touching on Turkey's current problems to secure credits from international finance institutions, Kandemir called International Monetary Fund's refusal to renew a stand-by agreement with Turkey as a case of "obstinacy." An IMF delegation visited Turkey in May and cited lack of structural reforms and run-away public financing as the top reasons why they would not greenlight new credit lines to Turkey.

"Institutions like IMF and the World Bank must reverse their policy. They have to realize that what hurts Turkey will hurt the region and even the world as well," Kandemir said. "International institutions like IMF and WB should not act with domestic policy considerations in mind."

Cyprus

Cyprus and Turkish-Greek relations was another issue that Turkish Ambassador touched upon during his annual review. Admitting that there were expectations of "new initiatives" in Cyprus and that the Administration has been involved in an "imaginative process," he nevertheless criticized the way Washington so far treated Ankara and Athens on an equal footing, almost in an obligatory fashion.

"It is not necessary, for example, for American envoys to visit Greece each time they visit Turkey, or vice versa," he said by way of an example. "Turkey is a much larger and much more important country in the region."

Perhaps the reason they gave an impression, during the Kardak crisis for example, that Turkey and Greece were two countries equal in value was because of the upcoming presidential elections," Kandemir suggested, referring to the importance of Greek-American pressure groups.

Albright

When asked his impressions of Madeleine K. Albright, Kandemir shared his positive reading of the Secretary of State nominee.

"She is a lady who can think realistically," he said, and attributed that quality to the fact that, the Czech-born Albright had her share of "European culture." "She can evaluate the developments on the other side of the Ocean a little better," he said.

"I think Turkish-U.S. relations can get better during Albright's tenure," Kandemir concluded.

PKK attacks radio station in Southeast

The past decade: Turkish security forces inflicted heavy blows against the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) over the last ten years, killing 13,255 militants, injuring 244 and capturing nearly 2,000

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- On the last day of 1996, separatists from the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) continued their terrorist activities, raiding a Turk-Telekom radio-link station in a southeastern town of Diyarbakır's Ergani district, escaping with the station officials' four pistols and two hand radios, the Anatolia news agency reported.

No casualties or injuries were reported, and operations in the region to capture the terrorists are underway, the officials said.

An overview of PKK terror

Turkish security forces have inflicted heavy blows against the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) over

the last decade, killing 13,255 militants, injuring 244 and capturing nearly 2,000.

From the year 1987, when emergency rule was implemented in Turkey's southeastern region, to date nearly 1,700 separatists surrendered and approximately 3,900 security force members were killed.

According to official government figures, the PKK have killed nearly 4,000 civilians and have injured roughly 5,000 in raids on villages such as in Dargeçit, Yuvalı and Efeler.

The separatist organization has also been accused of killing more than 130 teachers in Turkey's southeast region.

Security forces seized 17,000 rifles, 5,700 pistols, 1,037 rocket launchers.

9,500 mortars, 14,500 hand grenades, six anti-aircraft weapons, 2,000 mines, 13 blaze guns, 20,000 tons of food and 16,000 items in the medical equipment and medicine category.

What happened in 1996

Turkish security forces made significant strikes against the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in 1996, killing 2,782 rebels, injuring 36 and capturing nearly 320.

During this year's anti-terrorism operations, 531 security force soldiers lost their lives and the PKK militants killed 143 civilians, including four teachers.

Official government figures say that security forces also seized 2,000 rifles, 730 pistols, 130 rocket launchers, 1550 mortars, 2480 hand grenades and 250,000 bullets.

The killing of 11 civilians in Şırnak's Taşkonak, the killing of the 27 security forces member in clashes in Diyarbakır, and the massacre of four teachers were among the worst terrorist activities by PKK rebels in the region.

This year also witnessed some other important Southeast developments, such as the fighting of rival Kurdish groups in northern Iraq and, as a result of the efforts of Welfare Party Deputy Fethullah Erbaş, the release of Turkish soldiers who were captured by the PKK over a year ago.

More than 21,000 people have been killed in the 12-year conflict between the security forces and the PKK.

Police demonstration against delegation in Lice

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- A delegation consisting of the representatives of various parties and trade unions which was formed to investigate the recent claims of forceable recruitment of the local male population as village guards visited Diyarbakır's Lice district on Monday.

The "Urgent Monitoring Delegation" was formed upon the Diyarbakır Democracy Platform's call following the complaints by Lice inhabitants of persecution by security forces which received some coverage in the press last week.

The delegation was initially not allowed into the town by the security forces, who claimed that they needed special permission to enter the district. The delegation then called the Emergency Rule Regional Governor and obtained permission.

Women of Lice lobbied the delegation claiming: "They are beating up our men

to make them village guards."

Gendarme Captain Hadi İlbas, the acting governor of Lice, said to the delegation that nobody in the town had been forced to become village guards. "All our village guards are voluntary," the military governor claimed.

However, the village guards gave a fundamentally different account to the delegation, but their meeting with the delegates was disturbed by the Captain shouting: "Do not misdirect my men" to the delegates.

Upon this, the plain clothed policemen began to manhandle the members of the delegation and journalists covering the event. Police officers shouted slogans against the delegation claiming that they were "PKK agents." The delegation had to leave the town in order to avoid arrest and mistreatment without concluding their investigation.

According to the reports, the inhabitants of Diyarbakır's Lice district have

been under intense pressure from authorities since 20 December to be persuaded to become village guards.

The town was raided by the gendarmes on that date and all the male population were seized and held at the Gendarmerie station overnight, during which the detainees were allegedly subjected to beatings by the gendarmes. The authorities denied the claims, stating that 110 men had joined the village guards voluntarily in the Lice district.

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 was 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 of the authorities, and the recent attempt of forceable village guard recruitment by the authorities created outrage from human rights organizations and political parties, serving to raise tensions even higher for the remaining inhabitants.

Turkish Daily News
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1997

Turkish Daily News
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1997

Turkish Troops Hunt Down Kurds

Thursday, January 2, 1997 8:38 pm EST

DIYARBAKIR, Turkey (AP) -- Turkish jets streamed over the Iraqi border Thursday to lend their fire power to 5,000 troops hunting down Kurdish rebels.

The four-day push into Iraq has killed 100 Kurds, about 25 of them Thursday, the military said in a statement.

The Anatolia news agency, in a separate report quoting military officials, reported Turkish jets bombed a suspected rebel camp in Hakurk near the borders of Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The report did not give casualty figures.

Turkish troops occasionally go after Turkish Kurdish separatists in northern Iraq, where rebels maintain bases for hit-and-run raids. The rebels have been fighting for autonomy in southeastern Turkey since 1984.

The Turkish troops, backed by F-4 jets and helicopter gunships, began the latest incursion after guerrillas attacked an army outpost near the southeastern Turkish town of Silopi.

A pro-rebel organization in Germany denied Thursday that the guerrillas have suffered heavy losses.

"The rebels are holding their own," a spokeswoman for the DEM news agency said. She declined to give her name.

She said that rebels had killed six Turkish soldiers in battles close to the border. The Turkish military said only two soldiers had been killed.

Since 1984, the conflict has claimed more than 21,000 lives.

washingtonpost.com

The Full Story
@The New York Times

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 1997

Çiller's baggage caught in 'Customs'

By Gül Demir
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Just about a year ago prior to general elections Turkey's political parties were playing around with the issue of entering a customs union with the European Union as if they were luggage handlers tossing pieces of baggage around. They threw things at the pro-union and anti-union voters to gain a point or two more in the election but once that was over relations with the EU entered an extended timeout as politicians became involved with domestic baggage problems, the latest being the Susurluk traffic accident. Now those sectors are silent one year later even though they had been relying on Tansu Çiller, a person ever eager to flap the flag as an election strategy, to bear aloft the EU flag.

Defenders of the customs union as a step towards Turkey's becoming a full member of the EU seem ashamed now following the last EU summit meeting — the exact opposite seems to be happening. The people responsible for drawing Turkey's political chart this past year destroyed the esteem in which the country was held among EU countries. The slightest of descriptions used against them in the European media has been "liar." But they've rather lost their shame at such sobriquets and don't hesitate to make open threats and suggest blackmail.

It must be said that over the past year since the EU Parliament voted 343 to 149 in favor of Turkey's entry into the customs union there have been a number of very interesting developments. Turkey has had three different governments (as if one might change sets of luggage on a whim). The country has become stage center for important domestic and foreign events — watched with care by a number of countries and especially neighbors and allies. The result one year later is a broken dream; Turkey has not had any financial assistance for the customs union put in the baggage which Tansu Çiller, "the beautiful blonde western oriented woman" as she is described, carries about with her nor gotten closer to EU membership. Anyway it would have been a miracle if the result had been different; there's no room for miracles in an European rationality-based reality.

The period began with great hopes. When Çiller, prime minister at the time, took her baggage in hand and went to the Customs Union, the people on duty there asked ever so politely, "Are you carrying anything whose entry into the Customs Union is prohibited?" She replied, "Are you kidding, my dear? My bag contains the changes to the laws which would provide security for human rights such as democratization, precautions against torture and freedom of thought and expression and the peaceful means of solving the Kurdish problem. But for God's sake don't think there's anything in there

related to Leyla Zana because 'She' has to stay in prison. I can't abide being left in the shade by another beautiful woman.

"Look I have good news for you. I've put in on top the clothes I'll wear for the celebration you'll hold when you accept the Cypriot Greek community into full membership with the EU. I know that there are many things in my baggage which will please you but you won't find a headscarf, turban or prayer rug. I don't even know how to perform the prayer ritual. I don't suppose you do either, do you? See how much we share."

Çiller glanced around and then leaned over to whisper, keeping her mouth carefully shielded against lip readers, "Look here, if you don't let me through customs with my baggage, I won't be able

to win the election in Turkey ten days from now. If I don't win, maybe the flood will. If the flood wins, what's going to happen... And after the flood, what happens? Never mind my dear, it's not so important. As far as I can understand, the Islamist Welfare Party (RP) will likely come to power. And however much it takes to bring the RP to power, that's all you'll get. Because the RP will turn its face east, to other Islamist regimes whatever happens and turn its back on you. No more selling your wares to us."

But Çiller couldn't convince the customs officials of what she was saying so they told her to go off to one side where they would look in her luggage after the other passengers had gone by. The officials knew that she had frequently found herself being queried in the police stations of Europe because there was a 180-degree difference between what she said and what she did. But even as Çiller was waiting at the side of the Customs Union with baggage in hand to set out for the EU, the smell of dirty laundry in her bag spread through the whole of Europe.

Çiller got bored waiting and started to play at making a film. She always carried a Turkish flag with her and she started waving it in the Customs salon as if to a military band march as she took it to the top of the Kardak (Imea) rocks. She was stopped a bit as if suddenly aware of how exuberant she had become when people around her started saying, "Lady, please calm down a bit." In the film she was making she was trying to play an intelligent, well-behaved person with the help of extraordinary efforts from the director, accepting a supporting cast role and even saying yes to Mesut Yılmaz's being written into the script as the lead actor. But during filming, a quarrel erupted between her and Yılmaz whose films have been well received in Europe and especially in Germany and who was playing in this one. The distastefulness began with questions about the film, "Where does the mill's water come from?" which Yılmaz himself had filmed earlier. Since Yılmaz kept repeatedly asking, "What did you grind in the mill with the TL 500 billion paid out from one of the government's covert funds?" and pushed her so much that she abandoned the film set with it only half finished.

She got a role in another film right away and stepped before the cameras with Necmettin Erbakan, a person whom she had sworn to never do a film with. And there right before the astonished Customs officials she pulled headscarves from her luggage and a prayer rug which she spread out as the call to prayer sounded and again did her daily rehearsal for the role of Belkis, Queen of Sheba. She had been a great success in this film but she really lost face with the people watching her, including the Customs officials. The latter now really became

curious about what else might be in her luggage after this miraculous transformation. Even if it wasn't all of the dirty laundry hidden where it was hard to find like in the corner of her bag where the Susurluk affair was, at least a portion of it was gotten out. The whole world has come to know about the crash of the Mercedes at Susurluk and who and what were in it as the result of its collision with a truck. Perhaps there are yet more bands of organized criminals to be found out that way. All in one blow all sorts of things which one would expect in an American film came rolling out as if Pandora's steamer trunk had been in the car too.

The scenario included murders by unidentified people, the drug trade, gambling, money laundering, sabotage, equipping insurgents in neighboring countries, incitement to war, assassinations, newspaper bombings, kidnappings, warning shots, disappearances and so on. And Çiller by her own words placed herself in the leading role in this film. But Çiller's dreams of getting Turkey into the EU which she was carrying around in her luggage were ruined on the stage of Susurluk thanks to the German-made Mercedes.

And so the situation as it is now at least was made clear to Çiller in Dublin by words, attitude and

behavior which she could understand — entrance into the EU was not totally out of the question. Çiller, as one of the leading players in a Turkish version of "The Godfather," made threats and attempted to blackmail the Europeans but so far hasn't created any fear. If Çiller can't verbally convince the "members of the patriotic, brave and honorable criminal organiza-

tions" to take matters into their own hands quickly or can't through her own efforts get the countries of the EU to open their doors to Turkey's full membership, the situation looks bleak.

So it is impossible for Turkey to have a place in the European cinema with scenarios based on protecting and strengthening a constitution and laws which reflect the military coup of September 12, 1980, on infringing human rights, torture and restricting freedom of thought and expression and looking for a compulsory "solution" to the Kurdish problem by means of the Gladio criminal organizations and in films in which Çiller has the leading role.

On the other hand Çiller is the perfect actor for the American cinema. She proved this many times in her films. We think that until another star can be found to replace her, she will continue to be in films under the strict control of her directors.

You ask what will happen about the Customs Union, but what else could? In the year following approval of the Customs Union exports from European countries to Turkey rose by 50 percent while Turkey's exports to Europe fell ten percent. What other damage could there be?

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 1997

Mounting PKK toll in Turkey's N. Iraq push

Ground and air force troops cross into northern Iraq in pursuit of separatists

TDN with wire services

ANKARA- Turkish troops,

backed by air support, have crossed into northern Iraq in pursuit of separatist militants from the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), as ground forces continue a cross-border operation against rebels in

the region, the Anatolian news agency said on Wednesday.

A statement issued on Tuesday by the office of the General Staff, quoted by Anatolia, said a brigade crossed into the region on Monday night after troops came under fire along the border near the southeastern Turkish town of Silopi.

By Tuesday at least 43 PKK militants had been killed, according to the statement.

It said the operation continued on Wednesday with further high casualties for the PKK.

The total number of PKK militants killed so far was given by military sources on Wednesday as 71.

Cobra helicopters also launched bomb attacks on PKK militants trying to escape across the border into Iraq, added Anatolia.

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Turquie-Irak-Kurdes : Cent séparatistes kurdes tués par l'armée turque, selon un nouveau bilan

ANKARA, Jan 2 (AFP) - Cent séparatistes kurdes ont été tués par l'armée turque au cours de l'opération militaire lancée depuis lundi soir dans le nord de l'Irak, ont indiqué jeudi des sources militaires.

"Cent terroristes ont été tués dans la région de Sinath (nord de l'Irak) depuis le début de l'opération (dans la nuit du 30 au 31 décembre)", indique un communiqué de l'Etat-major turc.

"Actuellement, des opérations de nettoyage sont menées dans cette région", a ajouté le communiqué.

Un précédent bilan mercredi avait fait état de 72 militants du PKK tués.

Quelque milliers de soldats turcs ont pénétré dans le nord de l'Irak dans la nuit de lundi à mardi avançant d'une vingtaine de km à l'intérieur de ce territoire à la recherche de séparatistes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) qui ont attaqué des cibles turques à partir de leurs bases en Irak.

Appuyées par un soutien aérien, les troupes turques ont détruit trois camps du PKK dans la région de Sinath, selon la même source. L'aviation turque a bombardé, jeudi, dans la même région, la base de Khakurk des rebelles du PKK, selon l'agence Anatolie.

L'opération de l'armée turque avait été lancée dans la nuit de lundi à mardi en réaction à des "tirs de harcèlement", à l'artillerie lourde et au mortier du PKK, à partir du territoire irakien sur des unités militaires turques situées près de Silopi, une localité turque située à une dizaine de km de la frontière avec l'Irak.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée contre Ankara depuis août 1984 pour créer un Etat kurde indépendant dans le sud-est anatolien à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran. Le PKK utilise l'Irak du nord comme base arrière.

La rébellion du PKK et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait plus de 23.000 morts, civils, rebelles kurdes et membres des forces de sécurité.

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Turquie-Irak-Kurdes : Cent séparatistes kurdes tués par l'armée turque, selon un nouveau bilan

ANKARA, 2 jan (AFP) - L'aviation turque a bombardé jeudi la base de Khakurk des rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie) dans le nord de l'Irak, en marge de l'opération aéro-terrestre qui se poursuit depuis lundi dans la même région, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Des chasseurs-bombardiers F-4 qui ont décollé de la base aérienne de Diyarbakir ont infligé de lourdes pertes aux rebelles kurdes positionnés dans cette importante base du PKK dans l'extrême nord-est de l'Irak, frontalière avec la Turquie et l'Iran, selon l'agence qui cite des sources officielles.

Selon un bilan communiqué mercredi, soixante-douze membres du PKK ont été tués depuis le début de l'opération militaire lancée lundi soir par l'armée turque contre un groupe de 100 à 120 maquisards repéré dans la région de Sinath, à l'extrême nord-ouest de l'Irak, près de la frontière avec la Syrie et la Turquie.

Deux soldats turcs avaient été tués et 6 autres blessés, dont trois grièvement, lors de ces opérations.

Les troupes turques qui ont parfois pénétré jusqu'à dix km de profondeur en territoire irakien, fouillaient jeudi les zones nettoyées

des rebelles du PKK, toujours selon l'agence.

Cette opération avait été lancée en réaction à des "tirs de harcèlement", à l'artillerie lourde et au mortier du PKK, à partir du territoire irakien sur des unités militaires turques situées près de Silopi, une localité turque située à une dizaine de km de la frontière avec l'Irak.

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Irak-Turquie : Bagdad critique Ankara et Washington pour l'opération militaire turque

BAGDAD, 2 jan (AFP) - Un quotidien officiel irakien a dénoncé jeudi l'opération menée par l'armée turque dans le nord de l'Irak contre des séparatistes kurdes turcs et déploré le silence des Etat-Unis.

La Turquie "a déjà essayé les opérations militaires, qui ne lui ont jamais assuré la sécurité" recherchée, a affirmé le quotidien as-Saoura, organe du parti Baas au pouvoir, qui a "dénoncé et rejeté" l'opération de l'armée turque.

"L'attitude de spectateur adoptée par les Etats-Unis" à l'égard de l'opération turque "montre que Washington ment lorsqu'il prétend être concerné par la sécurité des Kurdes", a ajouté le journal.

"La Maison blanche n'a jamais été sincère envers les Kurdes lorsqu'elle affirme vouloir assurer leur sécurité", selon as-Saoura.

Il s'agit de la première réaction irakienne à l'opération aéro-terrestre lancée lundi par la Turquie contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) dans une région irakienne proche de la frontière. Selon un bilan officiel turc mercredi, 72 maquisards ont été tués.

Le gouvernement de Bagdad affirme que seul le rétablissement de son autorité dans le nord de l'Irak sera en mesure d'assurer la sécurité de la Turquie et de l'Iran, qui se plaignent des attaques menées contre leurs territoires depuis la région contrôlée depuis 1991 par des factions kurdes irakiennes.

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Turquie-Kurdes : Le chef du PKK renouvelle son appel au dialogue avec Ankara

DIYARBAKIR (Turquie), 2 jan (AFP) - Le chef du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), Abdullah Ocalan, a renouvelé son appel au dialogue avec Ankara pour résoudre la question kurde, dans une interview télévisée, mercredi soir, par une chaîne de télévision par satellite, MED-TV, proche du PKK.

"Il faut surmonter la question (ndlr: kurde), non en s'entretenant mais par la voie de dialogue" a déclaré Ocalan, alias "Apo" qui a affirmé, dans cet interview téléphonique, que son but n'était pas de modifier les frontières de la Turquie.

Ocalan a affirmé que le gouvernement d'Ankara voulait l'assassiner et dépensait, pour se faire, des sommes importantes.

Abdullah Ocalan a réitéré, ces jours derniers, ses appels au dialogue avec Ankara. Dans une interview publiée par un quotidien turc le 23 décembre, le chef du PKK avait déclaré qu'il allait lancer, en 1997, des "appels difficiles à rejeter pour une paix qui préservera les frontières de la Turquie. (...). L'heure de la paix est désormais venue comme celle d'une discussion sur une fédération ou un Etat décentralisé", avait-il déclaré.

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.

L'armée turque poursuit, depuis lundi, des opérations aéroterrestres contre les bases du PKK dans le nord de l'Irak. Soixante-douze rebelles au total ont été tués lors de ces opérations, selon Ankara. Jeudi, une base importante du PKK dans la région de Khakurk, dans le nord de l'Irak, a été bombardée par l'aviation turque.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1997

Syria Confirms Bomb Ripped Damascus Bus

Israel Is Blamed for Blast Fatal to 9

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Service

CAIRO — Breaking its customary silence on matters of internal security, Syria acknowledged Thursday that 9 people were killed and 44 wounded in a bomb attack on a crowded bus in Damascus on Tuesday. The government blamed Israel for the attack.

In a statement to Syria's official news agency, a government spokesman said the bomb exploded a few minutes after the bus left a Damascus terminal around noon, carrying passengers bound for New Year's Eve celebrations in other cities.

The explosion follows several attacks

on Syrians last month in Lebanon, which is occupied by 35,000 Syrian troops, and comes at a time of growing tension between Syria and Israel over the breakdown in Middle East peace negotiations.

Syria's charge of Israeli involvement in the attack marks a further deterioration in the relationship between the two enemies.

"This terrorist, cowardly and criminal action comes within the framework of threats that were launched recently by Israeli officials that aim at killing the peace process," the spokesman was quoted as having said.

Agents of the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad "planted an explosive device inside the bus that exploded

minutes after it left the bus station at noon," the official said.

David Bar-Ilan, the top aide to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, called the Syrian allegations "sheer nonsense." The Associated Press reported from Israel.

Syria's government, led by President Hafez Assad, normally does not comment on reports of internal unrest. It appears to have broken its silence only after reports of the explosion began to filter out through international news agencies.

Earlier in the day, a businessman based in Beirut who had just arrived in Nicosia, Cyprus, from Damascus told the Reuters news agency that the blast occurred as the bus left for the northern city of Aleppo.

Diplomats based in Damascus confirmed that an explosion had taken place. One told Reuters that the police had closed off the area around the blast and that surrounding streets had been choked with traffic trying to flee the area. The bus station was reported to be situated in a busy district near the main highway that links Damascus to Beirut

and other major cities.

There have been several recent attacks on Syrians in neighboring Lebanon.

Last month, gunmen opened fire on a Syrian-registered minibus near Tabarja, about 25 kilometers (15 miles) north of Beirut, killing the driver, a Syrian, and injuring a passenger, according to reports in the Arabic press. In a second incident that day, a device detonated near a Syrian intelligence post in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli. Two officers were reportedly wounded.

A Syrian military spokesman said,

however, that the blast was an accident that occurred when a detonator was inadvertently burned with a pile of trash.

Syria dominates Lebanon's government, which responded to the minibus attack by rounding up scores of Christian Lebanese opposed to the Syrian presence in their country. Lebanon's prosecutor-general, Adnan Addoum, said at the time, "Israel's hand is not far from what is taking place." Lebanon has been governed by Muslims and Christians in a fragile arrangement that ended the civil war in 1990.

Syria's vice president, Abdel Halim Khaddam, also has hinted at an Israeli role in the anti-Syrian violence in Lebanon. "How can we support an opposition against the country's security and stability, an opposition that extends its hand to Israel?" he asked the Beirut daily newspaper *As Safir* in an interview published Tuesday.

The claim Thursday, however, appears to mark the first time in recent memory that Syria had accused Israel of involvement in attacks inside Syria.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1997

Scientists Dispute Nerve Gas as Cause of Gulf War Syndrome

By David Brown
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The theory that many Gulf War veterans are ill because they were unwittingly exposed to nerve gas more than five years ago contradicts most of what is known about the health effects of chemical weapons.

Such a scenario is unlikely because nerve gases almost always cause immediate symptoms and almost never cause permanent damage to those who survive. There is even less evidence that they cause illnesses that first appear months after contact.

Those are the conclusions suggested by three decades of research on nerve gases, and affirmed by many scientists familiar with the chemical compounds and their effects.

"Based on what we know about low-level exposure to this type of chemical, one would be very hard pressed to make that connection between veterans' illnesses and gas exposure," said John Thomas, president of the American College of Toxicology and a professor at the Health Science Center of the University of Texas at San Antonio.

The current knowledge about chemical weapons does not jibe with widespread assertions by some veterans groups, politicians and commentators that thousands of veterans are chronically ill from exposure to poison gases during the Gulf War.

Almost since the war ended in 1991, reports of a mysterious illness — characterized by mood changes, concentration problems, muscle pains, skin rashes, diarrhea and other complaints, and known popularly as "Gulf War Syndrome" — have circulated among veterans. Some former soldiers, dissatisfied with their diagnoses and medical care, looked for a cause of the symptoms in the environmental hazards encountered in the

war against Iraq.

On that long list of hazards were smoke from oil fires, exotic infections, drugs and vaccines, depleted uranium used in projectiles and chemical weapons. Although the Pentagon studied each, for years military officials said that chemical weapons could not directly explain any illness a veteran might be suffering. That is because Iraq had not used chemical weapons. Except for one soldier who was accidentally exposed, no American troops were exposed to the toxic compounds, military officials said.

Last June, however, the Defense Department amended its story. Investigators announced that thousands of soldiers may have been exposed to small amounts of poison gas when they blew up a munitions dump in Khamisiyah, Iraq, soon after the fighting stopped.

The Khamisiyah revelation fueled many vet-

Compounds designed as chemical weapons kill people at extremely low doses.

erans' suspicions that the military was hiding information crucial to their health. That suspicion was bolstered by the Defense Department's acknowledgment, in various forums recently, that it had never thoroughly interviewed soldiers who had reported other possible exposures to poison gas.

Nerve gas symptoms can resemble some of the initial, relatively minor complaints some veterans have described. A small amount of

research hints that the compounds could cause longer-lasting physiological changes. It is possible that other, unexpected effects may be uncovered with further research.

The nerve agents used as chemical weapons — sarin, soman, tabun and VX — are members of a large family of chemicals called "organophosphate cholinesterase inhibitors."

When a person is poisoned with organophosphates, the pupils constrict; muscles twitch, the person salivates, sweats and sometimes wheezes. Often there is nausea, vomiting and involuntary defecation. At higher doses, or with longer exposure, people have convulsions, lapse into unconsciousness, develop profoundly low blood pressure and stop breathing.

Organophosphates are the most commonly used pesticides in the world, with hundreds of tons used every year by everyone from household exterminators to crop dusters. Unlike pesticides, however, the compounds designed as chemical weapons kill people and animals at extremely low doses.

If soldiers encountered nerve agents during the Gulf War, it is probable that a few people would have received doses high enough to kill,

or at least make them seriously ill. But that does not seem to have happened.

It is unlikely that six years after the fact medical investigators will ever figure out what caused the symptoms some soldiers reported.

There is, however, one report of a group of people exposed to nerve gas who developed symptoms quite similar to those of Gulf War Syndrome. These were 129 Germans who worked in munitions factories and made many kinds of chemical weapons, including sarin and tabun, after the start of World War II.

In 1963, a scientist named U. Spiegelberg reported on his examination of them. The great majority, he wrote, "showed persistently lowered vitality," "headache, gastrointestinal and cardiovascular symptoms" and other problems, including an "impression of premature aging."

Because the workers had all held their jobs at least two years, their poison exposure almost certainly was far greater than any that might have occurred in the Gulf.

Despite those differences, this is the best evidence that the constellation of symptoms some veterans report could conceivably arise from nerve gas.



Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1997

Customs union — what customs union? Business as usual for Turkey's human rights violators

By Zafer F. Yörük
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Turkey's inclusion into the European customs union (CU) was heralded with hopes and promises from the government to improve its human rights record. In fact, the then Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's announcement of a list of legal relaxations, concerning in particular the freedom of expression which led to the drop of charges of "terrorism through writing" against author Yasar Kemal by the Istanbul State Security Court in the eve of the European Union's (EU) decision on CU, played a significant role in Turkey's admission.

Outstanding items of human rights violations were not limited to the violation of the freedom of expression but included disappearances in custody, maltreatment, torture and deaths in detention and imprisonment, summary executions, violation of right to demonstration and the disproportionate concentration of all these violations, with some additions such as the longer terms of police detention and the forced evacuation of villages, in the disturbed southeast region, as a consequence of the conflict between the Turkish forces and the separatist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) militants.

Along with the official expectation that the CU would lead to Turkey's admission into the European Union, the CU also spread some hope among the human rights activists for the improvement of the country's human rights conditions in parallel with further opening up to monitoring and inspection by the EU bodies.

Another year of violations

According to the monthly reports of the Human

Rights Association (IHD), Turkey's first year in the CU witnessed the repetition of all the above violations.

There have been 70 deaths and 46 injuries in so-called "unresolved murders;" summary executions and deaths in custody claimed 179 lives; 326 people claimed to have been tortured in police custody; 107 non-government organizations, newspapers and publishers were shut down and all the editions of 183 different issues of various newspapers and magazines were seized by the authorities; 379 reporters and journalists were arrested; journalists and writers were convicted to 166 years and 8 months of total imprisonment and over TL10 billion of fines. There has been no concrete improvement, on the other hand, in the trial of police officers responsible for the death in police custody of the journalist Metin Göktepe in January 1996. Another journalist killed during the year is Irfan Agdas.

Turkey's first year in CU saw the worst violence towards prisoners since the early 1980s under the military rule, according to the IHD officials. The worst incident regarding the prisons was that of September 24 in Diyarbakir Prison which left 10 prisoners dead and 24 prisoners seriously injured. Between January and November 1996, 21 prisoners were beaten to death by prison authorities, and 10 prisoners were killed by other inmates.

The wave of hunger strikes in prisons in July ended with the government's partial compromise only after claiming 12 lives. Four prisoners died after the strikes by being denied the relevant treatment.

The total claims of "disappearances" in custody were 208 between January and November 1996. Human rights activists interpret this figure as a dra-

matic increase given that the total number of the "disappeared" in custody between 1980 and 1996 is 420. Amnesty International recently launched an international campaign to highlight human rights violations, particularly the "disappearances" in Turkey, in solidarity with the "Saturday Mothers", the silent protestors consisting of families of the disappeared who have gathered every Saturday for 84 weeks now in Istanbul's Galatasaray Square.

Southeast: the bleeding wound

The CU agreement came at a time when the separatist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) was holding a unilateral ceasefire in the South East. The ceasefire, which was never recognized by the government, did not last long and in 1996, the conflict in the South East claimed 2,750 lives from both sides, including separatist rebels and Turkish security forces while leaving 118 civilians dead as a result of the atrocities committed by one side or the other in the conflict.

One remarkable difference between the year 1996 and the previous one was the decrease in the number of villages burned down and evacuated by the security forces in the South East from 243 to 67. "Because there are no villages left to be burned down," an IHD official commented on the subject.

The US-based human rights organization Human Rights Watch (HRW) produced reports on the use of arms against civilians in the South East, which would ironically lead to the trial of the publisher and the translator of the reports in Turkey. The campaign by the international human rights organizations, HRW and Amnesty International (AI), against the maltreatment of civilians by the authorities, particularly in the South East, led the European Parliament recently to advise the suspension of financial aid to Turkey in defiance of the CU protocol. This move led Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Tansu Çiller to announce immediately a new parliamentary bill of democratization of the Turkish Penal Code and the Code of Penal Procedures. The new proposal included the shortening of the terms of police custody, a further relaxation of the infamous Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law and the abolition of the death penalty. There were a number of cases heard in the European Court of Human Rights, among them that of the southeastern villagers of Yeşilyurt which resulted in 1996 with the conviction of the Turkish government and its paying compensation to the villagers. The complaint of the Yeşilyurt villagers was that an army commander had forced them in 1987 to eat excrement.

Hopes eroded; frustration and disappointment prevail

The general attitude of the Turkish public towards the international conventions that Turkey signed still seems to be that: "Our government should not be told what to do by foreigners," and no official or unofficial bodies influential over public opinion seem to be concerned with informing the public on the European and United Nations conventions on human rights, and the Turkish government's obligations. Instead, most of the official argument still portrays the European criticism of Turkey's human rights record as "foreign intervention into Turkey's domestic affairs."

Certainly, the CU would not change the human rights condition in Turkey overnight. But to expect some improvement towards compliance with the European standards would not be unfair. One year on, however, hopes, promises and expectations seem to have already eroded; and for many, frustration and disappointment have replaced them.

The CU, it seems, did not make much difference for those circles who are responsible for the breach of human rights.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1997

Ankara says Danish budget crisis source of bilateral problem

Senior Foreign Ministry official: Turkey is seriously ready to share in Danish human rights experience but Copenhagen's attitude is far from one of diplomatic courtesy

By Ayşe Karabat
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- After Denmark's statement that they were seriously considering taking Turkey to human rights court, the Turkish Foreign Ministry said that Ankara-Copenhagen relations

were, in truth, the victim of disputes over the Danish budget. Denmark has claimed that Kemal Koç, a naturalized Danish citizen of Kurdish origin, was tortured in Turkey last summer.

In the final days of December, a Danish paper reported that Denmark intends to bring the case before the human rights court. After this announcement, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen said publicly that he could confirm that officials were very seriously mulling over such a

decision.

Following these developments, a senior Turkish Foreign Ministry official called attention to the fact that the Danish government budget passed through parliament on the votes of the left-wing parties, particularly those of the so-called "Unity List" which was actively



Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen

involved in the Kemal Koc issue. "Now the Danish government is trying to pay its debt to left-wing parties by saying they will take Turkey to human rights court. Denmark-Turkey relations are a victim of Danish internal affairs. We are seriously ready to talk human rights issues with Denmark. We are ready to share their experience in human rights but their way is far from diplomatic courtesy.

Serious defamation is not the proper way to improve relations," the same senior official said.

Koç was detained when he tried to enter Turkey on July 8 to attend the funeral of his brother.

He was officially arrested on charges of attending pro-PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) rallies in Denmark and Germany, and for helping the organization in various ways.

Koç, who was finally released on Aug. 15, 1996 and allowed to travel home pending his trial, alleged, while in Turkey and once again back in Denmark, that he had been tortured by Turkish police.

The Koç case has angered Turkish authorities, who strongly deny allegations of torture and characterize the claim that the Turkish Embassy in Copenhagen is engaging in activities outside its competence as "ridiculous."

These officials also indicate that Koç was detained under stipulations also found in the Danish penal code: legislation which enables a foreign national to be arrested and tried for crimes even if the alleged crime took place in another country.

Turkish Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller recently sent a letter to her Danish counterpart in order to reply to his letter and reject Koç's torture claims.

• Le Monde - vendredi, 3 janvier 1997 • Le Monde - vendredi, 3 janvier 1997

Comment peut-on être iranien ?

Appréhendant en profondeur l'Iran, Jean-Pierre Digard, Bernard Hourcade et Yann Richard dépassent la simple perception islamique

L'IRAN AU XX^e SIÈCLE

de Jean-Pierre Digard,
Bernard Hourcade
et Yann Richard.
Fayard, 460 p., 160 F.

L'Iran d'aujourd'hui, dans la perception commune, se limite à la République islamique, quand ce n'est pas aux quelques mots épouvantails dont elle a enrichi le vocabulaire français : ayatollah, mollah, tchador, *fatwa*. Pourtant, l'Iran, d'évidence, ne se réduit pas aux slogans islamistes, et il est même illusoire d'espérer comprendre le phénomène khomeiniste sans rien savoir sur le pays qui lui a donné naissance – comme il était vain de prétendre analyser l'URSS et son devenir en se limitant à gloser sur l'idéologie communiste et en ignorant la Russie. C'est à connaître cet Iran contemporain dans son épaisseur historique, sociale, culturelle, géographique ou politique qu'invitent l'ethnologue Jean-Pierre Digard, le géographe Bernard Hourcade ainsi que l'historien Yann Richard – auquel on doit l'ouvrage de référence en français sur *L'Islam chiite* (Fayard, 1991). Tous trois ont vécu de longues années en Iran, en pratiquent la langue, et ont conjugué leur érudition pour cet excellent livre, clair et de lecture agréable, introduction à un pays complexe qui vit de manière paroxystique les bouleversements du tiers-monde musulman et où s'entremêlent haine et fascination pour l'Occident.

La première moitié du livre est une mise en perspective historique d'un siècle qui connaît trois « révolutions » d'inégale portée – « constitutionnaliste » en 1906, « blanche » (« du chah et du peuple ») en 1962 et enfin « islamique » en 1978-79. Autour d'elles se déploient la modernisation autoritaire et la « laïcisation acharnée » de Reza Chah (1921-1941), l'expansion économique sous le règne de Mohammad Reza (1941-1979), qui

combine despotisme, accroissement des disparités sociales et dépendance américaine, et enfin la République islamique (depuis 1979) dont l'utopie tiers-mondiste de départ est canalisée par un pouvoir clérical aujourd'hui confronté à des formes de résistance inédites de la première « société civile post-islamiste ».

« TROIS CULTURES »

La seconde partie identifie les diverses « forces profondes » qui structurent l'Iran contemporain, et dont l'articulation chaotique a produit notamment l'explosion de 1978-1979. Désarticulation rapide de l'organisation sociale sous l'effet de la rente pétrolière, traditions politiques antagoniques de l'Etat et du bazar, juxtaposition de l'Iran des villages, des tribus nomades et des métropoles brusquement gonflées par l'exode rural, façonnent une société à « trois cultures » – l'iranité, l'Islam et l'Occident – qui se sont refoûlées, conjuguées ou déchirées au long du siècle selon des modalités changeantes, mais sans que la victoire politique apparente de l'une parvienne jamais totalement à éliminer les autres.

Cette présentation très documentée de l'Iran d'aujourd'hui, loin des simplismes partisans, rappelle notamment au lecteur que la révolution de 1978-1979 n'a pas été de bout en bout l'œuvre du parti clérical – le Hezbollah – mais qu'elle a d'abord rassemblé toutes les sensibilités politiques, y compris les laïques et les communistes – dans l'opposition à la dictature du chah. On y suit très précisément le processus par lequel Khomeyni et ses partisans sont parvenus à conquérir l'hégémonie sur le mouvement populaire, puis à éliminer leurs alliés après la prise du pouvoir. En contrôlant le discours religieux, après y avoir « acclimaté » des concepts d'origines diverses – comme l'opposition entre « *deshérites* » (*mostadhafin*) et « *arrogants* »

(*mostakbirin*) venue de la contradiction opprimés-opresseurs de la vulgate marxiste – et en faisant de ce discours le langage par lequel s'exprimaient les valeurs centrales de la société, Khomeyni a su mobiliser à la fois les masses populaires, les jeunes intellectuels et la bourgeoisie pieuse du bazar, écartée du politique et de la rente pétrolière par le chah et sa cour. Puis la consolidation du régime est passée par « *trois guerres* ». La guerre (symbolique) contre les Etats-Unis, autour de l'occupation de leur ambassade à Téhéran, a permis au pouvoir d'éliminer les libéraux ; la guerre civile s'est soldée par la défaite des moudjahidines ; et la guerre contre l'Irak a fait mourir en masse sur les champs de mines les jeunes déshérités urbains – ces sans-culottes iraniens –, permettant l'avènement d'un « thermidor » islamiste qui voit les dirigeants insister d'autant plus sur la morale et l'idéologie qu'ils n'ont pu tenir leurs promesses sociales – tandis que la masse de la population s'appauvrit continuellement.

Aujourd'hui, alors que vont arriver à l'âge adulte les jeunes qui n'ont jamais connu l'époque du chah, les auteurs observent qu'une « reconstruction identitaire et politique » est déjà perceptible dans la société, où « les valeurs islamiques imposées par l'Etat ont perdu l'adhésion populaire spontanée dont elles bénéficiaient pendant la période révolutionnaire ». Les femmes restent voilées, mais elles ont pris pied dans l'espace public, et s'organisent à travers de multiples associations autonomes. Malgré les censures, s'exprime une soif de culture, de réflexion, d'attitudes nouvelles, étanchée par de multiples clubs et réseaux informels où l'on pratique l'aérobic comme la philosophie, qui verront peut-être naître, au pays de la première révolution islamique du XX^e siècle, la première société post-islamiste du XXI^e siècle.

Gilles Kepel

Syrie: quatre pistes pour L'explosion d'un bus mardi à Damas aurait

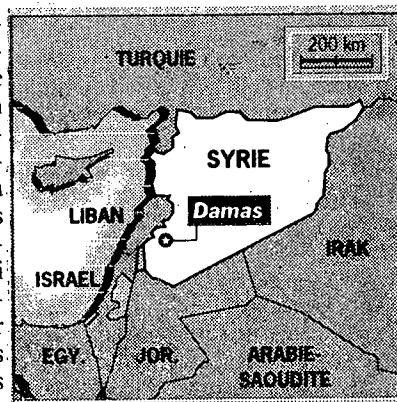
L'explosion fut telle que, même dans un pays où tout est secret d'Etat, elle n'a pu passer inaperçue. Survenue mardi à 13h30 dans un autobus qui venait de quitter Al-Intilak, la principale gare routière de Damas pour se rendre à Alep, elle aurait fait au moins 15 morts et plusieurs dizaines de blessés. Au vu des 15 dépouilles transportées dans le seul hôpital Al-Jamaa, le bilan pourrait cependant être plus lourd. Plusieurs immeubles du quartier populaire de Baramkeh ont été touchés par la déflagration. D'importantes mesures policières ont été prises, à commencer par des barrages. Dans un premier temps, Damas a tenté de passer cet attentat sous silence, alors que la nouvelle circulait dès mardi soir dans toutes les chancelleries occidentales. C'est seulement hier soir, après que l'explosion a été annoncée à Amman et à Nicosie, que la Syrie s'est décidée à l'évoquer pour l'attribuer sans surprise au Mossad israélien et fournir un bilan moins lourd: 9 morts et 44 blessés.

Ce n'est pas la première fois ces derniers temps que la Syrie est visée. Le 18 décembre, un minibus syrien avait été mitraillé sur une route libanaise et son chauffeur tué. Au printemps, Washington avait fait état d'explosions dans la région de Lattaquié, amenant l'ambassade des Etats-Unis à Damas à appeler ses ressortissants à la «prudence».

A l'époque déjà, ces opérations avaient provoqué un certain étonnement – que l'explosion de mardi n'a fait qu'amplifier. En effet, le régime d'Hafez el-Assad n'a pas connu depuis longtemps d'actes de terrorisme significatifs ou spectaculaires, et son opposition apparaît à la fois trop fragile et éclatée pour se lancer dans des actions d'envergure. «L'efficacité» de la police syrienne et une répression sans état d'âme sont autant de facteurs dissuasifs. Dès lors, l'attentat de mardi suscite nombre d'interrogations. Plusieurs pistes sont évoquées à la fois par les diplomates et les opposants syriens réfugiés à l'étranger, même si tous conviennent que «rien ne peut être rete-



Effigie du président Hafez el-Assad à Damas. La Syrie n'a confirmé l'attentat qu'hier et a accusé le Mossad. Israël



Les précédents

Printemps 1996: Washington fait état de plusieurs explosions suspectes, notamment dans la région de Lattaquié (sur la Méditerranée).
Démenti officiel syrien. Damas fait cependant arrêter des dizaines de Syriens d'origine turkmène.
9 décembre: un Palestinien explose avec sa grenade lors d'une tentative d'attentat à la Foire internationale de

Damas, blessant une vingtaine de passants. Révélé par des sources diplomatiques, cet attentat a été considéré comme un acte «individuel» par les autorités.
18 décembre: mitraillage d'un minibus syrien au nord de Beyrouth, dont le chauffeur sera tué. Plusieurs opposants chrétiens anti-syriens ont été aussitôt arrêtés mais la plupart d'entre eux ont ensuite été relâchés.

un attentat fait quinze morts.



a vigoureusement rejeté ces accusations.

nu avec certitude». Quatre retiennent plus particulièrement l'attention.

1. La piste turque. Depuis des années, Damas ne ménage ni son aide ni son soutien aux Kurdes du PKK en guerre contre Ankara. Hafez el-Assad, redoutant les visées hégémoniques de la Turquie dans la région, inquiet de surcroît des récents accords militaires avec Israël, voit dans les partisans kurdes une bonne manière de contribuer à une déstabilisation d'Ankara. D'où une possible riposte des services de sécurité turcs. Ces derniers avaient d'ailleurs été soupçonnés des attentats de Lattaquié, après lesquels des dizaines de Syriens d'origine turkmène avaient été arrêtés. C'est cette piste que semblent à nouveau privilégier les diplomates occidentaux. A leurs yeux, en effet, «les Syriens continuent allègrement à soutenir le PKK et on ne peut exclure que cela finisse par provoquer une réaction des militaires turcs, surtout après que le Premier ministre islamiste d'Ankara eut tenté de calmer le jeu». Certains intellectuels syriens ne cachent d'ailleurs pas que la principale préoccupation, à terme, de leur pays n'est pas tant Israël que la Turquie.

2. La piste libanaise.

Elle semble toute désignée du fait que l'attentat de mardi s'est produit peu après le mitraillage du minibus syrien qui avait provoqué des arrestations dans les milieux de l'opposition libanaise. Mais aussi parce qu'il survient dans un climat de crise économique aiguë et de ressentiment croissant contre le parrain syrien. Elle est pourtant jugée peu vraisemblable. «D'abord, parce que l'opposition n'a plus les moyens logistiques nécessaires pour entreprendre une action d'une telle envergure au cœur de la capitale syrienne. Ensuite, parce qu'il y a au Liban (ndlr: où Damas exerce un pouvoir sans partage et maintient quelque 35 000 hommes) beaucoup plus d'intérêts syriens à découvert», relève à Paris Saadi Gemayel, un responsable du Rassemblement pour le Liban. (le parti du général Aoun) qui privilégierait plutôt l'hypothèse d'un conflit au sein du pouvoir syrien.

3. L'opposition islamiste. Si les islamistes sont toujours perçus comme la principale menace du régime de Damas, la férocité de la répression a réussi à démanteler l'essentiel de leurs rangs. Par ailleurs, le régime a su neutraliser nombre d'entre eux en les convaincant d'exercer des responsabilités religieuses dans le cadre de l'Etat syrien. D'où un certain scepticisme concernant leur éventuelle responsabilité dans l'attentat

«Les agents du Mossad ont profité des préparatifs du nouvel an pour mettre à exécution leurs menaces.»
Damas

de mardi.

4. La piste israélienne. Toujours possible, surtout avec le blocage du processus de paix et l'escalade verbale entre la Syrie et Israël, elle est examinée avec prudence par les chancelleries occidentales. Pour Damas, c'est la seule hypothèse retenue. «Les agents du Mossad ont profité des préparatifs du nouvel an pour mettre à exécution leurs menaces. Cet acte criminel s'inscrit dans le cadre des menaces lancées par certains responsables israéliens», déclarait hier un responsable syrien, faisant allusion à la récente mise en garde adressée par Uri Lubrani, le coordinateur des activités israéliennes au Liban. Israël démentait hier soir toute implication dans l'attentat.

Quels qu'en soient les instigateurs, l'attentat est suivi de près par les pays occidentaux. Partenaire incontournable d'un processus de paix très incertain, la Syrie et sa stabilité demeurent pour eux une préoccupation majeure. Notamment en raison des interrogations sur l'avenir du régime. La succession du chef de l'Etat syrien, préparée de longue date par le Président lui-même, a été remise en cause par la mort accidentelle de son fils Basel. Elle a eu aussi pour conséquence d'aiguiser les appétits au sein du sérail ●

JOSÉ GARÇON

ET JEAN-PIERRE PERRIN

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

Danemark-Turquie-Kurdes : Copenhague poursuit Ankara devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'Homme

COPENHAGUE, 4 jan (AFP) - Le Danemark a décidé de poursuivre la Turquie devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'Homme pour avoir torturé un citoyen danois originaire du Kurdistan turc, a-t-on indiqué samedi de source officielle.

Le ministre des Affaires étrangères Niels Helveg Petersen a précisé à la presse que cette démarche serait effectuée mardi à Strasbourg (France), siège de la Cour. Il a espéré un traitement "rapide" de ce dossier.

Selon Copenhague, le ressortissant danois, Kemal Koc, a été détenu et torturé par les autorités turques pendant un mois et demi à Ankara, au cours de l'été 1996.

Il s'agit d'une "violation" de l'article 3 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'Homme, interdisant l'usage de la torture, a estimé M. Helveg Petersen, indiquant qu'Ankara avait été prévenu vendredi de l'initiative danoise.

"C'est un rapport du Centre danois de réhabilitation des victimes de la torture qui a établi avec certitude, après des examens approfondis, que Kemal Koc avait subi des tortures physiques et psychiques alors qu'il était détenu par la police turque", a-t-il ajouté.

Agé de 39 ans au moment des faits, Kemal Koc avait été arrêté le 5 juillet par la police d'Ankara, qui l'a accusé de soutenir au Danemark le mouvement séparatiste kurde PKK. Il avait été relâché et expulsé de Turquie à la mi-août.

ajb/fa eua

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Turquie-Kurdes : Création d'un nouveau parti pro-kurde

ANKARA, 3 jan (AFP) - 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 vendredi à Ankara, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Le DKP se situe au "centre" et est "libéral", politique et économiquement, selon son président Serafettin Elci, ancien parlementaire d'origine kurde et ministre des Travaux public des années 70, cité vendredi par la presse turque.

M. Elci est connu depuis longtemps pour ses liens étroits avec le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) du chef kurde irakien Massoud Barzani.

Le DKP, fruit de deux ans d'efforts, réclame la reconnaissance de l'identité kurde au niveau constitutionnel et l'attribution aux Kurdes des droits culturels, notamment celui d'enseignement dans leur langue maternelle, toujours selon M. Elci, cité par la presse.

Vendredi, au ministère de l'Intérieur où il était venu pour présenter

les documents de son parti, M. Elci a déclaré que les membres de son parti étaient "contre la violence et attachés aux méthodes pacifistes et démocratiques", a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Le DKP constitue le deuxième parti pro-kurde de la scène politique turque, après le Parti de la Démocratie du Peuple (HADEP), souvent accusé d'être proche du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

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

US supports Turkish incursion into N. Iraq

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- U.S. State Department, consistent with its previous position in the past, said it understood the reasons why Turkish forces crossed the border into northern Iraq chasing the PKK guerrillas in hot pursuit. State Department regularly refers to the PKK as a "vicious terror organization."

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1997

The Turkish forces "have been provoked by the PKK," said Nicholas Burns, State Department spokesman, referring to the artillery and rocket fire the Turkish troops received from the PKK inside the Turkish border before they chased them into northern Iraq.

Burns said the Turkish government assured Washington that the operation would be "limited in duration and scope" as it happened in the past, and that the Turkish troops "would not be garrisoned" inside northern Iraq.

"The Turkish government also guaranteed that the rights of the civilians would be respected" during pursuit of the PKK.

When asked if Ankara told Washington when the Turkish troops would leave northern Iraq, Burns answered negatively.

Denmark takes Turkey to human rights court

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA/COPENHAGEN- Denmark on Saturday announced it is taking Turkey to the European human rights court over allegations that Turkish police tortured a Danish citizen of Kurdish origin last summer.

Turkish officials last week told the *Turkish Daily News* that the Danish claims were groundless and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller had written a letter to her Danish counterpart rejecting the torture claims.

Turkish officials also said they felt the latest Danish move was

designed to appease the anti-Turkish left-wing parties in Denmark who had supported the government over the passage of the budget.

Denmark claims that Kemal Koç, a naturalized Danish citizen of Kurdish origin, was tortured in Turkey last summer. In the final days of December, a Danish paper had reported that Denmark intended to bring the case before the human rights court. After this announcement, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen said publicly that he could confirm that officials were very seriously mulling over such a decision.

A senior Turkish Foreign Ministry official told the

Turkish Daily News that the Danish government budget passed through parliament on the votes of the left-wing parties, particularly those of the so-called "Unity List" which was actively involved in the Kemal Koç issue.

"Now the Danish government is trying to pay back its debt to left-wing parties by saying they will take Turkey to human rights court. Denmark-Turkey relations are a victim of Danish internal affairs.

We are seriously ready to talk human rights issues with Denmark. We are ready to share their experience in human rights but their way is far from diplomatic courtesy. Serious defamation is not the proper way to improve relations," the same senior official said.

Koç was detained when he tried to enter Turkey on July 8 to attend the funeral of his brother.

He was officially arrested on

charges of attending pro-PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) rallies in Denmark and Germany, and for helping the organization in various ways.

Koç, who was finally released on Aug. 15, 1996 and allowed to travel home pending his trial, alleged, while in Turkey and once again back in Denmark, that he had been tortured by Turkish police.

The Koç case has angered Turkish authorities, who strongly deny allegations of torture and characterize the claim that the Turkish Embassy in Copenhagen is engaging in activities outside its competence as "ridiculous."

These officials also indicate that Koç was detained under stipulations also found in the Danish penal code: legislation which enables a foreign national to be arrested and tried for crimes even if the alleged crime took place in another country.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1997

D-8 states to found global development organization

The D-8 organization is to be established at a summit in Istanbul within six months and be open to all 150 of the world's developing countries

By Metin Demirsar
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Ministers from eight fast growing Islamic countries, who met in Istanbul Saturday, have agreed to form a global organization whose members would include all developing countries, aiming for economic and trade cooperation. The nations represented at the one-day talks — Turkey, Nigeria, Egypt, Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Malaysia — agreed to form the group called the Developing-8 (D8), Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan told a news confer-

ence Saturday.

Prime Minister Erbakan, who chaired the meeting, said that the group would have a permanent secretariat in Istanbul, and "would eventually have 150 of the world's 185 nations as members." Turkey, he said, would finance the first year of operation of the permanent secretariat.

Erbakan said that the heads of state of the eight nations would form the D-8 at a summit meeting in Istanbul to be held within six months.

Reading a joint statement to the press, Erbakan said the proposed D-8 organization

would seek to cooperate in various economic and political fields. He said the organization would work on a basis of: peace instead of conflict; dialogue instead of confrontation; cooperation instead of exploitation; equality instead of discrimination; democracy instead of oppression.

When asked why the founders of the group had been limited to only eight countries, Erbakan said that the smaller number of founders would make the organization more dynamic in the early stages of development.

The Turkish leader said that experts from the eight nations would immediately begin determining areas of cooperation for the organization.

Cooperation, Erbakan said, would take place in the fields of finance, banking, stock markets, privatization of state industries, investments, scientific research, transport and communications, small and medium sized enterprises, free zones, trade promotion, fairs and exhibitions, tourism and energy.

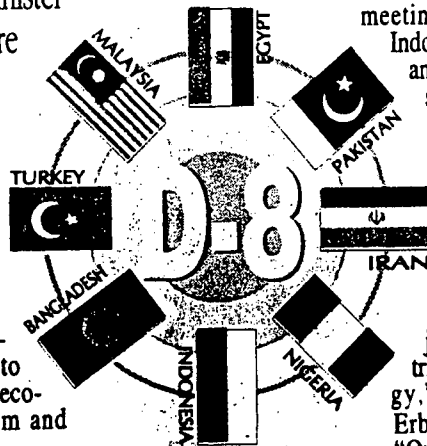
Erkaban: D-8 will benefit all humanity

Next step: Turkish prime minister says the ministers will prepare the groundwork for a presidential summit to be held within three months

By Metin Demirsar
and Akif Beki

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL - Ministers from eight fast growing Islamic countries met in Istanbul Saturday to bolster trade, political ties and economic cooperation among them and prepare for a presidential summit.



The countries represented at the one-day meeting — Turkey, Egypt, Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria, Iran, Bangladesh and Malaysia — want to form the so-called Developing-8 (D-8) group as an alternative to the G-7, an economic bloc formed by the world's most industrialized countries.

"Our countries have come together to find ways to cooperate in many fields, including finance, banking, stock markets, joint investments in third countries and in industry and technology," Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan told the morning session. "Our aim is for this meeting to be profitable not just for these countries, but for all humanity," the 70-year-old Turkish leader declared.

Flanked by Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller and State Minister Abdullah Gül, Erbakan said the D-8 countries would seek "peaceful cooperation, not of cutthroat competition and

Turkish Daily News SUNDAY, JANUARY 5, 1997

coercion; justice, not double standards." He noted that the eight nations did not aim to alter any existing treaties they may have signed, such as Turkey's customs union with the European Union (EU).

But Erbakan's Welfare Party, senior member of the coalition government, has accused the EU and the United States of putting political pressure, and economic sanctions on Islamic states to exploit the developing countries.

Bringing together the eight states is the first stage Erbakan envisages for the creation of an "Islamic

Union," a political and economic alliance bringing together all Muslim nations. Erbakan said the ministers would prepare the groundwork for a presidential summit to be held within three months. Bangladesh, Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, Malaysia and Pakistan were represented by their foreign ministers. The industry minister participated for Nigeria. The deputy foreign minister was present for Egypt.

The Mayor of Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, acting as host, opened the meeting with brief remarks.

Speaking at the same meeting,

Çiller said the eight countries had neither found their rightful place in world trade, nor in trade between one another.

Trade among the eight nations represented less than four percent of their total trade, Çiller noted.

An estimated 740 million people live in the eight countries, among the fastest developing in the world, in an area stretching from the Balkans and northeast Africa across southern Asia to the Pacific Ocean.

"The D-8 does not represent a bloc based on religion, but aims to further world peace," Çiller said.

Section
two

turkish daily news

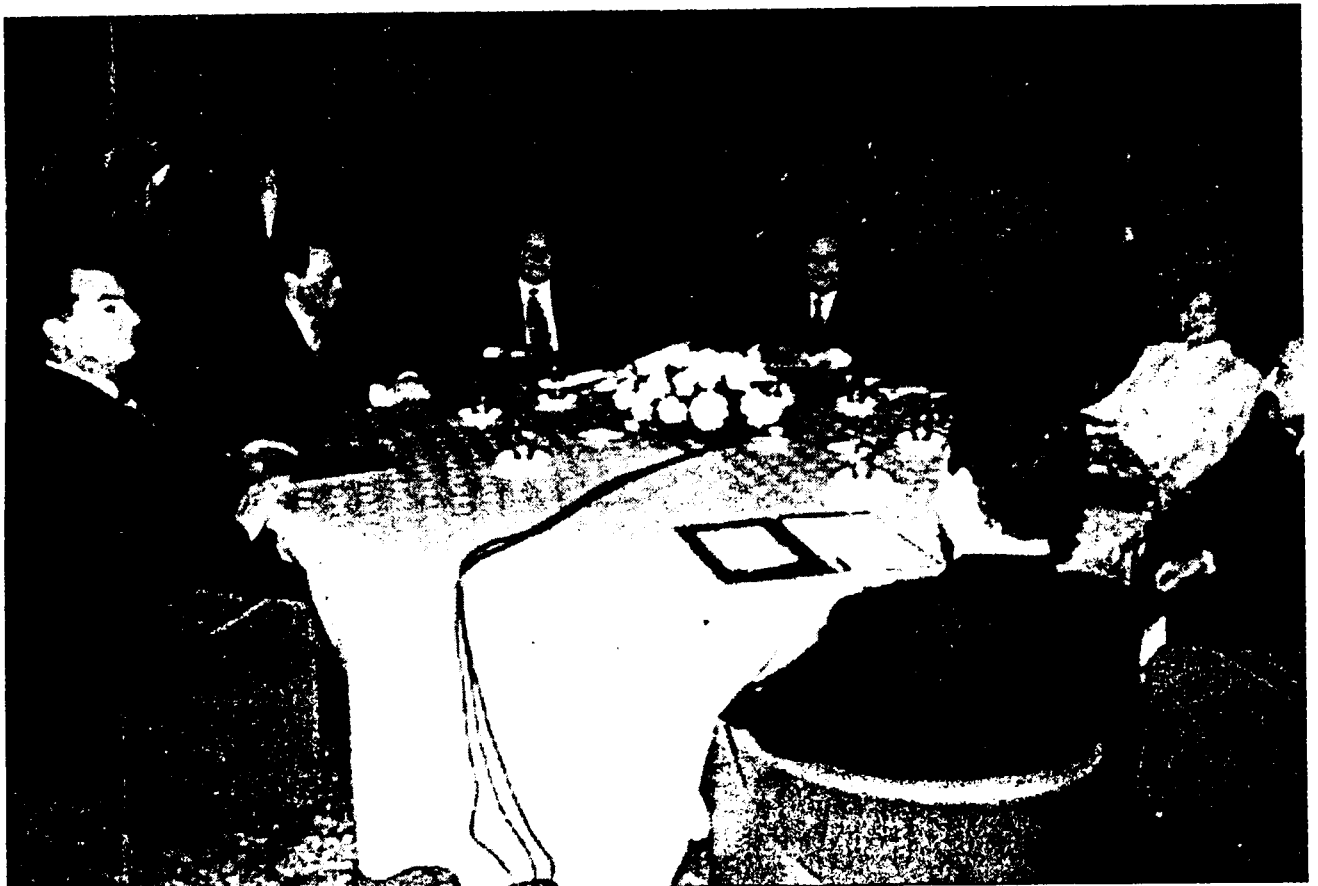
Classified ads, pages B4 & B5

Tuesday, January 7, 1997

CRIME: Susurluk shocks the nation, shakes establishment

Road accident opens Pandora's box

Officials' statements indicate the state has been violating laws to use extralegal powers to fight enemies within and outside Turkey



THE SUSURLUK SUMMIT: Political leaders with groups in Parliament were invited by President Süleyman Demirel to a roundtable summit at the Presidential Palace in Çankaya to discuss the Susurluk scandal.

Turkish Daily News / ANKARA

The traffic accident near the Susurluk district of Balıkesir on November 3, 1996, revealed with no room for doubt that some security officials' not only avoided capturing certain criminals, but actively cooperated with them, and furthermore a number of politicians took part in this cooperation.

In fact, what can be observed from the experience of other countries is that the underworld cannot perform many of its dirty jobs unless it has the cooperation of a certain number of politicians and top security officials.

However, the secret relationships exposed after the Susurluk accident revealed a different kind of scene in Turkey.

According to allegations, certain people wanted by the police in connection with crimes, although never convicted, were used by the state to perform tasks, not for their own benefit but to serve the state.

Such people formed a different kind of "gang," which was involved in many illegal acts such as murders, money launder-

ing, and kidnapping.

According to statements of security and intelligence officials who have testified before the parliamentary Susurluk commission, a special group was established comprising "ultranationalists." This group was involved in ideological terrorism crimes before 1980, and also in retaliatory acts in response to Armenian terrorist activities against Turkish diplomats' and representatives' offices following the 1980 military coup. The group included Abdullah Çath, against whom Interpol had issued a red bulletin. It was used for illegal activities against the state's opponents, both within and outside Turkey, by the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) in parallel with directions given by the military authority ruling the country.

After the Armenian terror stopped, this group was turned over to the General Directorate of Police by MIT and was used in many other activities.

There are claims that some Kurdish businessmen, who smuggle drugs and give a certain share of the proceeds to the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), were killed by the group supported by special operation force members. Others were kidnapped and released after a ransom was paid.

The group members, who were given

identities, passports, arms and money by the police department to undertake their attacks, never broke off their ties with politics and the politicians who supported them and who also had helped to solve some of their "private problems."

The members of the group, whose nationalistic feelings and desire to serve their state were encouraged for use in the attacks, became involved in shady business deals for their own personal benefit, and had tried to lay their hands on casinos used as money laundering centers. It was certain that money laundered in this way was earned from drug smuggling. But just who was smuggling drugs, and whether the "gang" was also involved in this business, or whether it only took a certain percentage, was still unclear.

How many of the claims about this gang, which also include some politicians, are true, and with which police officials it cooperated, and just how much state support it received, will only become clear once the current investigations are concluded.

However, one thing is certain. A deep-rooted scandal has broken out by chance as a result of an accident in Susurluk. Officials' statements indicate the state has been violating laws to use powers, other than official state powers, to fight its enemies within and outside Turkey.

The Susurluk incident

June 22 - The Söylemez Brothers gang was arrested. The gang, with 24 members, was armed like a state within a state. It had prepared to assassinate parliamentarians using special war techniques, had already carried out six murders, and acquired ownership of land and workplaces by forcing people at gunpoint to sign checks or promissory notes. It was found that most of the weapons used by the gang members had once belonged to the army. The gang included 11 policemen, of whom two were police chiefs and two deputy police chiefs; four soldiers, of whom one was a first lieutenant; and a doctor.

July 23 - Following the arrest of the Söylemez Brothers gang, a second gang which included policemen and military members was exposed. Eight policemen including a police director, and four military personnel, including a first lieutenant were taken into custody. The first lieutenant was found to have prepared false weapons licenses and carried out arms smuggling.

July 28 - Ömer Lütfü Topal, owner of the Emperyal Casino, known as the "king of casinos" was shot dead by three people in Sarıyer, Istanbul as he was on his way home in his car. The Kalashnikov automatic rifles used in the attack were found at the scene of the murder.

Aug. 27 - Nurullah Tevfik Ağansoy, one of

the most prominent figures of the underground world, who had made his name with the CivanGate Scandal, was killed in an armed attack in Bebek, Istanbul. It was found that the two people with Ağansoy during the attack were policemen responsible for protecting Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Çiller.

Aug. 28 - Three policemen from the special police team, alleged to be the murderers of Ömer Lütfü Topal, were taken into custody. Following preliminary interrogations, the policemen were delivered by a special crew sent from Ankara upon the instructions of Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar, and were assigned to protect DYP Şanlıurfa Deputy Sedat Bucak.

Sept. 4 - A criminal case was filed against three high ranking police officers, Sedat Demir, Deniz Gökçetin and Erdal Durmaz, who were charged with accepting bribes in return for assistance to the Söylemez Brothers. The prosecutor demanded a minimum prison sentence of 30 years. The court issued arrest warrants against the suspects in absentia.

Sept. 26 - Four policemen assigned to the Hakkari Special Operations Branch Directorate and six village guards who were members of the Yüksekova Gang were exposed. It was found that

the gang members were involved in bribery and had perpetrated many murders and abductions.

Nov. 3 - A Mercedes driven by former Istanbul deputy police chief Hüseyin Kocadağ hit the back of a lorry on the Bursa-Izmir highway near the town of Susurluk in Balıkesir. The accident resulted in the deaths of Kocadağ, ultranationalist Abdullah Çatlı — who was carrying a false ID card in the name of "Mehmet Özbay" and who had been wanted by Interpol for 18 years for involvement in a massacre — and Gonca Us, who was reported to have married Çatlı in a religious ceremony. True Path Party (DYP) Şanlıurfa Deputy Sedat Bucak was injured in the accident. Hasan Gökçe, the driver of the truck, was arrested. Automatic rifles, assassination weapons and hand grenades were found in the Mercedes, which belonged to Bucak. Two silencers hidden in special sections of the car were also found.

Nov. 4 - Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar said Bucak and Kocadağ had apprehended Çatlı and the traffic accident had occurred as they were taking him to Istanbul to deliver him to the police. Meanwhile, the false ID card found in Çatlı's possession in the name of "Özbay" stated that Özbay was an "Expert at the General Security Directorate." The document, which also gave the right to possession of a gun, had been signed by Ağar.

Nov. 5 - Abdullah Çatlı, killed in the Susurluk accident, was buried in Nevşehir. The coffin, draped by the Turkish flag, was placed in its grave by Drej Ali (Ali Yasak), famous in the underground world, during the funeral attended by 5,000 people, including Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, leader of the Grand Unity Party and former chairman of the Idealists (Ülkücü) Club. Former Security Director Hüseyin Kocadağ, also killed in the Susurluk accident, was buried in Ankara. Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar, who did not attend Kocadağ's funeral,

referred to the false ID card found in Çatlı's possession and said, "This is all lies. There is no such ID card." However, as well as the false ID card, it was found that Çatlı had been given a "green passport" only issued for top level state officials.

Nov. 6 - Unlawful links among the trio of police-mafia-politics, which surfaced with the Susurluk accident, were splashed all over the media. It was discovered that

the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) had closely monitored the activities of Abdullah Çatlı and had kept the Prime Ministry informed. However, Çatlı had been protected by police chiefs and had not been apprehended. Meanwhile, it was claimed that DYP Deputy Sedat Bucak and the three victims of the accident had spent the weekend in Kusadasi, and that TL 1 trillion worth of deals relating to casinos owned by Ömer Lütfü Topal, who was killed in Istanbul in July, had been the reason for the trip.

Nov. 7 - Regarding the traffic accident in Susurluk, President Süleyman Demirel said, "This is a very serious event. Continue the investigation no matter how far it goes and be merciless in your judgments, but do not draw conclusions from this for Turkey, do not make Turkey a target, and do not lose your belief."

Nov. 8 - Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar resigned from his post following the demand of DYP Chairwoman Tansu Çiller. Ağar was replaced by DYP Istanbul Deputy Meral Akşener, a close friend of the Çiller family.

Nov. 12 - A request for a parliamentary inquiry into the police-mafia-politics link, presented by four separate political parties, was debated and accepted on the floor. A special commission was set up by Parliament to probe behind the scenes into the various relationships which surfaced with the Susurluk accident. Welfare Party (RP) Deputy Mehmet Elkatmış was elected as chairman of this commission.

Nov. 15 - DYP Şanlıurfa Deputy Sedat Bucak, who was wounded in the Susurluk accident, was treated at the Faculty of Medicine of Istanbul University under the surveillance and protection of members of his tribe. He was secretly discharged from hospital at 3:00 a.m. Mehmet Ağar, speaking for the first time following his resignation said, "No longer will anyone undertake such risks for the state."

Nov. 16 - Motherland Party (ANAP) Chairman Mesut Yılmaz claimed that three guards from the special team who were protecting DYP Deputy Sedat Bucak, the only person who survived the Susurluk accident, had killed Ömer Lütfü Topal, the casino king. Yılmaz claimed there were plans among certain circles who wanted to own the casinos. It was found that three casinos owned by Topal were about to change ownership. Security measures for Yılmaz were reinforced following his allegations.

Nov. 21 - DYP Deputy Sedat Bucak, the only living witness of the Susurluk accident, spoke about the incident and the various relationships on a private TV channel. Bucak said he had met Çatlı under his real identity and was proud of having met him. He claimed that former deputy police director Hüseyin Kocadağ, who was killed in the accident, had not known Çatlı's real identity. He accepted that all the weapons found in his car belonged to him. However, he claimed that the silencers had no connection with him or his friends and were part of a plot.

Nov. 22 - Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan announced he had given an assignment to the head of the Prime Ministry Inspectors Board, the MIT Undersecretariat and the Interior Ministry Inspectors Board.

Nov. 23 - DYP Deputy Sedat Bucak, during an interview with a daily, altered his earlier statement made on a special TV channel. Bucak, who had previously said the weapons found in the car belonged to him, this time denied he owned them. He claimed the weapons had been placed in the car by "certain circles" after the accident.

Nov. 24 - President Süleyman Demirel did not accept Democratic Left Party (DSP) Chairman Bülent Ecevit's proposal that allegations following the Susurluk incident also be investigated by the State Supervisory Council.

Nov. 24 - ANAP Chairman Mesut Yılmaz

was attacked by a former ultranationalist in the lobby of the Hilton Hotel in Budapest, Hungary. It was reported that Yılmaz, whose nose was broken, had been attacked because of his allegations concerning Çatlı. It was discovered that the aggressor, named as Veysel Özerdem, had worked at a textile firm in which Çatlı was a partner.

Nov. 26 - Tansu Çiller said she had not known Abdullah Çatlı, and moreover had not known whether or not he was guilty. She said, "Those who fired a bullet or suffered a bullet for the state are commemorated with respect. They are honorable."

Nov. 28 - ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz claimed a link existed between certain aggressors and some Istanbul people. He announced that he had information and documents regarding the Topal murder. He said those documents were also in the possession of the state and were at the Istanbul Police

Directorate.

Dec. 5 - Interior Minister Meral Akşener announced she had sacked six policemen including Istanbul Police Chief Kemal Yazıcıoğlu, his assistant, the deputy chairman of the Operations Department of the special teams, as well as three special team members whose names were linked to the Topal murder. Giving her reasons for dismissing Yazıcıoğlu, Akşener

said he had failed to provide information and documents which ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz had mentioned in relation to the Topal murder.

Dec. 12 - The Criminology Department of the Gendarmerie General Command determined that Çatlı had worked as an expert at the General Security Directorate, and that the signature on the license granting him the right to bear weapons was that of Mehmet Ağar, who was then the head of General Security. Following this development, the Ankara Chief Prosecutor's Office sent a report to the Justice Ministry requesting the removal of Ağar's parliamentary immunity so a case could be filed against him.

Dec. 13 - The Justice Ministry returned the report to the Ankara Chief Prosecutor's Office on the grounds that the relevant documents were incomplete.

Dec. 16 - Nihat Artıran, the Ankara prosecutor who had prepared the report, reacted strongly

against giving the assignment on the report to the chief prosecutor and quit his post to follow up the issue.

Dec. 17 - It was discovered that the three organizations to which Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan had earlier given the task of investigating the Susurluk incident were still examining the issue, and had not yet launched an investigation.

Dec. 22 - The leaders of the political parties represented in Parliament met at a summit at the Cankaya Presidential Palace under President Süleyman Demirel's chairmanship. During the five-and-a-half-hour meeting, the leaders discussed allegations arising from the Susurluk incident and the position the state should adopt in the face of these developments. Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan said a preliminary report presented to him by MIT mentioned the names of 58 people who came within the framework of the allegations. He said a clear need had emerged to carry out a detailed investigation.

Dec. 24 - The parliamentary Susurluk commission began to hear testimonies from people believed to have information on the issue. Among those who testified at the commission were Mehmet Eymür, head of the MIT Counter-Terrorism Department, former MIT personnel and retired lieutenant colonel Korkut Eken, and founder of the special operation teams and Istanbul Police Chief Kemal Yazıcıoğlu who was removed from his office. When it came to light that Çatlı had been used by the state, both before and after 1980, in activities against the Armenian terrorist organization ASALA, the commission decided to hear testimonies from many more people, including former President Kenan Evren, Chief of General Staff Gen. İsmail Karadayı, Gendarmerie General Commander Gen. Teoman Koman and MIT Undersecretary Sönmez Köksal.

Dec. 31 - Investigations concerning the Susurluk incident still continue. While groups specially set up at MIT, the Prime Ministry Inspectors Board, the Interior Ministry Inspectors Board, the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Istanbul State Security Court (DGM), the Justice Ministry and the Interior Ministry continue their investigations, the Parliamentary investigative commission continues to hear the testimonies of those it deems necessary.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1997

Kinkel says Turkey turning away from Europe

Reuters

BONN- German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said on Tuesday that Turkey was turning towards closer ties with its Moslem neighbours out of deep disappointment with the European Union's failure to help it.

Istanbul's plans to host a summit this year with leaders of eight Moslem countries to boost economic cooperation were not simply the result of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's more pro-Islamic political views, he said.

"Turkey feels that it is wrongly treated by Europe," he told journalists.

Turkey has complained bitterly to the EU that it has received no benefits

from a new customs union with Brussels because Greece has blocked any bid to give it funds linked to the trade deal, he added.

Kinkel, at a news conference reviewing foreign policy issues for 1997, said Islam would become an increasingly important factor in the foreign policy of Moslem countries.

Western states would have to take this into account and not simply see certain Moslem countries as violators of human rights. "There is resentment in the Islamic world," he said.

Denmark: 'torture' application filed yesterday

Turkish sources say the Danish media has started a major campaign around Kemal Koç, who was allegedly tortured while in custody in Turkey

Turkish Daily News

PARIS/STRASBOURG- In a move that might lead to further deterioration in the already sensitive Turco-Danish ties, Denmark yesterday formally applied to the European Court of Human Rights for a ruling on whether Turkey used torture against a Danish citizen of Kurdish origin.

According to Danish sources in Strasbourg, the Danish application is not a political move against Turkey, but "a desire to find out the facts" about whether Kemal Koç had been tortured during the summer of 1996 in Turkey, following his detention by Turkish police on July 5. When Koç returned to Denmark he entered a rehabilitation center for the victims of torture.

"We have asked Turkey for information con-

cerning the case of Koç, who is now a Danish citizen but the reply we received from Turkey was not clear. Now we are pursuing the case further through a neutral international institution," Danish Ambassador to the Council of Europe A. Belling told the TDN.

But senior Turkish diplomatic sources maintain that Turkey has made a very clear response to the Danish communication, saying that Turkish doctors who examined Koç had not found any evidence he was tortured.

While the Danish ambassador said this application "should be interpreted as a judicial case" and any nation could apply to the court to establish the facts in a special case, the Turkish side maintains there are no judicial reasons for the Danish initiative in a case where Koç could have applied individually to the court.

In Copenhagen, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen said he expected the case to be treated as quickly as possible. He added that Ankara had been advised of the Danish initiative, made on the basis of Article 3 of the European Declaration of Human Rights which prohibits torture, last Friday.

The Turkish side, however, says it cannot understand Denmark's present move. In the early

1980s, Denmark had also applied to the court for a ruling against Turkey in respect of general violations of human rights.

"That was a general case and Turkey did not then accept there was a right of individual application," a senior Turkish source said. "But now this is clearly a different and an individual case, and we do not understand why Denmark has chosen to make this application, rather than Koç himself."

Another point raised by the Turks is that Koç's case is currently underway in Turkey's State Security Courts, which means domestic judicial mechanisms have not yet been exhausted. Thus, says the Turkish side, the court may well refuse to admit the case.

Relations between Turkey and Denmark have been sensitive for the past five years, particularly after Turkey put Copenhagen on a blacklist of arms suppliers, which prohibited Danish firms from participating in Turkish defense industry deals. Relations further soured when ERNK, the political wing of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), opened an office in Copenhagen and the Kurdish "parliament in exile" met in Denmark in March 1996.

New steps for northern Iraq peace

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Rival Iraqi Kurdish groups have been in regular contact with the Baghdad government, Kurdish sources confirmed on Tuesday, while a worried United States searches for new initiatives to persuade the Kurds to speed up their peace process.

Mokarram Talabani, a northern Iraqi Kurd and former Communist who is known to be close to the Iraqi regime, met with Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), in Sulaimaniya last week.

Kurdish sources said Mokarram Talabani brought messages from Saddam Hussein to Jalal Talabani, adding that there had been ongoing contact between the PUK and Baghdad.

Mokarram Talabani is in regular contact with both the PUK and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).

PUK sources claimed that missions from the KDP are sent to Baghdad weekly, and pointed out that Massoud Barzani, leader of the KDP, had been to Baghdad twice in December.

Following meetings with Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi deputy prime minister and Taha Yassin Ramadan, vice president of Iraq, Barzani has been accused by other Kurdish groups of being ready to concur with Baghdad on the issue of northern Iraq, even if a solution for autonomy is not found. Barzani, with whom Baghdad had refused to enter into a "solo agreement" because it did not take into account the other representatives of northern Iraq, has also been accused of giving up his push for autonomy.

Kurdish sources closely monitoring the situation believe Saddam Hussein no longer trusts Barzani

because of his continuing contact with the West.

According to observers, the only way Barzani could gain Saddam Hussein's trust would be for the KDP chief to cut off entirely his relationships with the West. Arab sources said Talabani had also sent missions to Baghdad.

PUK not satisfied

The PUK claims that the parties in the northern Iraq peace process are failing to implement the Oct. 31 cease-fire agreement and, accordingly, they are dissatisfied with both Turkish and United States policies.

The Supervisory Peace Monitoring Group has met five times since Nov. 15, and the demarcation map is now ready. The next step is expected to be confidence-building measures, such as the exchange of prisoners.

Kurdish meeting in Washington

A KDP delegation headed by Necirvan Barzani is on its way to Washington for talks with Turkish and U.S. officials, as well as a high-ranking PUK member.

The meetings will be attended by the PUK representative to Washington, Barham Salih. Diplomatic sources have reported that the United States is planning to bring the two Kurdish leaders together again in Ankara, and is laying the groundwork with the Washington meeting.

A senior Turkish Foreign Ministry official responsible for northern Iraq affairs has also traveled to Washington to attend the talks. When questioned about a possible Barzani-Talabani summit, Turkish officials said this would not be surprising.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1997

Are the Turks Turning Their Backs on West?

Ankara Is Frustrated by EU and Greece

By Nicholas Doughty
Reuters

LONDON — Europe and Washington are increasingly worried by signs that Turkey, a vital strategic partner, may be turning away from the West — at a time of growing Greek-Turkish tension over the European Union and the divided island of Cyprus.

Diplomats say a series of meetings will try to assess the risks of a new crisis in southern Europe and just how far

NEWS ANALYSIS

Turkey, frustrated by its relations with the Union, is prepared to change course.

A decision by Greek-ruled Cyprus to buy Russian anti-aircraft missiles has raised the temperature at the worst possible time, as the West pushes for a breakthrough on a United Nations peace plan for the island.

But Turkey, whose troops occupy the northern part of Cyprus, is already bitterly disappointed at the lack of progress in its relations with the 15-nation EU.

Ankara blames Greece for blocking promised EU economic help, although the Union is also concerned about Turkey's record on human rights. Greece can block the aid because it is a member of the EU, while Turkey is not. Both countries are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel of

Germany said Tuesday that Turkey was turning toward closer ties with its Muslim neighbors.

"Turkey feels that it is wrongly treated by Europe," he said. "How can one hold this against Turkey? Ankara has not profited by one penny from the customs union with the EU because Greece puts the brakes on everything."

Some diplomats say Turkey — an important ally for the West because it borders volatile regions of the Caucasus and the Middle East — might block NATO decisions in retaliation, including the alliance's planned expansion into Eastern Europe.

"There has been talk of the Turks taking a really hard line because of what has happened," a European diplomat said. "The warnings have been there before but there may be reason to take it more seriously now."

The two NATO allies have gone to the brink of war several times, most recently last year in a territorial dispute in the Aegean Sea. Four people also died in a series of clashes between the divided communities on Cyprus last year.

The island has been divided since 1974 when Turkey invaded and occupied its northern third after a coup engineered by the military government that ruled Greece at the time.

Washington and its allies have criticized Cyprus for the planned missile purchase, which they see as a threat to the peace hopes.

The United States announced Tues-

day that it would send a senior official to the island this weekend, after U.S. officials meet their European counterparts in The Hague on Friday.

There is much sensitivity over how to tackle the problems between Greece and Turkey, partly because Richard Holbrooke — the U.S. official who negotiated the peace deal for Bosnia-Herzegovina — accused the Europeans last year of failing to deal with them.

European diplomats said the meeting at The Hague would try to ensure that the United States was coordinating its efforts with Europe and continuing to back the UN proposals for Cyprus.

"There is some concern," one envoy said, "that the Americans might be preparing a Holbrooke-style offensive for Cyprus all on their own, and we think that would be counterproductive."

Another meeting, set for Jan. 29 in Rome, will address the broader question of how to handle Turkey.

Ankara has long wanted to join the Union but has received no firm promises, while a string of other countries from the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe have now officially joined the line for membership.

In addition, the Islamic government of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan has made efforts in recent months to improve ties with Iran and other Muslim countries. Last weekend, he sponsored a meeting of ministers from eight Muslim countries, aimed at bolstering economic cooperation among them.

Turkey criticizes Denmark for human rights case

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel told reporters on Wednesday that Denmark's decision to take Turkey to the European Court of Human Rights was not in accordance with international law.

Akbel noted that Turkey recognized the right of an individual to apply to the court but said this was the first time a country was taking another country to the court because

of an individual case. "There is no reasonable explanation for this," Akbel said.

Denmark has alleged that Kemal Koç, a naturalized Danish citizen of Kurdish origin, was tortured in Turkey last summer.

Akbel said that Turkey hoped the court would evaluate the case according to legal principles, not according to political sentiments. The Turkish spokesman also said that Turkey would have to reevaluate its relations with Denmark.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1997

Human rights activists to investigate Lice

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The southeastern town of Lice is soon to become a hub for human rights activists, politicians and journalists who want to check reports that people there are being forced against their will to join a corps of village guards to fight the separatist Kurdish rebels, activist sources said.

The group of investigators will include representatives from the Human Rights Association (IHD), "Together for Peace," another activist group seeking conciliation between the government and the Kurdish separatists, the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP), as well as author Orhan Pamuk. Composer Şanar Yurdutapan, Sedat Yurttaş of HADEP and Reporters without Borders (RSF) representatives Nadire Mater and Ertuğrul Kürkçü will reportedly be accompanied by a large group of journalists.

The 21-person mission will draft a report to be addressed to the Parliament, the General Staff, the Interior Ministry and political party leaders, sources said.

Parliament's human rights commission and the opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) are also preparing to send their own investigators.

IHD president Akın Birdal told the TDN that during their last trip to the town they had discovered that the people in Lice were being forced to join the village guards, a 70,000-strong auxiliary force made up of government-paid Kurdish villagers assisting some 300,000 troops in the Southeast combatting the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

The PKK is waging a separatist war that has claimed over 21,000 lives in the past 12 years of fighting.

Birdal rejected recent accusations by Islamist State Minister Lütfü Esengün that they were instigating unrest in Lice, a town in Diyarbakır province.

The IHD chief accused Hacı İbbaşı, the town's chief official and a former army officer, of using force against the people in the town to "persuade" them to join the militia. He said he

had personally seen the fear in people's eyes.

MPs to visit the town

Bahri Zengin, deputy chairman of the Parliament's Human Rights Commission, told the TDN that they decided to visit the town to investigate the complaints. Zengin said the commission members would visit Lice next week for a firsthand assessment of the situation.

The military is discouraging such visits to the town and a similar delegation was turned back in late December on suspicion that its members were sympathetic to the PKK.

The groups will investigate charges that around 100 men in the region have been forced to become village guards.

Activists have charged that the troops threatened to kill the men who refused to join the militia and to raze the town. They said that 110 people were detained for two days, then sent home with guns as members of the militia.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1997

EU envoy says Turkey's human rights image affects exports

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The European Union's (EU) envoy to Turkey, Ambassador Michael Lake, declared that the human rights issue has had a negative impact on the export of Turkish goods, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Lake opened the fifth European Commission Local Information Office at Kayseri on Tuesday. Speaking at a press conference in Kayseri on Wednesday, Lake said that it would be hard for Turkey to enter the EU if human rights violations continue in this country.

Lake also noted that the trade volume between Turkey and the EU increases every year and added that although the rates were in favor of Turkey in the first year of the customs union the situation might reverse itself this year. "Companies in EU countries make 60 percent of their investments using credits from their governments. However, this rate for the Turkish private sector is 15 percent due to the budget deficit. The budget should be balanced immediately. In particular, infrastructure investments in Turkey have been the same for 15 years. Investments in the infrastructure should be increased," said Lake.

Lake said that the EU supported Turkey's territorial integrity but said that the fight against separatists in the Southeast could not be solved solely through military measures and that civil measures should also be pursued. Lake indicated that the EU was ready to help Turkey on this issue.

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Point sur la situation en Turquie

Les révélations de Mesut Yilmaz

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-terreur 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. Balbasin décrit dans le même Hurriyet 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, préci-

se-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 Hurriyet 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 Hurriyet 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 que 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 Hurriyet du 20 décembre: "cette fois-ci, c'est aux forces non armées de résoudre la crise!"

Selon un bilan officiel, la guerre du Kurdistan a fait 3460 morts en 1996

Selon un bilan établi par la Super-préfecture des provinces kurdes, cité par le quotidien Hurriyet 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. Les forces turques auraient, à l'en croire ce bilan, saisi 2006 fusils, 726 revolvers, 2478 grenades, 130 lance-roquettes et 254 329 balles.

Copenhague poursuit Ankara devant la Cour européenne des Droits de l'homme

A la suite de l'arrestation d'un citoyen danois d'origine kurde, Kemal Koc, pendant un mois et demi, suivie de l'arrestation et de l'expulsion d'un député danois qui avait assisté au procès de celui-ci, le Danemark a décidé de poursuivre la Turquie devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Selon Copenhague, le ressortissant danois, Kemal Koc, a été détenu et torturé par les autorités turques durant son arrestation, au cours de l'été 1996. Le ministre danois des Affaires étrangères, Niels Helveg Petersen, a précisé à la presse que cette démarche serait effectuée mardi à Strasbourg, siège de la Cour. Il espère une instruction rapide de ce dossier. Il s'agit d'une violation de l'article 3 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'Homme, interdisant

l'usage de la torture, a estimé M. Helveg Petersen, indiquant qu'Ankara avait été prévenu vendredi, 3 janvier 1997, de la démarche danoise.

La Turquie achète des missiles Work Silk à la Chine et 30 hélicoptères à la France

Les dépenses militaires semblent être le seul secteur épargné par la grave crise économique que traverse la Turquie. Ainsi, alors que le ministre de la défense, Turhan Tayan, annonce le 19 décembre la décision du gouvernement d'accorder, à compter du 1er janvier 1997, une augmentation de 72% des salaires des officiers et des sous-officiers, le quotidien Milliyet, révèle dans son numéro du 20 décembre un accord turco-chinois "secret" portant sur l'acquisition par l'armée turque de 6 batteries de missiles chinois Worm Silk Ws-1 d'une portée de

80 km. La première batterie, comportant 19 WS-1 sera livrée par Pékin "assez rapidement".

Les 5 batteries restantes seront produites sur place, en Turquie. L'ensemble de la transaction porte sur \$ 150 millions. Ensuite, un projet portant sur le développement d'un missile d'une portée de 150 km sera mis en oeuvre par Ankara qui est également en pourparlers avec la Belgique et les Pays-Bas pour l'acquisition de missiles Hawk qui ne servent plus dans les armées de ces deux pays et avec la firme française Thomson-CSF pour l'achat de 18 missiles Improved Hawk pour un montant de \$ 160 millions. Enfin, les négociations turco-françaises sur la vente d'hélicoptères à usage militaire sont sur le point d'aboutir. Un accord pourrait être signé entre Eurocopter et le gouvernement turc "dans les jours qui viennent". Selon cet accord "fin prêt", Eurocopter vendrait dans un premier temps 30 hélicoptères Cougar qui seront assemblés en Turquie. Cette première livraison devrait être suivie d'une seconde dont l'ampleur n'est pas encore indiquée.

Section
two

turkish daily news

Classified ads, pages B4 & B5

Friday, January 10, 1997

Turkey's Human Rights Record: The Year's Twilight Zone

By Zafer F. Yörük
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- According to the monthly reports of the Human Rights Association (IHD), Turkey's first year in the European Union's customs union witnessed repetition of all the usual human rights violations.

The depressing, numbingly familiar litany includes 70 deaths and 46 injuries in so-called "unresolved murders", summary executions and deaths in custody claiming 179 lives, 326 people claiming to have been tortured in police custody, 107 non-government organizations, newspapers and publishers being shut down and all the editions of 183 different issues of various newspapers and magazines seized, 379 reporters and journalists arrested, sentenced to a total 166 years and 8 months imprisonment and fined over TL 10 billion.

The most infamous of these convictions was arguably that of Yaşar Kemal on 7 March by the Istanbul State Security Court (DGM) which imposed a 20-month suspended jail sentence on the Nobel-nominated author for two essays he wrote on the Kurdish issue. This conviction came as a bombshell for those who monitor human rights condition in Turkey.

The year 1996 saw the worst violence towards prisoners since the military rule of the early 1980s, according to IHD officials.

The wave of hunger strikes in prisons in July ended with the government's partial compromise only after claiming 12 lives. Four prisoners died after the strikes by being denied proper treatment.

Amnesty International stated that children between 14 and 16, charged with involvement in illegal organizations, were subjected to sexual and physical torture during their detention, allegations documented by State Hospital reports.

Minister of Justice Şevket Kazan said "The only thing Europe does is criticize Turkey, but from now on we will criticize Europe."

In December 1995 then-Prime Minister Tansu Çiller had announced a list of legal relaxations, in particular for freedom of expression, which led to the drop of charges of "terrorism through writing" against Kemal by the same court for the same essays. This acquittal may have influenced the European Union's (EU) decision to admit Turkey to customs union.

Journalist İrfan Ağdaş was killed this year, but the year's most infamous assault on men of letters was certainly the death in police custody of journalist Metin Göktepe on 9 January. Göktepe was arrested with around 1,000 people when covering a demonstration in Istanbul for the leftist publication Evrensel. His murder raised outrage from all sectors of the press and media, but as of yet no arrests have been made, and the "investigation" of 48 police officers charged with killing Göktepe proceeds at a snail's pace.

Another stain on 1996 in Turkey was the torture of children in Manisa, in western Turkey. The affair received widespread international attention, and on 17 April Amnesty International declared that children between the age of 14 and 16 are held on charges of involvement in illegal organizations, and while in custody are subjected to sexual and physical torture, allegations documented by State Hospital reports. The

"trial" of the police officers accused moves at glacial speed.

The only remarkable difference between this overloaded balance sheet and that of the previous year is the decrease in the number of villages burned and emptied by government security forces in the Southeast, from 243 to 67. "Because there are no villages left to be burned down," an IHD official commented wryly.

Prisons terrorized

The year began with a "security operation" at Uskudar Prison on 4 January, which led to the deaths of four prisoners as a result of being beaten on the head.

In fact, 1996 saw the worst violence towards prisoners since the military rule days of the early 1980s, according to IHD officials. Between January and November 1996, 21 prisoners were beaten to death by

prison authorities, and 10 prisoners were killed by other inmates.

The wave of hunger strikes in prisons in July ended with the government's partial compromise, but only after claiming 12 lives. Four prisoners died after the strikes by being denied proper treatment.

The worst prison incident was a gendarmerie storming of Diyarbakır Prison on September 24, which left 10 prisoners dead and 24 seriously injured. Authorities reported the fatalities as casualties during the suppression of a prison riot, but a recent report by the Parliamentary Human Rights Committee established that there was no riot sufficient to warrant a military operation, during which "prisoners were deliberately beaten on their heads by iron bars and truncheons."

"Disappearances" in custody and "Saturday Mothers"

Claims of people disappearing while in official cus-

The more gangs, the less human rights

By Gül Demir
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Turkey concluded 1996 with very low grades in human rights. Reports by both national and international institutions backed with unimpeachable documentation that Turkey's human rights record was among the worst.

Moreover, such data appeared with terrifying figures in many prestigious western institutions' reports; they were not merely the work of Turkey's nongovernmental organizations — declared "enemies of the nation" by those styling themselves "patriots" and who think they can govern Turkey by going on about "flag" and "call for prayers", the same ones primarily responsible for the human rights abuses.

According to reports by the United Nations and European Human Rights Commission there are over 20,000 "disappeared" people in Turkey. The number of registered, politically motivated "disappearances" amounts to 420. As it was revealed from the official applications given to the Human Rights Association (IHD) and Human Rights Foundation (IHV), 203 of these disappeared in 1996.

Most disappearances occurred, as in the previous years, in the Southeast's Emergency Rule Region. 1996's somber tally ranks second behind the 299 missing after 1994, and the figures appear to be gaining momentum since the turn of the decade. According to the report of Human Rights Foundation, systematic torture continued all through 1996 and those very few torturers whose identities were discovered have always come under the protective umbrella of laws and political power. The torturers chose from a wide variety of methods like "electric shocks, hanging, rape, spraying cold water, depriving of food, threats in cells, stopping from urination and defecation, verbal insults, sexual abuse, falaka (traditional Turkish beating on the feet's soles), death threats, making the victim stand on wet and cold surfaces, squeezing testicles, plucking hairs and beards, pulling out fingernails, threats directed to relatives, preventing breathing, false execution..."

Hundreds of such practitioners continued their grim work without worry, and in the odd incident that found reflection on the media, the torturers were either acquitted after show trials or simply forgotten by the continuous transfer of their trial from one city to another.

Freedom of Information

A declaration by the Press Council proved that the freedom of information, one of the principal indicators of a country's human rights condition, was in a dismal state in Turkey as two journalists were killed in 1996. Metin Goktepe was arrested by the police forces on December 8, 1996 while he was doing his job and was beaten to death in front of many witnesses. The trial of the Goktepe murder suspects has made the intercity journey in its inexorable march to oblivion, as in the case of officials' torture trials.

Attempts to silence the press were not limited to murders: 7 journalists were subjected to armed attacks, one journalist was kidnapped, 135 were taken into custody for various reasons. 11 were imprisoned while all the editions of 109 publications were seized by the police, and 40 publications were shut down. Recently the government has been in search of new restrictive measures for the press. It seems that the government will continue to look for a convenient platform for these regulations in 1997.

Similar incidents painted as gloomy a picture in 1996. Police truncheons which had worked so hard with other demonstrations were hidden out of sight when faced with religious demonstrators. Workers, public workers, peasants, students, "Saturday Mothers", women, the elderly and children, all took their share from the police beatings.

Summary executions continued. Many evidences were revealed concerning the so called "mysterious" murders, proving that gangs within the state were responsible for them. But the efforts to cover up such evidence also followed. Meanwhile, such murders continued without losing momentum, primarily in the Emergency Rule

Region. Read in the pages of our newspaper other indicators detailing the record of human rights violations in 1996. I think that it would be enough without going into more details, to mention one hope that was transferred from 1996 to 1997. 1996 bequeathed to 1997 the chance to ameliorate the bad heritage of human rights taken from the previous years. A traffic accident that can be considered as a "miraculous accident", if it was at all by chance, brought to the surface the reality of gangs consisting of politicians, police, mafia and ultra-right wing (Ulku) militants, which had been tried to be brought to the agenda several times by the human rights activists before but was continuously denied by the authorities. Consequently, for the first time, an opportunity to bring to the daylight the real responsibilities of human rights violations has emerged. It was then understood that those gangs of "patriots" have contributed well enough to the increase of human rights violations in Turkey, by activities like murder, sabotage, kidnapping, summary execution, drug trafficking and extortion. The future of the gangs who were seriously injured after crashing into the Susurluk lorry is of great importance for both the year 1997 and following. If the gangs are resuscitated through posthumous efforts, as noted in the recent days and regain their health, this will mean that they will definitely recommence their activities following a period of rehabilitation; which, in turn, will mean that this year wouldn't be different from the last regarding human rights.

But if the gangs will come out of intensive care after being through heavy operations in which they will lose some of their organs, then some improvement could be expected in Turkey's human rights record.

You think that we forgot the possibility of death of the gangs at the end of the intensive care... But no, we did not. The problem is that such a possibility is not on the horizon for the moment. Besides, not all the gangs underwent an accident. Even if this gang is dead, there are still many more in Turkey.

today" totaled 208 between January and November 1996. Human rights activists interpret this figure as a dramatic increase, given that the total number of the "disappeared" in custody between 1980 and 1996 is 420. The heroic vigil of the "Saturday Mothers," peopled by families of the missing, who continued their silent sit in protest every Saturday in Istanbul's Galatasaray Square for 86 weeks to date, received a lot of attention from press and media worldwide. Istanbul police's attack on mothers, labor and political activists and journalists in one of the sit-in protests when the United Nations Habitat II Conference was being held in Istanbul vindicated the international interest. Some Habitat II delegates were also injured in the attack. Amnesty International replied the determination of "Saturday Mothers" by launching an international campaign in November to highlight the human rights violations particularly the "disappearances" in Turkey.

Southeast: the bleeding wound

The year 1996 began with some hope for a solution to the Kurdish problem; at the time the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) was holding a unilateral cease fire in the southeast.

On 16 January, the press reported that the PKK ambushed a minibus in Guclukonak in the Southeast, killing 11 people, thus ending the unilateral cease fire. The case though was later investigated by an unofficial delegation led by the "Let's Come Together for Peace" initiative, who established that the security forces were responsible for the ambush. The delegation and the families of the victims of the incident demanded the prosecution of the Chief of Staff for murder.

No legal action was taken against the Chief of Prosecution; on the contrary the head of the initiative, Şanar Yurdatan, was questioned by the Prosecutor's office with charges of "undermining the Chief of Staff and Security Forces." Yurdatan would be arrested later in the year to be prosecuted for appearing on the Kurdish TV channel Med TV. The PKK cease fire, which was never recognized by the government did not last long and in the year 1996, the conflict in the southeast claimed 2,750 lives from both sides, including the PKK guerillas and Turkish security forces while leaving 118 civilians dead as a result of the atrocities committed by one side or the other of the same conflict. The US based human rights organization Human Rights Watch (HRW) produced reports on the use of arms against civilians in the southeast Turkey, which would ironically lead to the trial of the publisher and the translator of the reports in Turkey.

The campaign by international human rights organizations, HRW and Amnesty International (AI), against the maltreatment of civilians by the authorities particularly in the southeast Turkey led the European Parliament on 18 September to suspend financial aids to Turkey in defiance of the EU protocol. This move led Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Tansu Çiller to announce immediately a new parliamentary bill of democratization of Turkish Penal Code and the Code of Penal Procedures.

There are a number of cases heard in the European Court of Human Rights, among them that of the southeastern villagers of Yesilyurt which resulted on 16 September 1996 with the conviction of the Turkish government to pay compensation to the villagers. The complain of the Yesilyurt villagers was that an army

commander forced them in 1987 to eat excrement.

Discourses of violation

"Eat excrement and your whole life will change!": Milliyet, a Turkish daily, reported the European Human Rights Court's conviction of the government to pay billions of TL to the Yesilyurt villagers, with this "funny" headline. In fact, as the Turkish media was expressing outrage with this "foreign" intervention, the lawyer of Yesilyurt villagers Hasip Kaplan was trying to raise his voice against the increasing persecution by the security forces in the region against Yesilyurt villagers, including the subsequent arrests and torture of the village headman in the local gendarmerie station.

The official argument against European bodies portraying their criticism as "foreign intervention into Turkey's domestic affairs" is backed and encouraged by most sectors of the Turkish media who, in every opportunity present international criticism as "collaboration with the PKK."

As a typical demonstration of the Turkey's official attitude towards European criticism, British daily Financial Times quoted on 20 December Turkey's Minister of Justice Şevket Kazan's claim that his government was now monitoring human rights abuses in Europe, in order to counter their allegations against Turkey. Kazan said, "the only thing Europe does is criticizing Turkey but from now on we will criticize Europe."

As an example how Europe violates human rights, Justice Minister said teenagers from violent homes can be separated from their families until they reached 18. "During this time they are not allowed to see their parents. There are about 600 cases of this."

Kazan also said muslims are not allowed to practice their religion freely in Europe. He said churches in Turkey are allowed to ring their bells but European mosques cannot use loudspeakers to broadcast their call for prayers. Kazan also accused Europe of being behind the PKK by saying: "Where does PKK obtain their weapons? Where does their money come from? Europe is behind the PKK. From now on we will demand some answers."

Consequently, the general belief of the Turkish public towards the international conventions that Turkey signed still seems to be that "our government should not be told what to do by foreigners." And no official or unofficial bodies influential over public mentality seem to be concerned with informing the public on the European and United Nations conventions on human rights, and the Turkish government's obligations.

The result is that one can still witness demonstrations in Turkey held with the slogan of "down with human rights," as the recent demonstration participated exclusively by the plain clothed police officers in the disturbed southeastern town of Lice on 30 December. Certainly, a turn of the year would not automatically improve Turkey's human rights records.

But to expect a gradual change in the beliefs of Turkish public in parallel to Turkey's inclusion into customs union towards what the concepts of human rights and Europe represent would not be unfair. This probably is the essential opportunity that Turkey missed in the year 1996. Although there are no optimistic indications, "there is always a space for hope in anything that is not dead" as the old Turkish saying goes.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1997

Iraqi Kurdish groups due in Ankara for meeting next week

Pelletreau's meeting with Iraqi Kurds in Washington stretches to a second day as KDP and PUK are said to be miles apart on "self-government"

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A third meeting co-chaired by Turkey and the United States and aimed at peace and stability in northern Iraq is expected to be held in Ankara next week.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs, Robert Pelletreau, is due to arrive in Ankara on Monday for the meeting.

The two Iraqi Kurdish factions, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), which have fought each other on and off since 1994 and had agreed on a cease-fire recently, met with Pelletreau on Thursday in order to continue discussing the cease-fire issues which they started to negotiate in Ankara in late October.

The TDN learned that, due to the number of items on the agenda, the meeting, originally billed for one day, had now stretched to Friday as well.

Turkey is represented at the meeting by Evvet Tezcan of the Turkish Foreign Ministry. Britain also had diplomats in attendance.

The meeting in Ankara next week is designed to follow up the topics discussed in Washington this week. It is not certain who will lead the rival Iraqi KDP and PUK delegations at the Ankara talks.

Turkey reportedly wants KDP leader Massoud

Barzani and PUK leader Jalal Talabani to come to Ankara to lead their respective delegations at the talks.

Pelletreau, who will soon be retiring from the U.S. foreign service, met with KDP and PUK delegations separately in Washington on Friday. First in was the KDP delegation consisting of Nerchivan Barzani, Hosyer Zabari, the KDP's London representative, and Farhat Barzani, the KDP's Washington representative.

After the KDP delegation left the premises, Barham Salih, a member of the PUK Leadership Council and Washington representative, arrived.

The PUK office in Washington reported that Bakhtiar Zuhdi was another PUK official involved in the talks with U.S., Turkish and British officials at the State Department.

Assisting The State Department refrained from describing the Turkish and British roles as full participation. Spokesman Nicholas Burns said Pelletreau was "assisted" by the Turks and the British in these "preliminary negotiations."

Concerning a follow-up in Ankara at the end of this month with Barzani and Talabani, Burns did not sound too encouraging. "What happens after these negotiations — do they move to a higher level with Talabani and Barzani — we'll just have to see," he said.

After the meeting, those who participated in the negotiations proved to be tight-lipped about the details of the talks.

Concerning the meeting's agenda, the Department spokesman said, "We're talking here about efforts to consolidate the cease-fire, main-

tain stability in northern Iraq, make sure that Saddam's influence is severely limited, and promote some kind of reconciliation between these two Kurdish groups, as well as the Assyrians and other minority communities of northern Iraq."

Two main issues Informed TDN sources claimed the two top issues the PUK and KDP representatives are grappling with are:

- 1) the sharing of border-transit revenues which are currently controlled by the KDP; and
- 2) the future form of Iraqi-Kurdish "self-government" in northern Iraq.

Currently there is a Baghdad-controlled and KDP-run administrative body in Erbil.

The city was wrestled back from PUK control in September with a drive launched by the KDP and Baghdad forces to the north of the 36th parallel.

TDN sources said the KDP was not in a mood to share with the PUK their control of the Erbil "government" in any form.

A PUK official in Washington said the PUK wanted "a comprehensive political settlement to revive the institutions of self-government in the region and to continue to protect the people of Iraqi Kurdistan against any possible aggression from Baghdad."

Further issues concerning Turkey are the possibility of establishing a security zone on the Iraqi side of the Iraqi-Turkish border, and the participation of Iraqi Turkmen in a regional "peace-keeping force" that might be established in northern Iraq.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1997

Deputies to visit Lice on Tuesday

Tartan says village guard system has to be abolished

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The parliamentary Human Rights Commission is to visit Lice on the Jan. 14 to look into allegations that people are being forced against their will to join a corps of village guards, Hakan Tartan, a Democratic Left Party deputy and spokesman for the commission said on Friday.

Speaking to the TDN, Tartan pointed out that the inhabitants of the town had serious complaints about the village guard system, and said the system had major flaws and alternatives must be found to fight the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Deputies Musa Okçu, Demir Berberoğlu, Süha Tanık and Sabri Ergül are also to take part in the trip.

Meanwhile, a group of human rights activists have been refused permission by the security forces to visit Lice to look into the allegations.

The group was to include representatives from the Human Rights Association (İHD); "Together for Peace," another activist group seeking conciliation between the government and the Kurdish separatists; the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP), as well as author Orhan Pamuk.

In order to circumvent the ban, the group has asked the parliamentary commission if they could join them

on their tour to Lice, according to İHD Chairman Akın Birdal. Birdal and human rights activist Şanar Yurdatan also claimed the state was attempting to cover up what was really going on in Lice.

Another mission, organized by HADEP, is to meet Necati Bilican, the governor for the Emergency Rule Region, to be briefed about the latest situation in Lice and the Southeast in general, according to HADEP Chairman Güven Özata.

Lice: A town 90 km from Diyarbakır. According to the data provided by 1990 census, the town has a population of 11,639 and when the inhabitants of villages are included, 47,088. Since 1992, most of the people living in the region of Lice have been forced to migrate because most of the villages have been burnt down, according to data published by the İHD.

•Le Monde dimanche 12 - lundi 13 janvier 1997 •Le Monde dimanche 12 - lundi 13 janvier 1997

Un éditeur turc condamné à rester en prison au terme de sa peine

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Les portails d'acier de la prison d'Ankara sont restés fermés à l'issue de la peine purgée par Unsul Öztürk. L'éditeur, dont trente-six livres ont été saisis et contre lequel soixante-deux procès ont été

ouverts, s'est rebellé contre son sort. Il a refusé de payer l'amende de 1,1 milliard de livres turques (environ 53 000 francs) qui lui avait été infligée dans le cadre de sa condamnation. La somme a donc été convertie en jours de prison, à raison de 10 000 livres (moins de 50 centimes) par jour, ce qui devrait prolonger son incarcération jusqu'en 2001.

M^{me} Zarakoglu, elle aussi éditeur cumulant les condamnations et qui doit son séjour actuel à la prison de Bayrampasa, à Istanbul, à la publication d'un ouvrage qui n'a pas plu aux autorités, a annoncé à son tour qu'elle refuserait de payer son amende et risque donc de voir son incarcération se pro-

longer. Aysenur Zarakoglu est une habituée des tribunaux. Le 17 janvier, elle comparaitra dans le cadre d'un autre procès qui lui a été intenté pour la traduction et la publication d'un rapport préparé par l'organisation des droits de l'homme Human Rights Watch sur les transferts d'armes et violations des droits de la guerre.

Ces cas ne sont pas isolés. Chaque année, des dizaines de journalistes, d'écrivains et d'éditeurs comparaissent devant les tribunaux de la sûreté de l'Etat pour avoir exprimé, écrit ou publié des vues qui vont à l'encontre de l'idéologie officielle. Les ouvrages sur la question kurde sont une cible fréquente, comme ceux du

sociologue İsmail Besikçi, qui est lui aussi un « récidiviste ».

En janvier 1996, le journaliste Metin Goktepe, arrêté alors qu'il « couvrait » les funérailles de prisonniers décédés au cours d'émeutes, avait été retrouvé mort quelques heures plus tard. Sous la pression de la presse et de l'opinion publique, les autorités avaient été forcées d'admettre qu'il avait été battu. Quarante-huit policiers avaient été inculpés mais leur procès a été déplacé à plusieurs reprises et, un an exactement après les faits, ils n'ont toujours pas été jugés.

Nicole Pope

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1997

Cindoruk: 'Çiller must be cleared'

Hüsamettin Cindoruk stated that the DTP was founded as a reaction to Çiller and her despotism, and claims that it is even unknown when and why the ministers and parliament members are chosen. According to Cindoruk, the DYP and Refah have become a family company

By Jan Paçal

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The Democratic Turkey Party (DTP) commenced its political life January 7 with a celebration in Ankara. A group of former True Path Party (DYP) deputies formed the DTP, said by some to be an extension of the former Democrat Party (DP), the first party to take power in 1950 following Turkey's transition to multiparty system.

January 7 is, auspiciously, the anniversary of the foundation of the DP, and the TDN interviewed the leader of the new party, Hüsamettin Cindoruk, founder and the one-time leader of the DYP.

TDN- In Turkey's panorama, the politics are getting dark. Do you think you will be able to change some things with your party?

CINDORUK- Not only some things, but we believe we will change many things. Here, all our members had a party, but they saw they could not get any result with their parties. Democracy within

parties is forgotten. And one of the reason for the political obstruction is this crisis within parties. Parties are directed by families. Democracy within parties is completely forgotten. The selection of the members, modification of the organization chairmen are being done with the orders of the party leader. This cannot be called democracy. People who are with us today represent the reaction to this order. In a democracy, if the parties are not working well, the government of the country cannot be good. First of all the political parties should be democratic within themselves. What we are doing now is right and the other parties will imitate us. We would form such a good party that we would be able to show that a party can be directed by democracy in Turkey. The chairman or the general council members can change, but the organ that will decide would be the members. We are building a party that will be dominated by the members. This is like that all over the world. The membership is sacred.

TDN- Did all this formation came at the agenda as a reaction against Tansu Çiller and her political prototype?

CINDORUK- Completely...Not even a reaction, but we are forming this party by totally neglecting them. There are two big zeros today. One of them is Refah and the other is DYP. Both DYP and Refah are under the hegemony of their leaders.

An RP parliament member can say, "We make congresses just because it is demanded by law, Hodja determines everything and we do what he says". To say "We do all that Hodja says" means "all that God says". Is Hodja God? This is why RP is antidemocratic as well as DYP. The executive board members are selected by Mr. and Mrs. Çiller. They are forming the cabinet, but they lack capacity. Why, who and where someone is nominated as parliament member is not determined. This has no criteria and Turkey is in this position.

TDN- If the situation is as bad as this, why did you wait till now?

CINDORUK- We waited for the development of the

event. Politics can be considered as a process of time. If we tried to do this one year ago, nothing would be as clear as today when RP mayors can take decisions by themselves and these decisions can influence Turkey. We witnessed so many times this kind of events and they have accumulated. This accumulations gave way to the foundation of our party.

TDN- Did Susurluk event have an effect on your foundation?

CINDORUK- I think that Susurluk event is an indicator, a result. But we have to question the state faults that gave way to this event. Can the state create a another state within itself? Can other security forces than the state securities? In which part of the world can you see that? What we have said proved its truth in time.

TDN- Till now none of our prime ministers was called as "So and So And His Gang". Tansu Çiller was the first one. How do you evaluate the recent situations of the politics?

CINDORUK- Till now none of the party leaders nor prime ministers were mentioned in this way because they didn't have any gang. This shows that Çiller has a gang.

TDN- Can Turkey tolerate this?

CINDORUK- It cannot, as you see. This is the most important part of the movement of the people; they show a reaction. Those who come here today are a part of this movement. This shows that despotism is rejected.

TDN- Can we say there is a government?

CINDORUK- Yes, there is but it won't live long. It will complete its life and go.

TDN- What can you say for the future.

CINDORUK- Today DYP has lost its function. In our party, we propose short term targets as well as long term and permanent ones. The pace of this party is very simple when compared to those. There are simple barriers, they make one step and get lost. Difficulties start from this time on. How we will be able to get through the state crisis, how can we repair Turkey, how can we change the recent state system of Turkey, how can we ameliorate it. This is what we have in our program. We propose all these for discussion and we don't claim that all we say is true. We just call people to discuss.

TDN- What would be the attitude of Tansu Çiller if she loses her chair?

CINDORUK- If she loses her chair, she will perhaps sit on a stool. I am not interested in Tansu Çiller at all. What interests me is the future of Turkey. Çiller is only a detail. I told she can come if she get cleaned. She can come if she gives all she possess to Mehmetcik Foundation. We don't say anything about her, but can a prime minister have possessions abroad? Çiller cannot survive in Turkey's political life unless she gives account about how and when she transferred this money abroad.

TDN- Will the government be able to solve Susurluk event and its results?

CINDORUK- The police part can be solved. But beyond the police, the important thing is how such an organization, such a band, such an event could take place in front of the police. The government cannot solve this, it cannot. If its reasons are not abolished, new Susurluk events will take place. And nobody will be aware of this. Both of them are dangerous. The media can be hindered to reach the truth. What we are asking for a radical resolution of the events.

Turkish Daily News

MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1997

The slow march of peace in northern Iraq

PUK satisfied with the peace implementation process

PUK representative accuses Baghdad of attempting to 'arabize' northern Iraq through the migration of Arabs into the Kurdish-dominated north

By Saadet Oruç

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Although the process of implementing peace is going slow, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) are pleased with what progress has been made, according to a high-level PUK representative.

With Talabani due to arrive in Ankara this week, most probably on Tuesday, for more peace talks, Tofiq told the TDN that if Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) leader Massoud Barzani also came to Ankara, Talabani would certainly meet him.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau has invited Talabani, Barzani, Turkmen representatives as well Turkish and British officials to Ankara for a continuation of talks which started last year aimed at bringing

the warring northern Iraqi parties to peace.

Talabani himself will not attend the talks, but will meet separately with British, U.S. and Turkish officials.

Barzani has not yet confirmed if he will come to Ankara.

Asked whether the PUK was satisfied with the Ankara process Tofiq said although the process of implementation was going very slowly, they were satisfied with the Oct. 30 agreement (to implement a cease-fire).

Tofiq said although he did not know the exact agenda of the talks, he expected the topics of confidence building measures, cease-fire monitoring groups, and the clarification of areas of control, would all crop up.

Even though the KDP was not satisfied with the current plans for demarcation, Tofiq said he expected the issue to be clarified after detailed discussions.

At the talks, the PUK delegation will consist of Adnan Mufti, Shazad Saib and will be headed by Tofiq. The KDP representatives will include Safeen Dizayee and Sami Abdurrahman.

No negotiations with Baghdad

Questioned whether the PUK had spoken to the Baghdad administration, Tofiq said the only way his party would speak to the Iraqi government was under the framework of U.N. Security

Council Resolution 688.

Tofiq accused the Hussein regime of attempting to "arabize" northern Iraq through the migration of Arabs into the Kurdish-dominated north, in particular the provinces of Makhmour, Akra and Shean.

According to Tofiq, Baghdad wants the KDP to end all contact with the West and that this could be seen in the way it had demanded that the port of Ibrahim Halil be handed over to the government.

Baghdad doesn't regard Barzani as the head of the Kurds, Tofiq claimed. Only as the head of the KDP.

Stressing that there had been no talks between the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the PUK, Tofiq accused the KDP of having closer relations with the separatist organization. Tofiq referred to a statement by PKK leader Abdullah "Apo" Ocalan, that appeared in the el Mujalla newspaper, in which he said he could understand why Barzani had sought help from the Iraqi administration.

Last August, KDP forces joined with Baghdad troops to sweep through northern Iraq.

The PUK suffered heavy losses and the Iraqi government's gains led to the United States pulling many of its Kurdish "workers" out of the country. its

Last week in Washington, Pelletreau met with representatives from both the PUK and KDP. Tofiq said that during the talks the KDP were chastised for their cooperation with the Baghdad regime.

Turkish Daily News
 MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1997

Iraq luring Kurds to counter US influence

By Leon Barkho

Reuters

BAGHDAD- Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's government, in a bid to end U.S. influence in northern Iraq, is trying to draw rebel Kurds closer to the central administration.

Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) this month issued a law allowing Kurds to obtain passports in towns under central government control.

Last September Baghdad removed its internal embargo on the Kurdish area, which is split into two spheres of influence under rival Kurdish groups.

U.N. officials say people and vehicles move smoothly to and from the region but more easily to the strip under Kurdish rebel leader Massoud Barzani head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) than to areas under his rival Jalal Talabani of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

The government, the officials said, is paying pensioners in northern Iraq, and sending school textbooks to the region. The government has issued a law postponing indefinitely military service for Kurds. But they must report to con-

scription departments to have their papers properly processed. "The high-days to Kurdish region are busy these days. Many Kurds need to have their papers properly done to be in good shape once the Baghdad government restores control of the region," said one U.N. official.

One U.N. official said young Kurds seeking passports had to register with conscription offices in either Mosul or Kirkuk, two main Iraqi cities close to the Kurdish areas.

The RCC last week passed a law pardoning soldiers who deserted to Kurdish areas in the past four years. Baghdad, newspapers said thousands were giving themselves up to central government authorities.

The rapprochement between the central government and rebel Kurds started when the KDP asked Baghdad's help to oust rivals from the city of Erbil in August 1996. Since then, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has increased his influence in the region, forcing the U.S. and allies to withdraw agents and relief workers.

"On the ground the U.S. and allies have now little left in the region, partic-

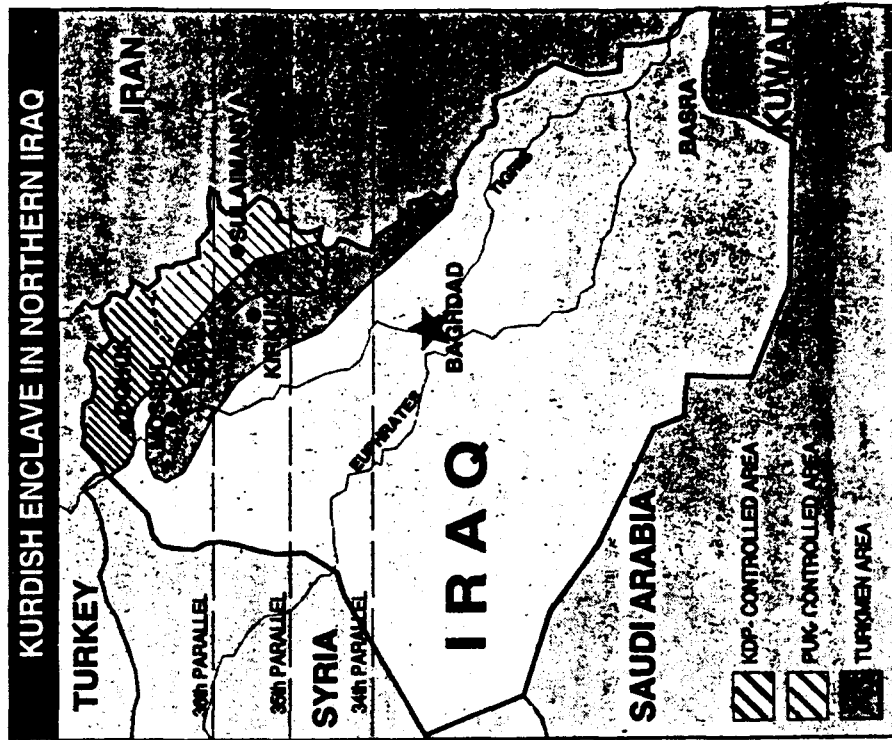
ularly in areas under the KDP which include the two major towns of Arbil and Dohuk," said a Kurdish watcher in Baghdad who declined to be named.

He said Baghdad's influence was less noticeable in the strip under Jalal Talabani's PUK which included the Kurdish stronghold of Sulaimaniya.

The Kurdish area had been outside Baghdad's influence since the United States, France and Britain set up a no-fly zone over northern Iraq shortly after the 1991 Gulf War with the stated aim of protecting Kurds from possible attacks by the Iraqi armed forces.

A senior U.S. official met representatives of the rival Kurdish factions this week in a fresh bid to limit Saddam's influence in the area. He is expected to meet them again in Ankara next week.

Diplomats in Baghdad said the U.S. initiative was in response to the latest overtures by Baghdad to the Kurds. One diplomat said Saddam late last year sent his envoy Mukarram Talabani to the area to break a deadlock in talks granting the Kurdish region enhanced autonomy.





Metin Göktepe's mother, Fadime, holds a picture of her son, killed a year ago, in commemoration of the journalist's death.

Democratic groups remember Metin Göktepe

By C. Aslı Kılıçkiran
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Certain organizations have organized remembrances for Metin Göktepe, a journalist who died in police custody last year. Göktepe's brother İsa expressed his satisfaction Monday at the Burhan Felek Conference Salon with the range of commemorations planned for the anniversary of his brother's death. "People are sensitive and enthusiastic in the activities," he said, but noted sadly that

the ceremonies were not televised.

"People [at the conference hall where he spoke] were very sensitive, and we are pleased that the activities went without any incidents."

Göktepe's killers have not yet been brought to trial, and statements from suspects within the police department have not been taken as the case has been moved from Istanbul, first to Aydın then Konya.

Taken into custody at the January 8 funeral of Orhan Özen and Rıza Boybaş,

inmates killed during the Üsküdar prison uprising, Göktepe was seen by witnesses at the Eyüp sports hall with other demonstrators, and beaten by police. After losing consciousness he was taken away by police, and his body was later found in a tea garden near the Eyüp Sports Hall.

Eyüp Prosecutor Erol Canözkan said Göktepe died in the tea garden he went to after being released, but later Istanbul Chief of Security at the time, Orhan Taşanlar, admitted that Göktepe had died under supervision. The Interior Ministry confirmed that Göktepe was beaten to death by police.

Göktepe's mother has been quoted as saying, in regards to the Susurluk car accident, "the police get their money and do not find the killers."

They eliminate the dead bodies. I do not understand how they did not do the same to my son's dead body.

They threw it away." She said following publicity surrounding the killing that police "passed in front our door very often, and we got many silent calls by telephone."

Remembrances for Göktepe All events are at the Contemporary Journalists' Association:

January 14: Lecture by Ünsal Oskay at 7.30 pm.

January 16: Lecture by Fikret İlkiz at 7.30 pm.

January 17: Lecture by DSP Parliamentarian Hakan Tartan at 7.30 pm.

January 18: Slide show by Ali Öz at 1.00 pm.

January 20: Slide show by Yücel Tunca at 7.30 pm. January 21: Lecture by Ahmet Altan at 7.30 pm.

January 23: Lecture by Can Dündar at 7.30 pm.

January 24: Meeting in front of Cumhuriyet newspaper headquarters at 11.00 am., followed by a march to the Istanbul Governor's office at 11.30.

Nemrut statues under threat

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA--The Commagene Kingdom statues, situated on top of Mount Nemrut near Adiyaman and sometimes referred to as the eighth marvel of the world, are decaying due to natural erosion — wind rain etc. — mishandling by tourists, and

the actions of those who believe that statues are inherently wrong because they depict the human form. The statues, which are on the World Culture Heritage list, are one of Turkey's great tourist attractions and have been in existence for more than 2000 years.

Parliament and prosecutors chase 'the gang' while Prime Ministry says there is no 'gang'

Justice Minister Kazan: 'State Security Court investigating the gang aspect'

Commission Chairman Elkatmış: 'Parliament and not government has given us the task of probing this issue'

Commission spokesman İncetahtacı: 'We are trying to expose the state-mafia relationship'

Commission member Topçu: 'Commission would continue with the probe even if the trials began'

Commission member Sağlar: 'I hope that we will attain results'

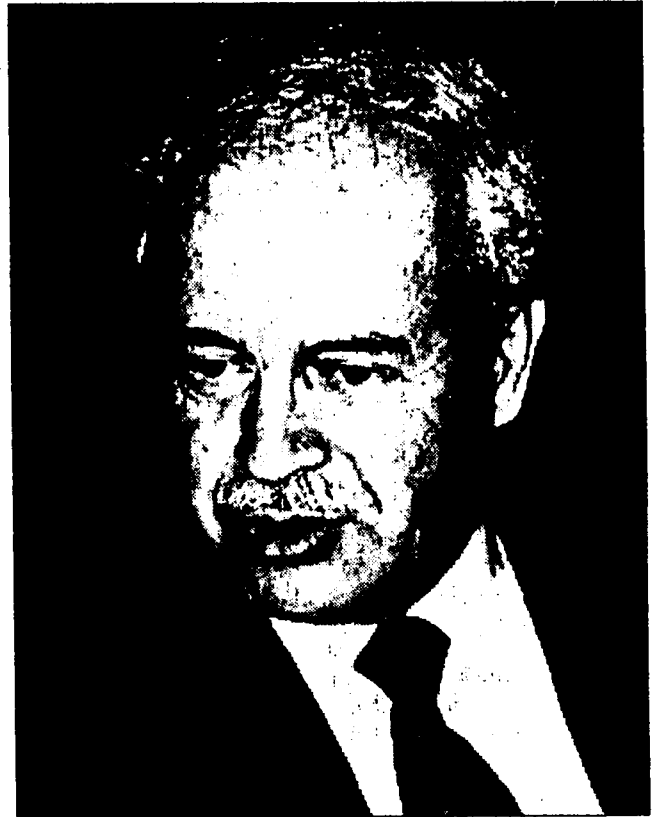
By Kemal Balci
TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- The parliamentary commission formed with the aim of exposing the state-mafia relationships in the wake of the Susurluk incident, heard on Monday from witnesses of certain mafia-related murders.

Meanwhile, commission Chairman Mehmet Elkatmış of the Welfare Party (RP) said the commission would continue to function after the Prime Ministry Board of Inspectors' Susurluk report is handed over to the judicial authorities. He rejected the argument that the commission should suspend its activities once the trials started. "The task has been assigned to us by the legislative body," Elkatmış said. "The legislative body and the executive body are separate from one another."

Commission spokesman Bedri İncetahtacı said they were trying to expose state-mafia relations not only in the context of Susurluk but also by delving further into the past.

By now the Prime Ministry Board of Inspectors has completed its report on Susurluk and presented it to Justice Minister Şevket Kazan who in turn relayed it to the judiciary. The report urges the judiciary to put on trial 35 people accused of a variety of "individual" crimes — as opposed to organized crime. At that point Kazan drew strong reactions from the opposition by saying



Justice Minister Şevket Kazan

that now that Susurluk was in the hands of the judiciary, no public comments should be made on the subject anymore.

During a TV program on Sunday night, Kazan, a member of the RP wing of the coalition government, said his words had been misunderstood. He stressed that what he had meant was that there should be no discussions on the decisions the judiciary might take on the issues before it. He said he had to make his initial statement on the board report in haste, and was not able to properly explain the gang issue. He said he had merely said that the existence of no such thing as "Tansu Çiller's private crime organization" could be discerned, but that the "other gang allegations" were being investigated by the Istanbul State Security Court.

Kazan's correction dispelled to some extent the doubts that the "state gang" allegations triggered by a mysterious traffic accident which took place in Susurluk on Nov. 3, would not be properly investigated and a cover-up would be mounted.

Susurluk commission Chairman Elkatmış was one of the people who had reacted to Kazan's initial statement, along with another member of the commission, Yasar Topçu of the opposition Motherland Party (ANAP). Topçu said that in the light of the new developments, the research and investigation drive should continue. Topçu said the commission would not be bound by Article 138 of the Constitution which says that issues before the courts may not be debated in Parliament. He stressed the need to expose "relations going deeper."

Commission spokesman İncetahtacı of the RP said he was

opposed to any effort aimed at taking Susurluk off the country's agenda. "This issue will be pursued," he said. "It is out of the question for an issue of such significance to be covered up." He asked the news media not to shake the confidence witnesses had in the commission by publishing what they claimed were "excerpts of the minutes of the Susurluk commission sessions." He referred to the testimony of Hande Binici, the daughter of Tarik Ümit, the alleged National Intelligence Organization (MIT) informer who is said to have been abducted and killed. He said that Binici had not named any specific person as the murderer of her father. He stressed that Binici is now in a difficult position because newspapers reported that she had "revealed" that name.

İncetahtacı said there were "certain people within the state, people doing things in the name of the state", but that he did not want to describe them as a "gang." "It is not important what we call such a formation. The important thing is to reveal that formation. The public must trust us. That trust will be the main factor enabling our success. With our work we want to lift the shadows cast over the Parliament."

Fikri Sağlar a member of the commission from the opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) said he did not share the pessimistic assessments bandied about that the commission's work would be inconclusive. "I am hopeful," he said. "I am still convinced that the commission will bring the events to light, however limited this may be: We are getting significant information."

Meanwhile, Justice Minister Şevket Kazan said they would soon present to Parliament two bills; one creating a "judicial police" force which would be directly answerable to prosecutors. The other would be a "Repentance Bill" which would help uncover the gangs within the state.

On Monday the Susurluk commission heard the testimony of Ahmet Altunbaş, a non-commissioned gendarmerie soldier who had, following the assassination in Istanbul in July 1996 of casino king Ömer Lütfü Topal, found the getaway car. Another person heard by the commission was Sena Er, whose father had been abducted and killed by the mafia. Later this week the commission will hear two True Path Party (DYP) deputies implicated in the Susurluk incident in the context of the "political wing of the gang"; namely, Mehmet Açar, former interior minister, and Sedat Bucak, the sole survivor of the Susurluk crash.

Human Rights Commission chairman criticizes İHD

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Demir Berberoğlu, chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Commission, criticized the Human Rights Association (İHD) saying it distributes and publishes anti-Turkish propaganda. Berberoğlu, a DYP deputy, on Monday received a Swedish delegation, headed by Left Party deputy Bengt Hurtig, consisting of six parliamentarians and two NGO representatives. When a Swedish parliamentarian asked whether the commission has any links with Turkish NGOs, Berberoğlu implied that the İHD was anti-Turkish.

"Our door is open to everyone," he said. "We pay attention to whoever comes to us. I have been the commission chairman for a year. The organization who invited you to Turkey has not come here yet. Those who do not want to carry out propaganda against Turkey come here."

The Swedish delegation was invited to Turkey by the İHD. Noting that they received correspondence from bar associations and trade unions, Berberoğlu said they had meetings with representatives from all NGOs during the commission's observations in several provinces.

Berberoğlu gave the delegation the commission report on the incidents in Diyarbakır prison, which resulted in the death of 10 inmates, and added that the police officers who were involved were currently on trial.

Pointing out that it was impossible for the commission to prevent human rights violations on its own, Berberoğlu stressed that Turkey's greatest problem was terrorism. "I believe that the more successfully Turkey eradicates terrorism and the more understanding the world shows her, the more human rights violations the

commission will be able to prevent," Berberoğlu said.

Berberoğlu asked the Swedish delegation to inform the commission of human rights violations that are reported to them, saying that the commission would carry out investigations. He added that the commission was always willing to cooperate on this issue.

When a Swedish parliamentarian asked whether the Turkish government prepared any black lists aiming to prevent the entrance of certain Western parliamentarians to Turkey, Berberoğlu denied any knowledge of such a list, and asked them to inform the commission if they know of a parliamentarian who wanted to enter Turkey but was prevented from doing so. The Swedish parliamentarian said that Danish parliamentarian Soren Sodergaard had been subjected to such treatment, upon which Berberoğlu said the commis-

sion would investigate the incident and inform the Swedish delegation in writing.

Later in the day, Berberoğlu was visited by Hans Joachim Vergau, German ambassador to Ankara. Noting that the Human Rights Commission carries utmost importance, Vergau said: "I would not have undertaken this visit if I thought that your efforts would come to nothing."

Vergau stressed that Germany was never of the opinion that Turkish law was insufficient in respect to human rights, adding that the problem arose in the implementation of them by the police and interpretations by the courts.

The ambassador also expressed his belief in the commission achieving success in preventing human rights violations. Referring to planned amendments to laws, Vergau said it was an indication of the Turkish nation's will power on the issue.

Human rights cases double in 1996

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey has the third highest number of individual appeals to the European Human Rights Commission, according to a list published in the Commission's 1996 annual report, the Anatolia news agency reported.

When compared with the report for 1995, Turkey is the country whose number of appeals increased the most. The current number of appeals, at 562, more than doubled from the previous number. The European Human Rights

Commission is currently monitoring 37 cases for Turkey. There are 11 cases on trial at the moment, and Turkey has been found guilty in 5 cases.

According to the 1996 report, Italy led the field with 726 individual appeals, followed by France with 600 appeals. If the European Human Rights Commission and the European Court of Human Rights find a country guilty of human rights violations, that country must pay compensation to the individual applicant.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1997

Turkish Daily News

Turkish Daily News TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1997

PKK plans conference in Moscow

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) is planning further activity in Russia, following that country's plans to sell antiaircraft missiles to Greek Cyprus, the Anatolia news agency reported on Monday.

The PKK plans to hold a conference in Moscow on Jan. 16 to discuss certain issues, with the support of the committee for geopolitical affairs of the Duma (the lower house of the Russian parliament).

At the meeting the PKK is expected to express its support for Greek Cyprus.

A number of similar conferences have been organized by the PKK in the past, including a meeting of Kurdish parliamentarians in exile under the protection of the Duma.

The Turkish government has complained to the Russian authorities over the holding of the conference, but Moscow replied that it was not within the administration's power to control the Duma's actions.

• Le Monde - mardi, 14 janvier 1997 • Le Monde - mardi, 14 janvier 1997

Ankara brandit la menace militaire en cas d'installation de missiles à Chypre

Un émissaire américain tente de désamorcer la crise dans la région

A son arrivée à Chypre, dimanche 12 janvier, l'émissaire américain Carey Cavanaugh a critiqué la décision des autorités chypriotes grecques d'acheter des mis-

siles sol-air à la Russie. Il a toutefois rejeté les menaces brandies par Ankara, estimant qu'il n'y avait « aucune justification pour une action militaire à Chypre ».

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Ferme opposée à l'installation de missiles sol-air russes dans la partie grecque de Chypre, la Turquie a durci le ton, affirmant qu'elle n'hésiterait pas à attaquer ces installations antiaériennes si nécessaire. « Il n'est pas question que ces armes offensives soient déployées. Si elles le sont, nous ferons le nécessaire. S'il faut les attaquer, nous les attaquerons », a déclaré, samedi 11 janvier, le ministre des affaires étrangères, Tansu Ciller. « Nous ne pouvons pas nous contenter de regarder la Grèce assiéger la Turquie par le sud », a-t-elle ajouté, visant ainsi les dirigeants d'Athènes plutôt que ceux de Nicosie.

De son côté, Rauf Denktaş, le président de la « République turque de Chypre du nord » (auto-

proclamée en 1983 et reconnue seulement par la Turquie), a menacé, si les missiles étaient installés, d'ouvrir la ville de Varosha à la population chypriote turque. Les Chypriotes turcs ne se sont jamais emparés de Varosha, ancienne station balnéaire proche de la ligne de démarcation, devenue une ville fantôme déserte, placée sous contrôle de l'ONU.

Lundi, le chef de l'état-major des forces armées turques, le général İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, devait se rendre à Chypre à l'invitation de M. Denktaş. La Turquie espère, notamment par ce geste de soutien à la population turque de Chypre, convaincre du sérieux de ses avertissements et de la nécessité d'une intervention de la communauté internationale pour empêcher l'installation des missiles. Cependant, les menaces d'Ankara lui ont surtout attiré des

critiques, notamment de la part des Américains, qui ont qualifié d'« irresponsables » les déclarations des dirigeants turcs.

L'AUTOMNE PROCHAIN

De telles critiques ont peu de prise sur les autorités turques. Depuis son intervention militaire à Chypre en 1974, la Turquie est régulièrement condamnée sur la scène internationale pour la présence sur l'île de trente mille de ses soldats. Dans le pays, la politique à l'égard de Chypre rencontre cependant peu d'opposition. Aux yeux de la plupart des Turcs, cette force armée est la seule garantie de sécurité pour la population turque qui vit dans la partie nord de l'île. Celle-ci a, pour Ankara, une importance stratégique indéniable puisqu'elle est située à 60 kilomètres seulement au sud de la côte turque. Les Turcs se

plaisent à rappeler que leur intervention armée en 1974 n'est pas la cause du problème de Chypre, mais a été la conséquence d'un conflit de plus d'une décennie entre les deux communautés, qui a fait selon eux deux mille morts entre 1963 et 1974 parmi les Chypriotes turcs.

Le langage guerrier des autorités turques ne signifie pas qu'un conflit soit inévitable, même si aussi bien M^{me} Ciller que M. Erbakan sont connus pour leur intransigeance sur la question de Chypre. Cette polémique avec les Grecs a, d'autre part, le mérite de détourner l'attention de la population de Turquie des questions internes, comme le scandale de corruption au sein de l'appareil étatique, qui occupe les manchettes des journaux depuis début novembre.

Le secrétaire général des Nations unies, Kofi Annan, a demandé à la Turquie et à la Grèce de faire preuve de retenue. L'envoyé spécial américain Carey Cavanaugh a fait de même à son arrivée à Chypre, dimanche soir. La communauté internationale dispose encore d'un certain temps pour désamorcer la crise, puisque les missiles russes ne doivent pas être installés à Chypre avant l'automne prochain, voire au printemps 1998.

Nicole Pope

Turkish Army ranked among world's 10 largest

Turkish Daily News TUESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1997

Numbers: With 16 submarines, Turkey has the world's ninth-largest navy and the army's 4,280 tanks put it in fifth place in that category

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The 780,000-strong Turkish army is one of the ten largest armies in the world, according to research carried out by the World Strategic Information Institute.

With 16 submarines, Turkey also has the world's ninth largest navy, while the army's 4,280 tanks put it in fifth place in that category. The Turkish Air Force is one of the most sophisticated forces in the

world, according to the report, which says that the United States, China and Russia possess the three top armies in the world.

In recent years, Turkey has started to give priority to army modernization programs and new weapons systems to catch up to the 21st century technology. During a briefing last year, the General Staff said that \$150 billion would be needed to fund the arms and operations of the Turkish

Armed Forces in the next 25 years. During that period, the ground forces will need \$60 billion, the navy \$25 billion, and the air force will need \$65 billion in arms and equipment.

Turkish army officials say that the main goal of the project is to meet the country's defense needs in the most efficient manner without putting the nation's interests and security at risk, and to establish a dynamic structure for the army as a whole while streamlining the headquarters and base unit organizations.

Officials from the General Staff said that 1,523 projects are planned at a cost of \$67 billion until the year 2004. They added that one-third of their budget is allocated to modernization programs.

• Le Monde - mardi, 14 janvier 1997 • Le Monde - mardi, 14 janvier 1997

Le gouvernement ne parvient pas à enrayer l'inflation en Turquie

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Un nouveau billet de banque a fait son apparition sur le marché turc la semaine dernière: il est de 5 millions de livres. En 1981, la valeur de la plus grosse coupure n'était que de 1 000 livres. Cette fois-ci, comme si elles avaient honte de l'inflation forcenée qui a imposé l'émission de ce nouveau billet, les autorités ont choisi une encre plus claire pour imprimer les trois derniers zéros, dans l'espoir, peut-être, de les faire oublier.

Bien que tous multimillionnaires - en monnaie locale -, les salariés turcs sont confrontés à une dure réalité, celle d'une inflation qui refuse obstinément, depuis des années, de quitter la zone des 80 % et d'une monnaie qui se dévalue en permanence.

De ces chiffres, on pourrait tirer la conclusion que la Turquie est dans une situation désespérée. Les analystes affirment cependant que, malgré des problèmes structurels chroniques, l'économie turque est relativement stable, même si l'agence de classement Standard and Poor a récemment abaissé sa note, qui est passée de « B + » à « B ». « La Turquie est un cas unique. C'est un des seuls pays qui a

survécu avec de tels taux d'inflation pendant des années sans succomber à l'hyperinflation », explique un diplomate. « Il y a dans l'économie turque des éléments non quantifiables qui échappent à l'analyse. »

RÉFORMES STRUCTURELLES

En 1996, l'économie a enregistré un taux de croissance enviable de 7 %. Si le ralentissement en fin d'année a soulagé les experts, qui craignaient une « surchauffe » dangereuse menant à un renchérissement effréné, ils ont été forcés de constater que l'inflation, bien qu'à la hausse, ne s'est pas emballée comme on l'avait craint. « Plus encore que le taux d'inflation, ce sont les fluctuations de l'inflation qui importent », explique Atila Yesilada, directeur de la recherche à Global Securities. « En définitive, les secteurs industriels et bancaires profitent probablement de l'inflation. »

Avec l'entrée en vigueur de l'union douanière avec l'Europe, les importations ont pris leur envol en 1996, mais l'explosion des exportations que les Turcs attendaient n'a pas eu lieu. Ce déséquilibre de la balance commerciale contribue à un déficit important des comptes courants. Mais, là encore, les statistiques ne révèlent qu'une partie du

tableau. L'« économie grise » joue un rôle important et compense en partie ces écarts.

Les importantes réserves en devises accumulées par la banque centrale - près de 17 milliards de dollars (environ 89 milliards de francs) - instaurent une certaine confiance sur les marchés, et la plupart des économistes estiment que la crise - comme celle de 1994, lorsque la monnaie avait perdu 50 % de sa valeur en l'espace de trois mois - n'est pas pour demain. Les Turcs ont appris à s'accommoder, avec un ressort remarquable, des difficultés politiques et économiques, qui vont, d'ailleurs, souvent de pair. Mais la véritable stabilité économique ne pourra être atteinte que grâce à des réformes structurelles.

PROMESSES ET RÉALITÉ

Le premier ministre islamiste, Necmettin Erbakan, était arrivé au pouvoir avec des idées en économie que de nombreux analystes jugeaient peu réalistes. Durant sa campagne électorale, il avait annoncé l'introduction d'un dinar islamique et condamné les programmes d'austérité imposés par le Fonds monétaire international (FMI). Personne ne semble vérita-

blement croire au budget équilibré que son gouvernement a présenté à l'Assemblée nationale, ni d'ailleurs à ses trois « paquets » de mobilisation des ressources. Mais M. Erbakan a dû apprendre à adapter ses idées aux réalités du marché global.

Les deux formations politiques au sein de la coalition sont désormais liées par une ferme intention de privatiser, et ont déjà fait quelques pas dans cette direction. D'autre part, des membres du parti de M. Erbakan, El Refah, se rendront aux Etats-Unis pour des discussions avec le FMI.

La capacité de M. Erbakan, qui, pour l'instant, semble fermement installé au pouvoir, à concilier ses tendances populistes - promesses d'investissements dans divers secteurs et d'augmentations de salaire - et la nécessité de redresser les finances publiques déterminera en grande partie la stabilité de l'économie dans les mois à venir. En bon politicien, M. Erbakan est conscient que la clé du pouvoir appartient à long terme au dirigeant capable d'apporter à la population l'amélioration des conditions de vie qu'elle attend.

N. P.



NEW TRY- Representatives of rival Iraqi Kurdish factions and Turkmens gather around the table in Ankara for a new round of peace talks sponsored by Turkey, United States and Britain. TDN Ali Fuat Ulay

Fractionous start to northern Iraqi peace talks

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The third round of northern Iraq peace talks got off to a testy start on Tuesday with one of the representatives of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) lashing out at rival Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) before U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau stepped in.

Speaking to reporters before the meeting, KDP delegation chief Sami Abdurrahman accused the PUK of deporting 50,000 KDP sympathizers from the Sulaimaniya area, a PUK stronghold. He then turned to Turkish Foreign Ministry officials and asked whether Turkey would like to see these people take refuge in Turkey.

It was then that U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau stepped in and broke off the press briefing. Until then, delegation chiefs had mainly expressed optimism that a full settlement could be reached.

Pelletreau, co-chair of the talks along with undersecretary of the Turkish Foreign Ministry Onur Öymen, said he expected positive steps and greater cooperation would

achieved during the talks. Pelletreau said his role, as co-chair of the talks was "to review the positive steps that have been taken to strengthen the cease-fire and the confidence building measures.

Oynur Öymen also expressed his pleasure with the progress of the peace talks but expressed once again Turkey's demand that the territorial integrity of Iraq was essential for any deal to be established.

Oymen further said he was pleased the parties in the region had confirmed their determination to prevent the presence of terrorist groups in the region. He said the closure of the Atrush refugee camp, which he said had turned into a terrorist haven, was being followed closely by Ankara.

The heads of the Turkmen and PUK delegations, Sinan Çelebi and Mohammed Tofiq respectively, both told reporters before the meeting that they wished the peace process would soon produce positive results. While the head of the British delegation, Frank Baker, expressed the pleasure of his government for

the progress achieved so far.

During the meeting itself it was expected that the PUK would present documents listing alleged atrocities carried out by the KDP in KDP areas.

PUK leader Jalal Talabani was due to arrive in Ankara on Tuesday, but when a reporter asked Adnan Mufti, a PUK delegate to the talks, when exactly he was due to arrive, Mufti was vague and said it was still a possibility Talabani would arrive. Talabani was not expected to take part in the peace talks but to meet separately with U.S., British and Turkish officials.

The Turkish delegation was represented by Ali Tuygan, deputy undersecretary of the foreign ministry.

The need for the talks came after when in late August last year, KDP forces, backed by Iraqi troops, captured vast swathes of northern Iraq, including the important regional city of Erbil. The United States was then forced to evacuate military and nongovernmental organization personnel.

PKK members accused of mass crimes go on trial in Germany

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The testimony of three members of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), who organized and participated in separatist activities in Germany, began on Tuesday at the Dusseldorf State High Court, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The court stated that the accused, Ahmet Yavuz, Haydar Ergül and Nihat Asut, would be tried on charges of arson, taking hostages, assault, manslaughter,

and will be tried for membership of a separatist group as well.

The three men were captured by German authorities in 1995.

It is alleged that the three organized attacks on 80 Turkish organizations, mostly banks and travel agencies, on June 24, 1993.

They are also accused of having organized on Nov. 4, 1993, 200 PKK members who attacked 59 Turkish organizations including consulate buildings.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1997

They run to the fields instead of to school

Students of Hantepe, a village of Diyarbakır, whose teachers have been kidnapped and killed by the separatist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) guerillas, work in the fields instead of the school rows

By Hakan Aslanelli

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- A PKK attack in the village of Hantepe in Diyarbakır around four months ago caused a wave of revulsion in Turkey. Yet another of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) terrorist attack on civilians, this time seven schoolteachers were taken shortly after the opening of the school 40 kilometers from Diyarbakır. Village residents learned the terrible truth with the first lights of the day. At midnight the seven had been taken. Four were gunned down in the mountainous fields. The other three were released.

The incident ignited more than the usual hatred among the Turkish public against the PKK attacks, and the school had to be shut down. The three teachers that survived left the village without even taking their belongings, and the village's 350 children were left without teachers.

The National Education Ministry has not yet appointed any teacher, despite the four months that have passed, for the simple reason that no teacher would want to go to this village. The Hantepe Primary School is still waiting for teachers to open its doors and windows.

Now pupils won't go either

Students between the ages of seven and fifteen reportedly told Education Ministry

authorities that they have lost the desire to go to school after their teachers, whom they were fond of, were murdered.

The schoolchildren of Hantepe, some of whom witnessed the horrifying massacre, now work in the fields to help their families.

Children spending their time collecting wood for the winter told the TDN that they "loved their teachers very much", and that it would be difficult to get used to new teachers, and anyway have lost their desire to go school.

Saadettin Kalkan, the education vice governor for Diyarbakır, told the TDN that "we did not open the school [after the murders] four months ago, to give time to the children to rehabilitate themselves and for new teachers to forget the incident. "Hantepe has places for seven teachers, and we have appointed four," he continued. "But we are waiting for enough time to pass. The Hantepe School will open for education after the semester holiday with new teachers."

Village leader İbrahim Gümüşpınarlı told the TDN that he ran to tell children the good news after learning that the school would be reopened with new teachers. Gümüşpınarlı said they had been waiting for this news for four months, and remarked "Hantepe village had been known as a privileged village for teachers

appointed to the south east. It was among the top destinations for assigned teachers due to its location and closeness to the center.

"Its image changed after the PKK violence. Our relatives stopped coming to visit us. We are very happy with the declaration from our vice governor, and will do our best to welcome our new teachers," he promised.

Gümüşpınarlı noted sadly that the children were still cool to the idea of going to a school with new teachers. But they would soon forget the traumatic experience, he believes.

Hantepe not the only one

Many villages lack teachers because of PKK attacks on teachers in eastern and southeastern towns.

Thousands of children in villages where schools have been closed simply work the farms, and will go wanting for education. Equally tragic, many talented teachers simply resign from the profession since they are not willing to go to the dangerous, mountainous villages the government assigns them to.

Hantepe's situation is but one example of the misery the people of the southeast have been through. Caught in the cross fire between the PKK and security forces, they say they hope the brutal war will end soon, so they can live like human beings.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1997

US emerges chief loser from Kurdish fight

Stumble: Iraq's intervention to Kurdish north triggers US missile strikes, but Washington loses infrastructure of influence as Kurds on its payroll flee. State Department enforces a truce between warring Kurds while Baghdad presses advantage

By Raşit Gürdilek

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Inaction is not in the Kurdish character. Even as some 4 million Iraqi Kurds battled with aggravating hardships, their leaders, impatient with an American peace initiative proceeding at an impressive snail's pace, lunged at each other at the end of summer and, within two months, undid all that Washington had done over the past five years.

On Aug. 31, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) led by Massoud Barzani stunned an unsuspecting West by calling in Iraq's armored divisions to storm the principal city of Erbil held by his arch-rival Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). Not allowing the demoralized PUK forces to recover from the shock, Barzani's irregulars chased them all the way down to the Iranian border in the following days, capturing Talabani's stronghold of Sulaimaniya and establishing his control over the whole of the Western-protected enclave. Despite official denials, the Iraqi secret police moved in behind the advancing peshmergas, arresting and executing defectors who had sought refuge in the Kurdish north as well as members of the U.S.-sponsored opposition umbrella, the Iraqi National Congress (INC).

In a desperate bid to scare Iraq and the KDP out of their alliance, the United States rained 47 cruise missiles on military targets in southern Iraq, not finding the Islamist-led Turkish government supportive of a strike in the north. The missile strikes failed to instill courage in the terrified supporters of the INC and the Kurds working for the CIA or Western nongovernmental organizations.

In the end, Washington was forced to move out its trapped agents and thousands of Kurds on the Western payroll in successive waves by the end of the year. A surprise PUK counterattack which, after weeks of bitter fighting, enabled Talabani to recover lost territory created a new opportunity for the United States to recoup some losses. Recruiting Ankara's support in return for a higher profile for Turkmens in

the management of the Kurdish enclave and its consent to limited Iraqi oil sales — with transit fee spin-offs for Turkey — Washington arranged a cease-fire between the warring Kurdish leaders in Ankara and persuaded the sides to resume discussing a power-and revenue-sharing arrangement.

In the talks co-chaired by U.S. State Department official Robert Pelletreau and Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Onur Oymen on Oct. 30-31, Ankara also extracted a pledge from both parties not to permit the activities of the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party rebels on Iraqi soil, although they kept up their attempts to infiltrate Turkey.

The PUK and the KDP also agreed to revive and reform the defunct regional government, make sure that other ethnic groups including the Turkmens get fair representation, elect a new regional parliament and turn over the border revenues — mainly from taxes on Iraq-Turkey diesel traffic — to the central authority. The diesel tax at the Habur border gate, monopolized for years by the KDP, which held the area adjoining Turkey, had been the chief stumbling block in the unsuccessful rounds of similar negotiations held in Ireland in 1995.

Despite all this, Baghdad did not appear ready to let the opportunity to restore its authority in the north slip. It lifted its blockade of the north, allowed free travel to and from the Kurdish area to the rest of the country, and reintroduced central registration bureaus and recruitment centers, although it wisely avoided drafting the Kurds into military service.

The Kurds themselves did not look particularly keen to throw their dice unquestionably with Washington, particularly after its infrastructure of influence in northern Iraq lay in shambles.

KDP leader Massoud Barzani was reported to have twice paid secret visits to Baghdad in December for talks with Iraqi leaders, though his spokesmen hotly denied an autonomy deal. PUK leaders also met with envoys from Baghdad, but they likewise denied any deal with Iraq behind Washington's back.

Baghdad, meanwhile, approached another step towards ridding itself of post-Gulf War shackles when, largely on Turkey's insistence, Washington lifted its obstruction to a deal, allowing Iraq to sell \$2 billion's worth of oil in six months to pay for the import of urgently needed foodstuffs and medicine. Although the United Nations has to monitor Baghdad's compliance with the terms of the deal before it can be renewed, the development was generally seen heralding Iraq's eventual return to the international fold.

Eyeing transit fees from the twin pipelines linking Kirkuk to the Turkish Mediterranean terminal of Yumurtalik, as well as the lion's share from Baghdad's food purchases, Turkey was ecstatic with the deal. After Iraqi President Saddam Hussein pushed the button in Kirkuk on Dec. 11 to restart the flow of oil after more than six years, Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, and his coalition partner Tansu Çiller rushed to the Yumurtalik terminal to open the tap at the other end, predicting that resumed business

would shortly make the port surpass Singapore in liveliness and wealth.

Looking content with the return to the no-war-no-peace situation, inwardly approving the Kurds' rapprochement with Baghdad and its attention turning to a domestic political scandal, Turkey formally ended the five-year-old Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) — protecting the Kurdish enclave from Iraqi attack — in the closing days of 1996.

This did not mean, however, that the coalition warplanes, which had flown more than 56,000 sorties to patrol a U.S.-declared no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel and covering part of the Kurdish enclave, were sent home from their base at Incirlik, southern Turkey. In what was seen by the opposition parties as a crude deception, the Erbakan government substituted a so-far-officially-unnamed "reconnaissance force" for OPC, whose mandate finally expired at the end of the year.

France, looking eager to normalize ties with Baghdad after the oil-for-food deal, said it would not take part in the new force, withdrawing its six Jaguar fighters and a tanker plane that were used in OPC. Britain stayed in the new force, unofficially called "Northern Watch," with its six Tornado fighter-bombers.

Although Turkish and U.S. military officials are still negotiating details, the Turkish Foreign Ministry made clear that the new force would limit its task to the monitoring of Baghdad's compliance with U.N. resolutions and stated that planes would carry purely defensive weapons to be used only when attacked.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1997

Turkey's foreign relations in 1996

Turkish honeymoon with Israel continued in 1996

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The honeymoon relationship between Turkey and Israel, which started to develop in 1995, managed to continue throughout 1996 and even bear fruit, in the form of a military training accord, several visits by high ranking officials and common vows to fight against terrorism. This was despite the coming to power in Turkey of the Islamist Welfare Party (RP) and the right-wing Benjamin Netanyahu in Israel.

The Turco-Israeli military accord, signed in February 1996, allows Israeli pilots to train in Turkey and vice versa. The accord was greeted with anger by Arab countries, as well as Iran and Greece. The presidents of Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia met in Damascus and called upon Turkey to review the Turco-Israeli accord, but at the same time said this was not indicative of a hostile attitude toward Turkey.

Turkish Foreign Ministry officials issued a statement last spring, saying that reasons behind the military agreement had been given several times, and countries which wanted more information had received it. "Any further speculation does not concern us at all," they said. However, the Arab League condemned Turkey for entering the

accord, and other countries claimed it was a new pact in the Middle East.

The accord also led to much domestic political discussion within Turkey. The RP, before coming to power, had said they were strongly against the agreement and if they came to power they would cancel it. However, this has not eventuated.

The Democratic Left Party (DSP) leader, Bülent Ecevit, said Turkey and Israel had "shared concerns and aims." Mesut Yılmaz's Motherland Party (ANAP), and the True Path Party (DYP), have both, through a number of statements and policies, clearly reflected their eagerness to develop enhanced relations with Israel. Alparslan Türkeş, leader of the ultraright Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), also threw his weight behind the increased ties in March.

High ranking visits, grand promises

In January Israel assured Turkey it would not allow Syria to use the "terrorism card" against Ankara. This assurance was given at the highest levels of the Israeli administration, by Prime Minister Shimon Peres himself, to Turkish Foreign Ministry

Undersecretary Onur Öymen during his visit to Tel Aviv.

Equally important, Israeli officials denied suggestions which had appeared in press reports, that Israel was planning to pressure Turkey to supply Syria with more water from the Euphrates so that it could, in turn, obtain more water from Syria from the Golan.

During this visit, Israel also promised to continue lobbying western governments for Turkey's full membership of the European Union, just as it had done for the customs union accord between Ankara and the EU.

President Süleyman Demirel in March became the first Turkish president to pay an official visit to the state of Israel. During his visit, Demirel condemned recent terrorist bomb attacks by Islamic militants which had killed dozens of people in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, but called on the Israelis to continue with the peace process, saying that "terrorist attempts to derail it should not discourage us from moving forward."

Demirel, speaking at a dinner hosted by his Israeli counterpart Ezer Weizman, said Turks were outraged by the assassination of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by

a Jewish right-wing extremist and said, "He was a victim of blind bigotry."

The president called the Hamas bomb attacks against Israelis "savage and cowardly," and said, "We condemn, in the strongest terms, any form of terrorism and share the grief of the Israeli people."

In May a religious extremist attempted to assassinate Demirel because of the Turco-Israeli military accord. The would-be assassin had a history of psychiatric illness and the attempt was not premeditated.

Israeli President Weizman also visited Turkey in June to attend the Habitat conference in Istanbul. According to reports which first appeared in the Israeli press and were later picked up by the Turkish press, Weizman told a group of Jewish journalists accompanying him on his trip that his country wanted to prevent the RP from coming to power, and President Demirel was of the same opinion. The Israeli Embassy in Ankara denied the reports, and said President Weizman's words to the Israeli journalists were "merely a reference" to what had already been published in the Turkish press.

The Embassy's statement continued,

"Israel is sure that a solution will soon be found to the current political crisis in Turkey, within the democratic process, and is ready to cooperate with all political parties."

Commenting on Weizman's alleged remark, the RP leader Necmettin Erbakan said he believed the words attributed to Weizman did not reflect the truth. He recalled that Weizman was a veteran politician who knew he should not make such comments.

Hard-liner Benjamin Netanyahu, after coming to power in Israel, said several times Turkey was an important country to Israel, and invited Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan to visit Israel. He has not yet received a response.

Relations have at times been somewhat strained by the new Israeli prime minister's policies. Turkey, who has tried to follow a stable policy between the Arab world and Israel, condemned Israel's attack on a refugee camp in south Lebanon, and called on Israel to review its controversial new settlement policy aimed at creating new neighborhoods in the occupied territories.

When Israel opened a tunnel located close by the al-Aqsa mosque, considered to

be the world's third holiest site by Muslims, the move was seen by Palestinians as a blatant and illegal violation of Islamic territory, causing violence to erupt in the region and turning the West Bank and Gaza into virtual war zones. State Minister Abdullah Gül of the RP said Israel's decision was provocative and the country was playing with fire.

Last year Turkey and Israel also signed several economic agreements during President Demirel's visit to Israel, among them a customs agreement and other agreements aimed at encouraging investment. Israeli commercial banks also approved a credit package to finance a \$600 million deal by Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) to upgrade Turkey's fleet of F-4 Phantom fighters.

As far as 1997 is concerned, relations between Turkey and Israel will depend on the future of the peace process. Turkey has maintained a balanced policy on this issue and is carefully watching the Hebron talks. If agreement on Hebron is reached, Turkish troops will be sent as part of the peace-keeping force, which of course will bring about greater involvement for Turkey in the question of Israel and Palestine.

N. Iraq talks end with main issues still unresolved

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The third round of northern Iraqi peace talks ended Wednesday in Ankara but the major issues under discussion remain unresolved.

The co-chairmen of the two-day talks, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau and Turkish Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Onur Öymen, issued a joint statement after the meeting which brought an immediate reaction from the head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) delegation, Sami Abdurrahman.

The KDP official told reporters that the statement was from the chairmen, not the KDP. He also pointed out that although his party had agreed to other articles they opposed the tenth paragraph which reads as follows:

"All participants reiterated their commitment to take into account the legitimate security interests of Turkey, as stated in the final statement of Oct. 31, 1996, and they took note of the decision by the UNHCR to close the Atrush Camp." The KDP side claimed that the article was not relevant to the KDP-PUK dispute but rather was a matter of Turkish-KDP relations: "We take into account the legitimate security interests of Turkey and other neighboring countries," Abdurrahman told reporters. The KDP side reportedly was unable to contact KDP leader Massoud Barzani.

After the talks, representatives of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) told the TDN that they were satisfied with the meeting and were ready to implement all the

commitments made in the statement and at the Oct. 31 meeting.

In the final statement, the two sides reiterated their commitment not to disrupt civilian services and to implement an earlier agreement to stop attacking each other in the press. Another important point which was clarified during the talks concerned the monitoring by the Turkmen Front of local media. They will also provide summaries of any continuing attacks. The two sides will work together to organize the distribution of funds in northern Iraq. In a new development, a coordination committee will be set up comprising three senior representatives from the PUK, KDP and the Turkmen. The committee will meet once a month to promote political reconciliation and will coordinate with the Supervisory Peace Monitoring Group.

Subcommittees will work to build confidence and to coordinate efforts in areas such as education, health, transportation, and free movement of people and to work with humanitarian operations.

Although the statement emphasized respect for the territorial integrity of Iraq, Ambassador Pelletreau, when asked about the contacts between the central Iraqi government and the KDP, as well as the PUK, said that Iraq still had to implement its commitments to the United Nations. He also pointed out that Iraq was not taking part in the meetings.

Talabani due to arrive today

PUK leader Jalal Talabani is expected to arrive today, Öymen told reporters. Pelletreau reported that he might not be able to meet with the PUK leader because of his tight schedule. Talabani has been in Iran since the weekend waiting for the message to come to Ankara. On Tuesday, Öymen and Pelletreau issued a rather critical statement about the visits of the Kurdish leaders to Ankara. They underlined that the party leaders were usually invited to such meetings but it was not important whether they came or not. "The real point is to work with the people who can make decisions on their own. So we succeeded today," said Pelletreau. Öymen said that the arrival of the leaders and the success of the meeting were two different issues which should not be mixed.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1997

Yılmaz: 'Erbakan has covered up the thefts. Now he will cover up the gangs'

Neither the jin-exorcising hocas focusing on sex nor Erbakan nor his RP can represent Islam'

By Ayla Ganioglu

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yılmaz reacted strongly to the parliamentary investigation commission's clearing of True Path Party (DYP) leader and Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Çiller of accusations regarding the acquisition of her assets.

Noting that Çiller has been cleared of the accusations thanks to votes cast by Welfare Party (RP) deputies in her favor, Yılmaz said it has become apparent once again that the RP and the DYP were accomplices in crime.

Çiller had been similarly "acquitted" of two other irregularity charges by two parliamentary committees in recent weeks. Speaking at the weekly meeting of the ANAP parliamentary group, Yılmaz recalled that it had been the RP

which had put the accusations on Parliament's agenda. At that time, the RP was an opposition party.

Then the RP-DYP coalition government was formed, and in voting at the relevant commissions, RP deputies listened not to their consciences, but to the instructions of their leader. In the face of the Susurluk scandal as well, the RP attitude has been one of trying to mount a cover-up, he stressed.

Yılmaz said, "Expecting justice from Erbakan, who has formed this government to cover up his partner's dirty dealings, amounts to expecting the snow to fall on the Karbala Desert in the month of July."

People have tested Erbakan and his party in power and seen through their veneer, Yılmaz said. In fact Erbakan, a veteran politician of 30 years, is not acting any differently than he had

in the past, always trampling upon all his values for the sake of getting the post of prime minister, Yılmaz maintained.

"We have seen Erbakan form a government to cover up the thieveries. The present task of Erbakan is to mount a cover-up of the gangs (partly exposed by the Susurluk incident)," said Yılmaz.

It would be wrong to blame Islam for the errant behavior of Erbakan and his RP "because neither the jin-exorcising hodjas who focus on sex nor Erbakan nor Erbakan's party can represent Islam."

Yılmaz said the Susurluk report of the Prime Ministry Board of Inspectors was a scandal in itself. And, by intervening in the proceedings at the state security court stage, Justice Minister Sevket Kazan of the RP tried to prevent any result which would not be in line with his political plans.

Yılmaz said, "Despite all these manipulations, this issue cannot be covered up. It is not possible for the government to whitewash this issue."

Parliamentary commission clears Yılmaz

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A Parliamentary Commission on Wednesday cleared main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yılmaz of any wrongdoing in the corruption scandal that has come to be known as "Civangate."

The case involved Engin Civan, a former chairman of state owned Emlakbank, who was jailed for receiving \$5 million in a single bribe from businessman Selim Edes for arranging a soft loan from the bank.

The scandal erupted when Civan was shot and wounded by the mafia elements contracted by Edes to reclaim his money. Edes wanted his money back on the grounds that Civan did not honour his part of the deal.

The True Path Party (DYP), with an ax to grind against ANAP for supporting motions of inquiry against its leader Tansu Çiller, had also wanted an investigation opened into Yılmaz's actions during the Civangate scan-

dal. The DYP had argued that Yılmaz, prime minister at the time, had not looked into the dealings of Emlakbank sufficiently and had allowed Engin Civan to carry on with his illegal activities and was therefore a party to the crime under article 240 of the Turkish penal code.

Ironically the DYP members of Parliament's "Civangate commission," as it has come to be known, also ruled that Yılmaz had not been involved in any wrongdoing under article 240 of the Turkish Penal Code. All 15 members of the commission subsequently cleared Yılmaz on this count.

Three DYP members nevertheless still insisted that Yılmaz should be sent to the Supreme Court under article 230 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Two Welfare Party (RP) members, abstained on this point, while the remaining members from the other parties in Parliament voted against the DYP motion for Yılmaz being sent to the Supreme Court for negligence.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1997

Police chiefs bribery trial

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The trial of 10 suspects, including the former chiefs of Istanbul Security Department, Deniz Gökçetin and Sedat Demir, and the former chief of the Homicide Bureau, Erdal Durmaz, continued on Wednesday in Istanbul Criminal Court No.5. It is alleged that the suspects accepted bribes to help members of an organized criminal organi-

zation known as the "Uniformed Gang," whose brains were the notorious Söylemez Brothers. The judge decided to wait for reports on the properties of the suspects. The requirement to release Halim Apaydın and Mehmet Faysal Söylemez was refused by the court as the trial was in the process of collecting evidence.

The Istanbul Public Prosecutor wants 24 years for Deniz Gökçetin and a sum of money 10 times more than what he earned through his illegal activities. The prosecutor also wants six years for Sedat Demir, 12 years for Erdal Durmaz, and a total of 48 years for hotel owner Halim Karataş and police chief Halim Apaydın, while 12 years each for Mehmet Faysal Söylemez, Cengiz Akgün, Gazi Dönmez and Levent Şeker are also being sought.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1997

Refah rescues Çiller in third corruption probe

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- A parliamentary commission responsible for investigating the assets of Deputy Prime Minister and True Path Party (DYP) Chairman Tansu Çiller, has decided not to send her to the Supreme Court, with a majority of votes cast by coalition deputies. The decision was taken by the votes of eight coalition deputies against seven from opposition parties.

The latest decision is the third time Çiller has been rescued by her party's Islamist coalition partner, the Welfare Party (RP), from facing prosecution on charges of corruption. The commission was set up after the RP had submitted

The decisions of all three commissions were important in terms of determining the coalition's future. The same reason had caused the dissolution of a coalition last year between the DYP and Mesut Yılmaz's Motherland Party (ANAP), currently the main opposition.

The opposition strongly protested the commission's conclusion, while the commission chairman, Naci Terzi, an RP deputy said "everyone, especially the press" must respect the commission's decision.

Suspicious on Çiller's assets

Claims that Çiller's assets, both at home and abroad, had been boosted while she was a cabinet member and prime minister were dismissed by the decision of the parliamentary investigation commission. The commission had also fallen short of obtaining a reasonable answer on where and how her businesses, hotels, and financial sources — especially in the United States — were acquired.

It had been discovered that Çiller's assets in the United States were worth \$5 million, but she had only transferred \$900,000 to that country for their purchase. Furthermore, the way in which this money was transferred to the United States remained unknown. In a written testimony Çiller sent to the commission, she said she regarded these questions as unconstitutional.

Özer Çiller, the husband of the DYP leader, meanwhile had referred to a U.S. citizen who co-owned the concerned properties. However, subsequent Turkish translations of Özer Çiller's written testimony was found to be fraudulent and incomplete.




The commission also failed to find out the origins of foreign currencies and gold which Tansu Çiller claimed to have inherited from her mother, who died in 1985. She also refused to answer where or in which bank the funds were kept. Her later statement that the "inheritance" was invested in "repos — gaining daily interest" and accordingly grew, was not found to be reasonable.

Bank accounts for businesses owned by the Çiller family also became the subject of interesting debate in the commission. While the ledgers of these companies were hidden from all commission members, it was declared that only the commission chairman could examine the company records, and company officials were allowed to send written testimonies to the commission. The commission chairman's attitude raised suspicions that there was an attempted cover-up of the allegations against Çiller.

The Çiller family owns a large number of houses, condominiums, a waterfront mansion, land, two yachts, mountainside mansions, holiday homes, and large sums of money including Turkish and foreign currencies. The files against Çiller were reshuffled without bringing clear answers on how her assets were acquired. A similar parliamentary investigation was carried out in 1995, but the commission failed to get a satisfactory result after Çiller insisted on an inquiry into all leaders' assets.

At least a year must have passed before a parliamentary investigation can be reopened. The statute of limitations may apply to many of the allegations facing Çiller, which means that even if evidence of illegal earnings is revealed, she will not face any prosecution.

ÇILLER'S CONTROVERSIAL WEALTH

- 
"INHERITED FROM DADDY"
 TL 473,000 (With which I bought apartments, large estates, Bosphorus villas over 30 years)
- 
"INHERITED FROM MUMMY"
 - 880 GOLD "REPUBLIC" COINS
 - \$ 570,000
 - DM 690,000
 - TL 432,000,000
- 
REAL ESTATE IN U.S.
 HOUSE, HOTEL AND COMPANIES OWNED BY HUSBAND
 ÖZER WORTH \$ 5.5 MILLION

a proposal for an investigation into the origins of Çiller's assets, before that party came to power. Similarly, two other commissions probing corruption charges against Çiller on TOFAŞ and TEDAŞ dealings had also blocked the way for legal prosecutions against her. Both of those commissions were also dominated by the coalition deputies.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1997

PKK signs deal with DHKP/C for urban attacks

The two clandestine organizations to join forces under the name 'Revolutionary Front'

By Hayri Birler
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Two outlawed organizations, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the

Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C), signed a protocol on Dec. 22, 1996, under which they have pledged to act together as the "Revolutionary Front."

PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan had, for quite some time, persistently called on the Turkish left to form an alliance which would aim to "come to power."

But no organization had accepted the offer. Finally, one of the illegal organizations, the DHKP/C, which has received one blow after another and lost a sizable part of its militants, accepted the offer.

The protocol acknowledges as a

priority the need for the two organizations to act together.

The protocol says, "A revolutionary front will be created by the signatory organizations and joint action will be developed." According to the PKK, the protocol has been directed against "capitalist and imperialist targets." The agreement is mainly aimed at fighting against the Turkish Republic. It has been stressed that the main principles will be "unleashing the people's revolutionary will, and developing a revolutionary movement on a radical platform." The "revolutionary front" will reject all kinds of "reformist approaches" and com-

promise.

PKK sources say that although the DHKP/C does not have a developed military force, they see the protocol not as the first step toward a "superficial structuring" but as working toward a union which will unify Turkish and Kurdish militants against the "common target." The same sources do not hide the fact they see this togetherness as a way of increasing PKK influence on "Turkish revolutionary elements." This approach makes it clear the PKK will use the protocol to dictate to the DHKP/C its own "action targets" and methods.

After the protocol was signed, PKK leader Öcalan issued a statement saying there were no significant differences between the ideology and tactics of the two organizations. He stressed that thanks

to this development, it would be possible for militants from these organizations to take action in metropolitan areas as well in 1997.

Security sources confirm that a protocol has been signed between the two organizations. They have told the TDN, "As a result of intensive and unrelenting operations which the armed forces have been staging in the state of emergency region and in northern Iraq, and the police in Istanbul, Ankara and other big cities, militant cadres of these two organizations have become disorganized. A defeatist mood has come to prevail. Desertions have started. The PKK has received one blow after another, and has been driven to stage suicide attacks as in Tunceli and Sivas to make its presence

felt. Meanwhile, the DHKP/C has lost a sizable part of its trained staff, and proves unable to stage any significant action since it had few militants in the first place. These circumstances pushed the two organizations closer to one another, and forced them to cooperate."

Asked what would be the practical consequences of the protocol, these sources said, "Before anything else, joint action may be expected in metropolitan areas. That is, joint demonstrations, protests and perhaps bomb attacks may be staged in big cities.

They would start acting together in prisons. Until now they have staged hunger strikes, rebellions and attacks on officials separately. From now on, they will be working together in such activities. They will try to escalate urban ter-

rorism against common targets in various parts of Turkey and abroad, especially in Germany and in the Netherlands. There is a strong possibility that the DHKP/C will renew the training accord it concluded with the PKK in recent years, an accord enabling its militants to receive training in Syria, Iran, northern Iraq and the Syrian-controlled parts of Lebanon."

Security sources say that Öcalan will issue fresh calls to all clandestine leftist organizations, Turkish and Kurdish alike, to form an "alliance convention" in which the PKK would also be represented. However, Turkish leftist organizations in particular are expected to turn down the offer, on the grounds that it would amount to a "superficial structuring."

Human rights: İHD says Lice residents forced to posts as village guards

By Hande Çulpan / Turkish Daily News

ANKARA - Human Rights Association (İHD) chairman Akin Birdal said on Wednesday that the state's understanding of democracy and its lack of interest in making Emergency Rule more flexible were manifest once again by the incidents in the southeastern village of Lice, involving claims of involuntary recruitment of village guards by Deputy Governor Hacı İbbaş.

Speaking at a press conference at İHD headquarters, Birdal noted that a delegation of 43 people from 37 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) went to Lice to check out the claims. However, as the practice continued, a second group consisting of 80 people from four political parties, trade unions, NGOs, as well as intellectuals and artists went to Lice on Jan. 8-9 but were barred from entering the village on the grounds that, threatened with a possible Kurdistan Workers' Party attack, the state could not guarantee the security of the soldiers — men who were on duty to protect the delegation itself.

The İHD chairman noted that, in allowing such a situation, Turkey violated the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Paris Charter and the Vienna Declaration, all of which stipulate that states are responsible for enabling NGOs to make on-site observations regarding human rights violations. Birdal charged that the forced recruitment at Lice focused on specific goals: the security of factories to be built in the region; the reopening of the Diyarbakır-Bingöl highway; and the exertion of psychological pressure on Lice residents, who have long been opposed to becoming village guards.

Having been blocked from entering Lice, the delegation met with the Emergency Rule governor who claimed that the villagers were volunteering to become village guards and that the state was aiming to provide employment for the villagers. Birdal found fault with this account, saying that 65 of the 84 forced to become village guards were already employed at the time.

Noting that the tales of the Lice residents pointed to human rights violations in the village, Birdal said many agreements which Turkey endorsed stipulated that all people were equal before the law and, thus, could not be forced into such jobs against their will. Birdal also urged Turkey to pay attention to what was happening in Lice. "There are women and children crying in Lice. The residents want to live as human beings." Birdal also distributed last month's İHD Report, which includes the balance sheet of human rights violations in 1996.

Figures tell it all

The following statistics were taken from İHD's Report for December.

- 78 people died in unsolved murders and 46 people were injured in unsolved attacks.
- 190 people lost their lives through execution without trial, after torture or while in custody.
- 2,859 people died in armed clashes.
- Attacks on civilians left 119 dead and 133 injured.
- 194 people "disappeared" while in custody.
- 346 people were tortured or claimed to have been tortured.
- 20,434 people were taken into custody, 421 of whom were from the press.
- 2,071 people were arrested.
- 68 villages and hamlets were evacuated.
- 109 places were bombed.
- 132 associations, trade unions and press agencies were closed.
- 134 associations, trade unions and press agencies were raided.
- 195 publications were confiscated.
- At present, there are 140 prisoners of conscience in jail.
- Courts have approved of prison terms exceeding 173 years and fines totaling TL 9,974,600,000.

• Le Monde - jeudi, 16 janvier 1997 • Le Monde - jeudi, 16 janvier 1997

Paris a demandé à l'Irak le strict respect des résolutions de l'ONU

LA FRANCE a invité l'Irak à coopérer « pleinement » avec la Commission spéciale de l'ONU chargée de son désarmement (Unscm) et avec l'Agence internationale de l'énergie atomique (AIEA) pour que puisse être envisagée la levée de l'embargo pétrolier imposé à Bagdad en août 1990. Le démantèlement des armes de destruction massive de Bagdad est en effet la condition *sine qua non* de l'application du paragraphe 22 de la résolution 687 de l'ONU prévoyant la levée des sanctions pétrolières.

Le vice-premier ministre irakien, Tarek Aziz, qui a été reçu, mardi 14 janvier, par le ministre des affaires étrangères, Hervé de Charette, a répondu que seule « une toute petite partie » des résolutions de l'ONU n'a pas encore été respectée par son pays. Or, à ce jour, l'Unscm continue de soupçonner Bagdad de dissimuler entre six et seize missiles.

Lundi, après un entretien avec le premier ministre, Alain Juppé, Tarek Aziz avait appelé la France à aider son pays « à parvenir à une application juste, honnête et équilibrée » des résolutions de l'ONU, c'est-à-dire à contrer ce qu'il a qualifié de « politique biaisée des Etats-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne ». C'est le leitmotiv préféré des Irakiens, qui se disent en permanence victimes de sombres manipulations anglo-saxonnes pour empêcher l'application des résolutions de l'ONU.

Dans des lettres qu'il avait adressées en octo-

bre à Hervé de Charette et à son homologue russe, Evgueni Primakov, Tarek Aziz avait déjà demandé que le nombre d'experts français et russes au sein de l'Unscm soit augmenté parce que, pour l'Irak, la plupart des membres de cette commission sont à la solde des Etats-Unis.

LA FRANCE ET L'UNSCOM

Que l'Irak en ait fait ou non la demande, Paris, indique-t-on de source française, est favorable à une présence plus forte au sein de l'Unscm. Mais le problème est, d'une part, de trouver ces experts et, d'autre part, de financer leur mission en tenant compte des problèmes budgétaires des ministères, en l'occurrence le ministère de la défense. Au total, il y a aujourd'hui neuf experts français seulement au sein des différentes instances de l'Unscm, mais aucun ne fait partie de l'entourage de Rolf Ekeus, le diplomate suédois qui la préside.

Deux Français font partie de la centaine de membres du bureau permanent de l'Unscm à New York. Six autres sont détachés du bureau de la commission à Bagdad, dont la trentaine de membres ont une affectation de trois à quatre mois. Deux délégations d'experts effectuent actuellement des missions ponctuelles d'une à deux semaines à Bagdad. La première est dirigée par un Français et compte un autre expert français. L'autre ne comprend qu'un seul Français. Paris

souhaite améliorer sa présence dans l'ensemble de ce dispositif, notamment pour ce qui est des postes de responsabilité.

En décembre, la France a annoncé qu'elle se désengageait de la force de surveillance de la partie du Kurdistan d'Irak située au nord du 36^e parallèle, parce que les Etats-Unis et la Turquie ont unilatéralement modifié l'objectif de la mission « Provide comfort », dont le but originel était essentiellement humanitaire. La nouvelle mission, assurée par les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne, est réduite à la surveillance aérienne du nord de l'Irak.

Paris maintient toutefois sa présence dans la mission de surveillance du sud de ce pays, en deçà du 32^e parallèle, pour protéger l'Arabie saoudite et le Koweït. Certains parlementaires sont toutefois d'avis qu'il faut mettre fin à cette surveillance. Dès janvier 1996, dans un rapport remis à la commission des affaires étrangères de l'Assemblée nationale, une mission conduite par l'ancien ministre des affaires étrangères, Jean-Bernard Raimond, suggérait le retrait des avions français de cette mission de surveillance et le rétablissement de « quelques liaisons aériennes avec Bagdad qui rompraient l'isolement de l'Irak ». Le gouvernement français n'est pas - pas encore ? - de cet avis.

Mouna Naim

Courrier International du 16 janvier au 22 janvier 1997

TURQUIE Le chef du PKK est-il un agent des services turcs ?

MILLIYET

Istanbul

Les affaires sales sont débâchées les unes après les autres et ceux qui en sont éclaboussés cherchent toujours à se dissimuler derrière le prétexte du « patriotisme ». [La Turquie vit depuis plusieurs semaines au rythme des « affaires », avec notamment les liaisons entre la mafia, les services de répression et le pouvoir, principalement le parti de Mme Tansu Çiller, voir CI n° 318 du 5 décem-

bre 1996.] Les criminels travaillant pour des organisations clandestines échappent à toutes les accusations ; ils bénéficient de toutes sortes d'avantages que des citoyens ordinaires ne connaîtront jamais ; toutes les portes s'ouvrent devant eux et, si jamais ils se trouvent coincés, quelqu'un chuchote quelque chose à des oreilles sensibles pour que nos « héros » se tirent d'affaire avec une facilité déconcertante.

Dans cette ambiance, il est utile

de revenir sur le livre d'Ugur Mumcu intitulé « Le dossier kurde ». Dans cet ouvrage inachevé, Ugur évoque une manifestation à la faculté des sciences politiques [d'Ankara], le 31 mars 1971, au moment le plus sombre de la répression qui a suivi le coup d'Etat militaire du 12 mars. Lors de cette manifestation, un tract fut distribué portant le titre « Manifeste de l'aurore ». Alors étudiant dans cette faculté, Abdullah Öcalan [dit « Apo », actuel chef du PKK, l'organisation nationaliste kurde qui mène depuis

S'appuyant sur l'enquête du journaliste assassiné Ugur Mumcu, un grand chroniqueur turc affirme que le principal dirigeant du parti nationaliste kurde, Abdullah Öcalan dit "Apo", pourrait être un agent provocateur depuis 1971.

dix ans en Anatolie une guérilla contre le régime] faisait partie des manifestants. Sa présence a plus tard été confirmée par des témoins qui l'ont vu le poing levé, en train de scander des slogans.

Au procès, le procureur demande... son acquittement

Öcalan fut arrêté comme d'autres manifestants, maintenu en garde à vue, puis mis en détention pour être jugé par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat. Le procureur n'était autre que le célèbre Baki Tug, devenu le symbole de la répression de l'époque, après la condamnation de nombreux intellectuels, dont Mümtaz Soysal**, lequel fut condamné pour avoir écrit le manuel universitaire intitulé "Introduction à la Constitution"... Mais, chose étonnante, notre procureur zélé, qui s'investit avec tant d'enthousiasme pour obtenir la condamnation des prévenus, changea brusquement d'avis au sujet d'Öcalan et déclara dans son réquisitoire que les tracts incriminés n'avaient pas été distribués par lui, mais par deux autres militants nommés Metin Yalçin et Ramazan Özcan. Affirmant alors qu'il n'existait "aucune preuve de la participation d'Abdullah Öcalan à la distribution de ce manifeste", il demanda son acquittement, ne réclamant contre lui qu'une peine de trois mois pour sa participation au boycottage des cours. Le tribunal suivit le procureur dans sa demande.

Après avoir purgé ses trois mois de peine, Öcalan obtint une bourse d'études, le 1^{er} décembre 1971. Le conseil d'administration de la faculté des sciences politiques, qui détenait un rapport sur la responsabilité active d'Öcalan dans le boycottage en question et sur son rôle en tant que meneur du groupe étudiantin, se contenta néanmoins d'un simple avertissement



Les combattants du PKK au Kurdistan. En médaillon, Abdullah Öcalan.

à son égard, alors que ses camarades, impliqués dans la même action, furent expulsés de la faculté pour quinze jours. Si Apo avait été frappé de la même sanction, il n'aurait pu ni toucher sa bourse ni obtenir un sursis pour son service militaire.

Il est évidemment impensable qu'un grand journaliste d'investigation comme Ugur Mumcu, enquêtant sur le PKK, accepte que ce dossier soit clos. Il se penche donc sur l'affaire, retrouve le redoutable procureur [issu du coup d'Etat] du 12 mars et lui demande pourquoi à l'époque il a changé d'avis au sujet d'Öcalan et requis une peine aussi légère à son encontre. La réponse est époustouflante : on avait chuchoté à l'oreille de Baki Tug qu'Apo était "leur homme de main" [celui des services secrets turs]. L'ex-procureur a d'ailleurs accepté de remettre à Ugur tout document qu'il pourrait trouver sur ces liens troubles. C'est après nous avoir fait part de ces aveux qu'Ugur a été assassiné, sans avoir le temps de se rendre à un second rendez-vous avec

le procureur. Lorsque j'ai évoqué cette affaire dans un article, immédiatement après l'assassinat d'Ugur, je n'ai reçu aucun démenti de la part de Baki Tug. Bien au contraire, il a répondu à une question qui lui était posée en confirmant la conversation qu'il avait eue avec Ugur. A présent, nous voudrions savoir si Abdullah Öcalan était lui aussi un "patriote" [un homme des services secrets], comme ceux qui sont impliqués dans les dernières sales affaires. Et aussi s'il n'y a pas un lien entre l'assassinat d'Ugur Mumcu et ces affaires. **Ali Sirmen**

* Ugur Mumcu, journaliste au quotidien *Cumhuriyet*, s'est rendu célèbre par ses révélations sur des affaires de corruption. Sa dernière enquête sur le PKK l'avait conduit en Allemagne, d'où il était revenu avec une valise entière de documents "très compromettants", selon ce qu'il avait confié à ses proches. Il a été assassiné peu de temps après, le 24 janvier 1993. Ses funérailles ont déclenché d'énormes manifestations spontanées à Ankara.

** Mümtaz Soysal : juriste de renom, actuellement député social-démocrate et chroniqueur au quotidien *Hürriyet*.

faits & arguments

sur l'union européenne
présentés par les députés communistes français au parlement européen

N° 42 - JANVIER - FÉVRIER 1997

Droits humains

Des actes forts pour faire respecter les droits de l'homme

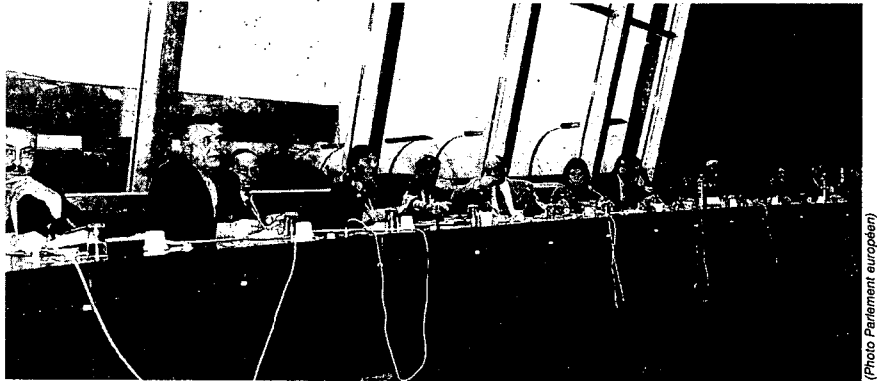
Le Parlement européen a adopté le rapport Lalumière qui dresse le bilan des atteintes aux droits de l'homme dans le monde. Au cours du débat, Aline Pailler a mis l'accent sur les violations les plus flagrantes et a insisté sur la nécessité d'actes politiques au-delà des déclarations d'intention : "Dénoncer ne suffit plus. Agissons en suspendant l'accord avec Israël jusqu'à ce que les droits de l'homme soient respectés. De même pour la Turquie, qui n'a toujours pas libéré Leyla Zana. Suspendons là aussi les aides financières et conditionnons notre coopération au respect des droits de l'homme. L'Europe se doit de jouer les cartes qu'elle a en mains. On attend des signaux mais surtout des actes politiques forts et fermes".



Campagne d'information

du groupe confédéral de la Gauche Unitaire Européenne - Gauche Verte Nordique (GUE/NGL)

Turquie : pour la liberté de la presse



(Photo Parlement européen)

Les parlementaires européens dialoguent avec les éditeurs de la presse turque.

Un projet de la loi visant à limiter la liberté de la presse en Turquie a été présenté au Parlement par la coalition gouvernementale. Dès l'annonce de ce projet, une déclaration était signée par 1683 journalistes pour dénoncer "les dispositions susceptibles de nous éloigner du monde libre".

Les groupes socialiste, libéral, GUE/NGL, verts et radical ont invité les éditeurs des plus grands quotidiens turcs à rencontrer les parlementaires à la session de décembre à Strasbourg. Ils ont montré comment ce projet de loi portait atteinte à la liberté de la presse, notamment en faisant peser une menace sur les investigations des journalistes. Aline Pailler, qui co-présidait la réunion pour le groupe confédéral GUE/NGL, a dénoncé cette nouvelle atteinte aux libertés de la part du gouvernement turc qui continue à bénéfici-

er de la complaisance des États membres. C'est ainsi que le Conseil européen de Dublin a déclaré "accueillir favorablement l'intention déclarée du gouvernement turc de prendre des mesures pour améliorer la situation des droits de l'homme". Cette déclaration est contredite par les faits qui font au contraire apparaître une aggravation des violations des droits de l'homme, notamment avec les attaques contre la presse, le maintien de Leyla Zana en prison et les nouvelles offensives contre la population kurde.

Dans le prolongement de l'initiative des groupes politiques avec les éditeurs de presse, le Parlement européen a adopté une résolution dénonçant "les tentatives du gouvernement turc de limiter la liberté de la presse et de contrôler l'activité des journalistes".

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1997

PKK informers turn into state hitmen

The special teams and village guards have been used in the counter-insurgency operations against the PKK since 1984, while Gendarmerie Intelligence Service (JITEM) employed former PKK members against the PKK's urban organizations.

By Zeki Ayık
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- It has recently come to light that ultranationalist Ülkücü militants have been used to do some of the Turkish state's dirty work. Now it is claimed that former Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) militants who cooperate with the state have been used to perform state-sponsored extrajudicial killings as well. People's Democracy Party (HADEP)

Istanbul executive Latif Kaya told the TDN that the Gendarmerie Intelligence Services (JITEM) views HADEP as a potentially terroristic organization, and abducts HADEP members to pressurize them into joining an armed counter-PKK organization, AMED, formed under its command. Kaya also claims that AMED kidnaps and "eliminates" Kurdish intellectuals in the predominately Kurdish provinces of south-eastern and eastern Turkey due to the authorities' belief that they support the PKK.

Kaya alleges that HADEP Istanbul executive Mahmut Demir, code named "Yesil" (Green) and Alaattin Kanat, whose names have cropped up quite frequently in the press,

are former PKK militants who have been used by the state as part of AMED along with Turkish soldiers, village guards and special teams in its fight against the PKK.

The group's first assignment, mentioned in the memoirs of the late JITEM commander Ahmet Cem Ersever, was supposedly the murder of Vedat Aydın, the People's Labor Party (HEP) Diyarbakir Branch leader, in 1991. Ersever had stated that captured Ulkucu and PKK militants who cooperated were placed in this group. Ersever himself died in a mysterious "unresolved murder" in 1994. Alaattin Kanat, who agreed to cooperate with the state after his arrest as a PKK militant, was released instead of being imprisoned. Kaya claims that following his release Kanat was involved in the assassination of former Mardin parliamentarian Mehmet Sincar.

Demir, who had been active in Tunceli and Elazığ provinces between 1990-1993 with the code names "Yesil" (green) and "Sakalli" (The Bearded One) is said by Kaya to have claimed to be working on behalf of the state, and was actually a former PKK militant who joined AMED. Demir is supposed to have been involved in the assassinations of Mehmet Sincar, journalist Musa Anter and Vedat Aydın.

In addition Demir is supposed to have been active in the assassination of Faruk Candan, the Democracy Party (DEP) Ankara's branch leader, in Gölbaşı, Ankara in 1994.

Forced to convert to AMED

"AMED, which used to be active in the Eastern provinces, now operates also in the major cities," said Kaya. "They kidnap the Istanbul members of HADEP, take them to the Istanbul Police Headquarters in Aksaray where they force them to become confessors. In November 1996, 38 HADEP members were kidnapped by this group. Since 1994, 164 people have been murdered by this group, and none of these murders have been solved." Kaya said 3,870 people who could not bear the pressures to defect to AMED or serve as village guards have migrated to the cities, and added "there will be many more AMED groups in this environment."

Kaya stated that AMED was formed in Diyarbakir, and continued with the Bucak clan in Şanlıurfa. He claimed that there is a torture chamber in the basement of True Path Party (DYP) Şanlıurfa Deputy Sedat Bucak's house, which is used to force

the abducted people to join AMED.

One so taken and forced to work for the state is HADEP member Adil Dizek, who recounted his experiences for the TDN: "I was forced into a car by two plainclothes men, who identified themselves as Police Investigation Bureau officers, in front of Kucukkoy Park, Istanbul. When I asked them why they were not taking me to the Küçüköy Police Station, they replied, 'We are from JITEM. Do not think of resisting.'

"We arrived at Istanbul Police Headquarters in Aksaray and waited in the car for someone called "Dayi" (Uncle). Then we drove through an army base in Macka where a couple of police vehicles were waiting at the entrance. We continued on an unfinished road for about two kilometers and stopped. They threatened me with death by putting a gun in my mouth and firing another gun beside my car. For about two hours they beat me, and I agreed to work with them.

"They brought me to Istanbul Police Headquarters and said, from now on, you are one of us. You will join AMED. You will tell us whatever happens in HADEP. We will supply money and arms for you. If you want, we can find you drugs to sell."

After making an appointment to meet in 15 days, they released me." Dizek did not show up at the appointed date. He said the threats on his life continued and he filed a criminal suit against the Istanbul Police.

A sudden increase in the numbers of the unresolved murders and "missings" coincides with the alleged formation date of AMED in 1991. Following are some events since 1991 in which the AMED group is believed to have taken part:

Four missings and 31 unresolved murders in 1991; eight missings and 360 unresolved murders in 1992; 13 missings and 467 unresolved murders in 1993; 49 missings and 423 unresolved murders in 1994; 163 missings and 84 unresolved murders 1995; 191 missings and 59 unresolved murders in 1996.

Kaya claims their investigation has established Alaattin Kanat, Mahmut Demir, İbrahim Bobat, Ali Pınar, Abdülhakim Güven, Kahraman Bilgiç, Ali Timurtaş, Kemal Enik, İrfan Beyaz, Ali Ozansoy, and Abdülkerim Altuğ as AMED hitmen.

Scenes of shame

Turkish Daily News

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1997

Editorial

By İlnur Çevik



On Thursday practically all the TV channels showed heart shattering scenes from the southeastern provincial center of Diyarbakir where the free food handouts given away by a businessman on the occasion of the holy month of Ramadan created a melee.

The businessman never bargained for such scenes while his food handouts for 3,500 needy people created unrest when a huge crowd tried to plunder the truck carrying the foodstuffs. This was a huge crowd of desperate and hungry people fighting it out in the center of a major city to get food for their families. All this shows is that there are too many needy people in our country who have been forgotten for too long.

It is no secret that while a handful of rich people in Turkey have grown richer over the years, the masses have been pushed to the limits of poverty and have been neglected. So it was only normal that we had such riots when people heard of the free food handouts...

We keep on repeating over and over again that the main problem in Turkey is the high cost of living and the state of desperation that this has pushed the masses into. The Turkish people in general have been living hardships

for too long with high inflation. The people with low and fixed incomes cannot cope with the rapid rate of fall in the value of the Turkish currency. Inflation is taking away whatever wage hikes people get and most of the time even this is insufficient and does not offset the rapid fall in the value of the Turkish currency... The government on the other hand is sending two ministers to study the "situation" of the poor people of Diyarbakir. This is rather sad. Isn't the government

aware of the suffering that we have exposed the masses to in our country? Don't they know that the people are facing serious hardships and the government has failed to provide them with relief?

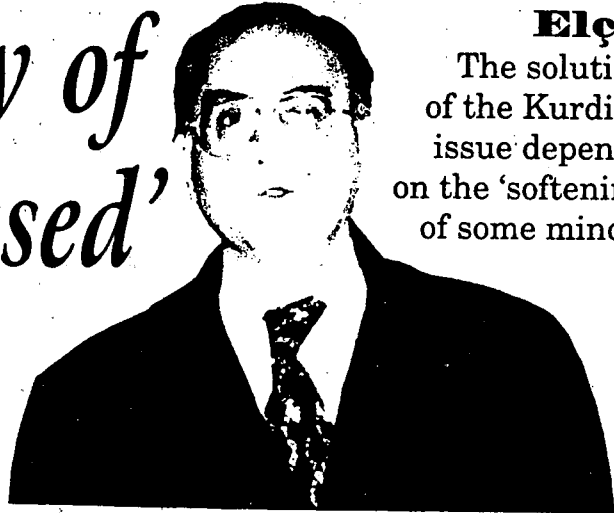
We are really disturbed... The pro-Islamic Welfare Party (Refah) had made a reputation for itself as a party which cared for the masses. Now we see that in a short period of time Refah, which is now the senior partner of the coalition, has forgotten the plight of the masses and is sending ministers to study this situation...

Refah has to wake up to the facts that it was the poor people that brought it to power and it is still driving its current strength from these people. Refah should not alienate the masses or else the masses may soon desert it...

turkish daily news

Friday, January 17, 1997

DKP: 'The party of the oppressed'



Elçi:

The solution of the Kurdish issue depends on the 'softening of some minds'

Cautious: We needed to form a political movement free of the mistakes of the DEP and HADEP, and aimed at finding better alternative solutions through a more cautious approach

By Alparslan Esmer
Turkish Daily News / ANKARA

The Democratic Mass Party (DKP) entered the political arena on Jan. 3 and aimed to carry the Kurdish problem to the political platform through moderate policies. In terms of its policies, the party has differed from its more radical pro-Kurdish predecessors, the Democracy Party, which was closed down, and the People's Democracy Party (HADEP), which faces closure by the Constitutional Court. According to Şerafettin Elçi, founding chairman of the DKP, the solution of the Kurdish issue depends on the "softening of some minds." He stresses that a change in the centrist structure of the state to a more decentralized one through a democratic process will not mean the disintegration of Turkey. The following is an interview with Elçi on his party's perspectives:

TDN- Mr. chairman, why did you see a need to set up the Democratic Mass Party?

ELÇİ- Political parties are established to address social needs. We have first found out that Turkey was located in a very opportune region, economically. If these opportunities were utilized, Turkey would have been in a better place among the world's countries. When we dig down into the core of this unfortunate situation we will see a Kurdish problem laying beneath it. It (the Kurdish problem) has precluded our democracy's progress.

Those who have occupied the top positions of the state have reduced democratic rights, fearing that the Kurds would also benefit from these. This is

why the people in this country face a continuous disturbance and conflicting environment. An enormous amount of the state's resources have been wasted to restore social peace and stabil-

ity. Therefore, we (the DKP) emerged with a slogan stressing that there would not be any economic development, democratic progress, or social stability without a full solution to the Kurdish

issue.

We believe the present state structure is far from addressing the current needs. When this state was first created, the world was dominated by totalitarian and unitary systems. The mentality

controlling the state's hand depended on a single hold.

The ideas of a single nation, single ideology, single party and a single leader were common. The current realities of the rising of new democratic understandings based on pluralism highlights the need for reform in this country. For this reason, we believe a solution to the Kurdish problem will be the first requirement of this reform. Without this issue being solved, it is not possible to have a civic and democratized society. There is a need for a political party which focuses on solving this problem as the core of all other issues. The DKP was born to address these needs.

TDN- Formerly, there were several other parties established to address the problems of the Kurds, like the Democracy Party (DEP) and later HADEP. Didn't you see them capable enough? How does your party differ from them?

ELÇİ- First of all, we have ideological differences. Those parties have a Marxist tradition. They have a "classist" view. Our ideological difference is that we do not see the issue through the classist approach. This is an issue concerning all people living in this country. That is why we call ourselves the Democratic "Mass" Party. Our colleagues might have set out with good intentions, but they failed to get along with the sensitive points of politics. They also failed to contribute a process to soften up the society, which is the primary requirement. So, we needed to form a politi-

cal movement cleared of those mistakes and aimed at finding better solution alternatives through a more cautious approach. This is the main way we differ from them. We do not have any intention to offend, condemn or accuse these parties. We can only influence the masses who have voted in such tradition. The electorate supported these political movements with good intention but the movements did not show the talent to utilize the Kurdish issue for the benefit of the masses. Therefore we needed a separate structure to distance ourselves from these political mistakes.

We very carefully aim to build an atmosphere of confidence. Therefore, we are in favor of solving the Kurdish issue by maintaining the integrity of Turkey. We prefer to preserve the current boundaries. Also, our attitude and past experiences play a more trustworthy role. In addition to these factors, we need to soften up minds. These days, we see that some people occupying the top positions of the state are deliberately creating unnecessary panic in people's minds. Many opinions that are right and reasonable have been injected into people's minds as harmful and dangerous. Contrary to this, we are trying to show the people that these opinions are not harmful, but rather to their benefit. In particular, a solution to the Kurdish issue is essential for all members of the society. The solution would not only serve the Kurdish population but also the whole of society. That will help to restore the peace and stability which has been needed for a long time, as well as the economic development. A solution will save Turkey from being a country questioned and tried on the international level for its alleged human rights abuses. It will become more prestigious. We have to explain this to the people. We have to explain to them that one cannot have freedom at the expense of the freedom of others. We can call a society tranquil when all segments of it

benefit: It is the time to dispose of mentalities which use one part of society as an instrument of oppression against another.

TDN- You have just said your party's aim was to solve the Kurdish issue in the Southeast. You have also said that you needed to soften people's minds on issues. What is your party's plans for a solution, and how do you plan

to accomplish these tasks?

ELÇİ- Here is our solution plan. First of all, society is occupied by the fear of disintegration. Perhaps they have the right to be sensitive on this issue. But the concept of integrity must be clearly understood. The current state system means by using the word, "integrity," a country which is ruled from a single center. But we should not search for a country's integrity within a central system. Democracy can also work in a decentralized system. The people can share the power in matters concerning themselves without harming the country's integrity. We are seeing similar models throughout the world. Look at the federalist structures in Germany and the United States, or the slightly more developed model in Switzerland. These countries preserve their integrity. The people must understand that when someone comes up with stressing a change of administration system, he does not mean separatism.

Our party suggests a provincial model in which local and regional administrations are granted more power. What I mean is that the local and regional administrations are authorized to have their own legislative and executive bodies, make their own laws, be elected by the regional occupants, collect their own taxes, and exercise their own education, health and internal security policies. This type of model could help diminish regional differences without engaging in conflict. These, of course, require conditions where everyone can freely express his opinion without the fear of being tried for them.

On the other hand, the state must comprehend the Kurdish reality. This, as the first step of solving the issue, is very vital. The disturbance will continue and may even lead to unwanted consequences as long as we keep seeing everyone living in this country as Turks and do not allow the others to preserve their ethnic identities.

TDN- Mr. chairman, is there any possibility of creating an atmosphere where everyone can freely exchange views even before the bloodshed ends?

ELÇİ- The ending of bloodshed is imminent. It is also one of our main goals. But if we really want to stop the bloodshed, we must take serious steps even before the conflict ends. Meanwhile, the state should apply the international laws which are attached to its domestic law. If it steps back the exercising of inappropriate policies and starts giving signs of willingness to solve the issue within the framework of human rights and freedoms, it will have certain effects on ending the conflict. Ending the bloodshed is everyone's obligation, including that of the state.

TDN- Could you tell us about your party's expectations in terms of winning a certain portion of the electorate?

ELÇİ- We believe we have considerable vote potential because there are widespread expectations that the conflict will end, to save the economic resources being wasted in the conflict and to achieve peace and tranquility. We are here to voice their expectations as their political party. We also want a state bound by law. It is not the only the Kurds who wish for this, other segments of the society also want it. This is not an illusion, we see ourselves as one of the strongest political parties of the future.

TDN- What are your views towards the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)?

ELÇİ- We have always made it clear. We are ideologically different from the PKK. We think and act differently. The DKP is a political party which applies peaceful and democratic methods. We disapprove of all kinds of violence and try to distance ourselves from it.

TDN- Do you think of any direct contact with

the PKK in terms of ending the conflict through your suggestions?

ELÇİ- No, I will not have any contact with the PKK. This is not something I can assume any responsibility for. But if the state seriously aims to resolve the issue, it should consider the PKK also. It is the state's responsibility. What kind of method will be chosen is, again, up to the state.

TDN- Recently, the acting chairman of HADEP talked about the possibility of an alignment with the DKP. How do you evaluate this?

ELÇİ- I have already told you that HADEP's political mistakes harmed society. But I think, the DKP's emergence may help HADEP to reorganize itself. It may improve our political advocacy. Maybe there is a chance to agree at a common junction. If there is really a chance we can reconcile within "our principles," we may have an election alliance — who knows, maybe a more lasting one. As long as our principles are taken into consideration, we will be open to a merger. Many of the leaders of HADEP are colleagues whom we have known for a long time. I believe our existing dialogue with HADEP leaders could bring them to a better line.

TDN- You are indicating that you have good contacts with any party which acknowledges your party's attitude. Is there any possibility of cooperation with the parties on social democratic lines, considering you were once a deputy of the Republican People's Party (CHP)?

ELÇİ- We have a party program. We are trying to pinpoint the basic problems in our efforts to realize that program. We can cooperate with any group we believe is qualified to work with us and contribute the solution of these basic problems.

TDN- Is there any group in or outside Parliament which you feel is close to your views?

ELÇİ- I believe that there is a large number of people in favor of solving the Kurdish issue. This includes politicians also. But, unfortunately, they are not as determined and courageous enough to take radical steps. There is a willingness. The determination can only be gathered through society's exertion of pressure. I can't speak of whether Parliament, which represents the people, can provide this pressure or not. We will try to establish dialogue with every party, including the president and the prime minister as much as we can and bring solution methods. Because the issue is not only ours, it concerns the entire country. I think, they will not hesitate to respond to our search for dialogue if they are really willing to address the people's problems. We will not do it by confronting each other. We will not refrain from personal concessions.

We want to tell the people at the top of this state that the Kurdish issue cannot be solved under the shadow of weapons. The Kurds will not be wiped out through killing. Twenty-seven Kurdish uprisings were bloodily and ruthlessly suppressed. The problem has not been solved, but, rather, has been augmented. Those who control the state must be aware of this.

And the Kurds, must also be aware of this; they cannot solve their problems with guns. If this reality is fully comprehended, the opinions will intensify toward finding peaceful ways.

TDN- It is certain that your party is expected to receive the majority of votes from the Southeast. HADEP and the ruling partner Welfare Party (RP) are highly influential in the region. Will you also turn to conservative votes like the RP did?

ELÇİ- In terms of the electorate, we target the traditionalist masses. Not only in the Southeast, but the whole country. No party has any chance of growing by neglecting this potential. And of course the middle-class, we need to draw them towards our movement. The middle class also brings us the advantage of being more effective as well as being more moderate.

TDN- You speak about the middle-class. But there are also some leading businessmen taking active steps toward economic development of the Southeast. Have you had any contact with them?

ELÇİ- We have not had any contacts with them so far. We have only spent our time trying to organize our party. Now, we are planning to make contact with many groups, including the civic organizations and business circles. The latter can be highly advantageous for solving the issue. We welcome any warm approach from business circles towards our movement.

TDN- How do you assess the views that your party is pursuing the political viewpoint of Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in northern Iraq?

ELÇİ- No. This is completely wrong. I still do not know what the KDP's political program consists of. It is true that I have very good personal contacts with Mr. Barzani. We are very good friends. Such friendships are essential and inevitable. But our friendship does not go a step beyond personal. Anyway a legitimate party must be free of all kinds of influences. I cannot call a party legitimate if it lacks political determination. The DKP has its decision-making mechanisms within its structure. Receiving instructions from an external body completely contradicts our structure.

TDN- Do you think this issue should be solved internationally or by the regional people themselves?

ELÇİ- Only the region's people can provide alternatives for a solution. It is very normal that the Kurdish issue draws attention throughout the world because the problem has already gone beyond national borders, and therefore does not only disturb the concerned sides. But the priority to find a solution must be given to the regional powers.

TDN- Where do you place your party in the political arena?

ELÇİ- Our program answers that. We regard the political arena as very artificial and disorganized. There is a turmoil. Parties placing themselves in the left, right, or the center, act contradictory to their objectives. We therefore, do not want to locate ourselves in neither left nor the right. We are a party at the center. We will not consider ideology in the first place.

In fact, we have a reformist tendency. We propose a restructuring of the state. This is more inclined to the left but, on the other hand, we also object to the

misperception of some concepts, such as secularism. The term is perceived as an anti-Islamist view, seen as the religion of the state. We also want the faithful people in this country live freely without any pressure, and organized themselves according to their beliefs. We have respect for religious beliefs.

Therefore, for this reason we could be seen as a rightist party. But if we really need to place our party somewhere, we will classify ourselves as the "party of the oppressed." Wherever we find people being subjected to oppression or injustice, we will represent them. With so many options, we'll simply place ourselves at the center.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1997



PUK leader Jalal Talabani seen here on Thursday talking with Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller as other officials and journalists look on. TDN Ali Fuat Ulay

Talabani reaffirms commitment to united and democratic Iraq

By Saadet Oruç / *Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), on Thursday declared his dedication to the concept of an independent, democratic and united Iraq, while reports have been heard of autonomy talks between Baghdad and the PUK. The PUK leader arrived in Ankara on Thursday for a four-day visit of meetings. He was reported to have met with U.S. officials in the morning, although the U.S. Embassy in Ankara denied the report. Talabani missed out on meeting U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau, who left Ankara on Wednesday after attending the third round of northern Iraqi talks.

Travelling from Teheran, Talabani arrived in Ankara in the early hours. He held talks with the General Staff and the Foreign Ministry, as well as intelligence officials at the National Intelligence

Organization (MIT) centre in Yenimahalle. After having lunch with the British delegation, he met with Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller in the residence of the Foreign Ministry. Sinan Çelebi, leader of the Turkmen Front, was present for part of the meeting as well.

Çiller, Talabani and Çelebi briefed the press after the meeting. Çiller declared that a controlling group, to also include Turkmens, would be established to solve the dispute between the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the PUK.

Çiller also said the Iraqi Kurdish groups were ready to cooperate with Ankara against the PKK, which they saw as necessary for a lasting peace in the region.

In his speech, whereby Talabani complimented Çiller and the Turkish efforts in northern Iraq, he also pointed out that the PUK's main goal was a united democratic and independent Iraq. Referring to the situation of ethnic groups in Iraq, formerly subject to Iraqi dictatorship, the change in sentiment toward Baghdad could easily be seen.

Talabani also clarified the Puk position on the "legitimate security interests of Turkey" by saying, "We will try to secure the border of Turkey. Our people do not accept the existence of any military groups in Iraqi Kurdistan which are against Turkey."

Çelebi reported his pleasure that the two Kurdish groups declared their confidence towards Turkmens. Çelebi also briefed the reporters before leaving the residence while Çiller and Talabani did not answer the questions.

Çelebi, who attended to some part of the discussions, said later to the reporters that the two groups were ready to accept the mediation of Turkmens between KDP and PUK. Referring to the two-day talks for northern Iraq, he told that a high coordination committee was established for this task.

He briefed that at 16 points on the ceasefire line more than 400 soldiers were to be placed, and three provinces, which KDP put obstacles, were to be demilitarized.

These three points were told as Navdesh, Sakhlava province and Salga.

Diplomatic sources, who met with Talabani, commented the TDN that despite all the efforts to mediate between the PUK and the KDP, they got the message that the KDP-PUK relations were still at a very tense point.

Same sources told the TDN that Talabani had to come to Ankara a day later than expected though the Lufthansa Airlines did not accept him for the reason that he did not have German visa.

Talabani was in Iran since the weekend and was expecting to be invited to Ankara.

Pelletreau invited the two Kurdish leaders to have talks in Ankara last week by phone, before Washington meetings about northern Iraq. Talabani, who will leave Sunday, met with Onur Öymen, the undersecretary of the Turkish Foreign Ministry after the Çiller appointment as well.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1997

Whose gang is this?

By M. Akif Beki
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- There are two mafias as well as two secret services within the state of Turkey. The first is the so-called pro-European gang, and the other is the pro-American one, according to a former officer of the National Intelligence Organization (MIT).

An economics professor and retired branch chairman of MIT, Mahir Kaynak has revealed a left-wing military intervention attempt dated March 9, 1970.

He defines the gangs within the state as extensions of the blocs of the foreign secret services. After taking coup leaders, including former General Cemal Madano^olu and army officers, journalists and academicians to court, MIT disclosed Kaynak as its spy within the junta. Although he resigned from MIT after the disclosure, he returned to the organization and became branch chairman responsible for the foreign intelligence, a post from which he retired in 1980. Kaynak described the Madano^olu junta as European backed despite public opinion that this junta, as well as the left-wing movement supporting were Soviets puppets.

According to Kaynak the clash between left-wing (socialist or communist) and right-wing (multi-nationalist) movements, and even the three military coups in Turkey since World War II were aspects of the conflict between those blocs, the Europeans, led by Germany and France, and America.

"We have two mafias, thank God. One is the so-called pro-western gang, and the other is pro-American. These mafias practice murders in accordance with the policies of their supporters," Kaynak told the TDN.

Has MIT never used Rights to operation?

Although MIT is an important factor in illuminating the mysterious murders blamed on state gangs, Kaynak cautioned that first people should ask which gang it was, the pro-American or pro-European?

"The high-level directory of MIT is out of this structure," he said. "They are only showing off in Mercedeses, and are paying attention to Angola, where there are no Turkish spies," he stressed.

According to him extensions of the blocs within MIT might involve criminal activities, but MIT cannot

be institutionally related to the gangs.

However, saying that he has never seen or heard of a gang member being used by MIT, like Abdullah Çatli and his colleagues, whose identities were disclosed in the Susurluk crash, Kaynak said that in the 1980s MIT began discussing operational rights. Kaynak went on to say "Originally, the duty of MIT is to collect information, and there is no operation within this duty. Contrary to its image within the public, MIT does not provoke events for manipulation in the public, and it does not has gang members.

"But I accept that there might be someone personally involved in criminal activities. MIT does not force anyone to commit a crime, but it uses them to get information.

"Furthermore, many discussions happen time by time regarding position of the organization (MIT) as that whether the MIT should be contented with the espionage, or it should be involved in the operations against enemies, as MOSSAD of Israel is.

This discussions came to the agenda along with the entry of

Hiram Abbas into the service, who was defending rights to operation for MIT."

Who ignited the clash?

During the 1980s there was a choppy period in MIT, because of the demilitarization attempts. Former President Turgut Özal, the Prime Minister at the time, wanted to appoint a civil undersecretary to MYT, a position Abbas filled.

Until this time, particularly during Süleyman Demirel's Prime Ministries through the 1970s, MIT was a sensitive issue to the political powers and decisions were made in accordance with the wishes of the army, Kaynak said, and continued "This tendency of involving in operations headed by Hiram Abbas and his team, appeared in a certain period in which date also Abdullah Çatli and his friends were connected with the MIT.

"Hiram Abbas has been specialized on the counter-espionage, while became deputy undersecretary for a short time. Mehmet Eymür, the present branch chairman of the counterespionage department in the MIT, was amongst Hiram Abbas' team." Mehmet Eymür went on duty when Abbas left the service, but after a scandal Eymür was forced from office in 1987 returning later. "Eymür is a good intelligence officer with great support in

the service, whose father also was been a member of MIT," said Kaynak. Abbas was killed in a mysterious armed attack in Kadiköy after leaving MIT.

Meanwhile, MIT has become a 'key-position' in illuminating the criminal activities which have resulted in dozens of mysterious murders, in which gangs within the state were involved, after the statements of Eymür to the Parliamentary Investigation Commission for the gangs.

Eymür has confessed that Çatli was used by MIT for a certain time after 1982 during operations abroad. "But later we noticed that Çatli began to use his connection with MIT for his personal profits and involved in

criminal activities, we cut this relation," Eymür has said, adding that later police organizations — led by former Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar — began to use him.

Revaluating police operations against to the criminal organizations through those years, and positions of the police chiefs who has been accused of backing organized crime, Mahir Kaynak said:

"I can say that no one who related with the gangs even within the police organization tried to eliminate the mafia or organized crime in Turkey, but everyone tried to eliminate the opponent crime organization in order to gain the market of the

subject — ranging from drug smuggling traffic to the phony money and extorting to tax — in favor of his own gang.

"Therefore, to think as that, the state is not able to prevent this terror of gangs despite to trying it, will not be correct. Because continuations of this international forces backing gangs are within the state, even we learned that, the state officials who are responsible for catching gangs, were protector of these gangs."

Finally, the arrest of the three special team members as suspects of the Ömer Lütfü Topal and MIT spy Tañik Ümit murders, was allegedly conducted by MIT, which also has evidences to proof relation between those suspects and the investigative columnist Uğur Mumcu assassination held in 1993.

This is why, it is claimed that, the old clash between both candidates of MIT undersecretary Hiram Abbas and Nuri Gündeş, is still continuing between MIT officer Mehmet Eymür, and former police chief Mehmet Ağar.

• Le Monde - vendredi, 17 janvier 1997 • Le Monde - vendredi, 17 janvier 1997

Grève de la faim de centaines de réfugiés kurdes turcs d'Irak

PARIS. Pour empêcher l'évacuation forcée par le Haut-Commissariat des Nations unies (HCR), vers la Turquie, de plus de 15 000 Kurdes turcs, réfugiés dans le nord de l'Irak depuis 1994, des centaines d'entre eux observent depuis le 18 décembre une grève de la faim, soutenus par des centaines de membres du Comité du Kurdistan en Suisse. Selon Mehmet Balci, responsable, à Paris, du Centre d'information du Kurdistan, proche du PKK (Parti des travailleurs kurdes de Turquie), les réfugiés kurdes turcs ne veulent pas

rentrer en Turquie car ils craignent la répression et les sévices des autorités turques.

Ankara, comme le HCR, considère que le camp d'Atroush, dans le nord de l'Irak, où ces réfugiés ont été regroupés depuis 1995 sous la protection du HCR, est devenu un antre du PKK, que les autorités turques pourchassent. Or, précise M. Balci, il s'agit de civils, pour la plupart des femmes, des hommes et des vieillards, même si la plupart ont un proche affilié au PKK.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1997

Trial of publisher, translator dubbed 'an absurdist play'

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The senior advisor to the international human rights organization, Human Rights Watch (HRW), issued a statement Friday on the ongoing trial of publisher Ayşenur Zarakolu and translator Ertuğrul Kürkcü.

The two are in court charged with "defamation and belittling of the state security forces" following their work on a Turkish language edition of the HRW Arms Project report, "Weapons Transfers and Violations of the Laws of War in Turkey." The statement by Jeri Laber compared part four of the trial to "an absurdist play," claiming that the two defendants were "messengers twice removed" from the phrase in the report that had caused the prosecution.

"Ms. Zarakolu and Mr. Kürkcü did not write the report in question," the statement said, "they merely translated and published in Turkey a report researched, written and published by HRW more than a year ago."

The report was released at a press conference in Istanbul in November 1995, and its contents have been widely quoted and discussed in the media in Turkey since then.

However, according to the statement, "that was only the beginning of the absurdity." Laber claims that not only did the two defendants not write the words for which they are now being charged, but that neither did HRW.

The reference in the report that forms the basis of the prosecution referred to police special forces operating in the South East as "thugs," which, Laber claims, was a quote from an HRW interview with an American official at the U.S. Embassy in Ankara.

The statement went on to say that Zarakolu and Kürkcü's case was not an isolated one, pointing out the existence of Penal Code articles 155 (insulting the military) and 312 (preaching ethnic or regional hatred), Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law, and the Law to Protect Atatürk as being often used arbitrarily and not "reflecting the modern, liberal society that Turkey strives for today."

Laber further pointed out that the U.S. government was fully aware of the case, and was sending an observer to Friday's trial, at which HRW itself would be represented.

Ayşenur Zarakolu and Ertuğrul Kürkcü face prison terms of between one and six years each.

THE ECONOMIST JANUARY 18 TH 1997



The mullahs' balance-sheet

TO ITS swarming young, Iran's 18-year-old Islamic revolution looks middle-aged and medlesome and muddle-headed. Two out of every three Iranians were either infants when the revolution began, or were born after it replaced the modern ways the Pahlavi shahs had been trying to impose on an ancient civilisation with a no less arbitrary form of imposed religious fundamentalism. Without memory of what, to many of their fathers, were the bad old days, and without experience of the adversities of the Islamic Republic's early years, the young see their rulers out of historical context, and find them wanting.

Most western outsiders are even more critical, pointing to the warts on the face of the Islamic Republic. These, indeed, are ugly, even putting to one side the hard-to-prove charges that Iran is an international trouble-maker, perhaps international terrorist. More sustainable are the complaints about domestic policy. The revolution has run out of steam. It enforces rules that intrude into private life. Economic mismanagement, made more shambolic by pervasive corruption, holds back economic growth and investment. Everybody, it seems, is on the take. People on small fixed incomes cannot make ends meet. Political factions are confused: at the top of the pyramid, nobody seems to be fully in control. And the regime is a bully, sometimes a cruel one. Half the population, women, are discriminated against: the visible sign of this is the *hijab*, the Islamic law that drapes women shapelessly from head to toe.

But this formidable list of blemishes tips the bal-

ance-sheet unfairly against the Islamic Republic. Look, for a moment, at what Iran's clerics had to contend with as they took over a collapsed country in 1979. The revolution's early years were turbulent; its misfortunes, some self-induced but others cursed upon it, continued for a decade. The revolutionaries had to perform to an untried script, written as the play progressed, based on a concept that had lain buried for centuries. Their only prompts were the Delphic pronouncements of their august leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Most of the country's professional talent departed in despair in the early 1980s, joining the once-wealthy elite in exile, as they saw the revolution that many of them had originally welcomed hijacked by dogmatic clerics. The price of oil—on which Iran, for all its talk of ending its dependency, still wholly depends—collapsed. A savage little civil war between Khomeini's followers and the left-wing Islamic Mujahiddin led to a couple of devastating bomb explosions that blew away many of the revolution's top leaders and some of its best. Iraq, seizing its chance, invaded the new Islamic state, starting a war that dragged on for eight brutal years to no purpose whatsoever, costing Iran 1m lives.

Not as bad as it was

Against these huge disadvantages, the republic's credits are respectable. Most of Iran's discontented young are better off than their fathers were, and their mothers too. Both boys and girls have a better chance of surviving in the 1990s: infant mortality has dropped from 104 per 1,000 in the mid-1970s to

There is more on the credit side than you might expect, but Iran remains a troubled country that needs to win back the confidence of its young, says Barbara Smith

SURVEY IRAN

Not bad Social indicators						
	Population 1994, m	GDP per person, PPP 1994, \$	Life expectancy 1993	Adult literacy 1993 %	Population with access to safe water, 1990-95, %	TVs per 100 people 1992
Iran	65.8	4,650	68	66.1	84	6
Egypt	57.6	3,610	64	49.8	80	12
India	913.6	1,290	61	50.6	81	4
Turkey	60.8	4,610	67	81.1	80	18

Sources: UNDP, World Bank



25 per 1,000; life expectancy has risen from 55 to 68. Literacy rates over the same period have gone from under half to around two-thirds, and are still rising; the gap between urban and rural literacy is closing.

The new officials, many of them the sons of peasants and small-time shop-keepers, are less inclined to stand on their dignity than the shah's well-bred townfolk. They are more likely to go out to the countryside (where about 40% of the population still lives) to find out what needs doing, and try to do it. And they have achieved a lot, often with quite small projects. Even remote villages nowadays have primary schools (separate ones for boys and girls), paved roads and electricity, health and welfare centres, safe drinking water and often telephones.

The young have a better chance of getting educated (never mind for the moment the quality of that education). Above all, prospects for girls have improved. Middle- and upper-class women, brought up in western ways, find the Islamic rules absurd and degrading. But most women from poor or traditional families were already wearing a *chador* (a cloak, usually black, that goes over the head and has to be clutched, inconveniently, under the chin) and obeyed ancient rules. They are now more likely to go to school and stay there; about 40% of the students in higher education are women, and they are doing better at their studies than men. Iranian women nowadays, despite Islamic customs oppressively enforced by the state, have more chance than they did of getting a job outside the home, competing with men professionally and asserting their rights as individuals in the face of their fathers', brothers' or husbands' prejudices.

They also have more chance of keeping their families to a reasonable size. In the revolution's early years, with the clerics calling on the population to multiply, annual population growth hovered just below the 4% mark. Towards the end of the 1980s the mullahs realised their mistake and switched tactics. Parents were told that subsidised health insurance and food would stop with the third child. Condoms, pills and advice became freely available, particularly in rural areas. The persuasion worked—or perhaps, in the recession, parents persuaded themselves that they could not afford more than two or three children. The birth rate dropped, roughly by half—although with 65m people (an informed guess, like most numbers in Iran), there are still 1m or so new Iranians every year.

All very well, say discontented Iranians. So now we have roads and telecommunications, mechanised farms and primary schools, health centres and birth control, not to mention village women who are asserting themselves. But this is no more than our due as an oil-rich country with an ancient history, a glorious culture and a well-educated elite,

geographically placed at the centre of one of the world's most strategic regions. We are not a third-world out-of-the-way dump, to be patronised by western newcomers. We want more than that.

With war and civil war long gone, a sort of calm has descended on the country. A visitor, enjoying the hospitality of the people and the beauty of the country, can find Iran unexpectedly welcoming. But peel back a layer or two of the surface calm, and disorder lies below; a disorder that some Iranians, prone to exaggeration, call anarchy. Fine, they say, that the regime appropriated most of the wealth of the shah's old cronies; not so fine that most of this was passed on to the regime's own cronies, a new-rich class just as greedy and corrupt as the old aristocrats. Real incomes have shrunk savagely, particularly for the disappearing middle classes. With a teacher's pay barely covering the rent of a room, day-to-day living relies on dodgy improvisation.

Education is the pride of the revolution. But, commendable though it is that the number of places at colleges and universities has risen, Iranians complain that there are still far from enough (only about 10% of applicants can get in), the selection process is arbitrary and the quality of teaching has deteriorated. Few graduates get the chance of studying abroad, and books are hard to get hold of.

Fault can be found with most selection processes. The Iranian one, called *gozinesh*, is peculiar to itself. Would-be students (or would-be school or university teachers) are rigorously quizzed to make sure that they, and their families, respect Islamic values. About 40% of higher-education places go to "preferred" candidates, such as the children of "martyrs" killed in the war with Iraq; a scattering of places also goes to ambassadors and ministers, and officials wanting to better themselves with a degree.

Moreover, once in, a student can all too easily be thrown out again. A female student may be expelled if she is caught laughing with an unrelated man—supposedly a sensuous invitation to sin. And the chances are that the universities will grow stricter: the mullahs are searching for ways to impose yet more academic "Islamisation".

The things they cannot do

Few of Iran's boom-babies would welcome that: they want education and jobs, houses and household goods. They are frustrated by not being able to get what they want, and by the boundaries imposed on their private lives. They cannot, without risk of costly or degrading punishment, enjoy boyfriend-and-girlfriend companionship, listen to pop records, watch a western video, dance or have a drink. Of course, like the young elsewhere, they twist an easy, slippery way round the restrictions. Even small children listen to pop on the Voice of America, ringing up to ask for a tune to be played.

But the heavy hand of mosque-and-state is there, a constant personal irritation. Iran's young, at least for the moment, seem less bothered by the political limits: they are not the shah's students reborn, burning with political dissent. Their complaints are based in materialism more than in ideology. All the same, a revolution that was spear-headed by its young cannot, in its middle age, afford to alienate its own children.

The absolute power of the Leader

FOR its first two years, Iran's revolution was run by a coalition of clerics and religious-minded laymen. Two such laymen, Mehdi Bazargan, leader of the Freedom Movement, and Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, were briefly prime minister and president respectively. In 1981, the religious liberals were swept aside by clerics bent on establishing the first purely theocratic state, the first, some say, since the Golden Age when the Prophet Mohammad briefly ruled in Medina in the 7th century.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the concept of *velayat-e faqih*, the rule of the religious jurist. The term emerged in lectures given by Ayatollah Khomeini in 1969 in Iraq, and published under that title. Any changes to Iran's system of government, or any political differences between its leaders, are contained within the framework of that religious guardianship: society, in theory, is organised according to divine law; the aim of all political action is the execution of God's will.

Source of emulation

By his learning, his leadership and his charisma, Khomeini was indisputably qualified to be the *vali-e faqih*, the man designated as religious jurist, his absolute authority derived from God. Also without argument, he was a *marja-e taqlid*, one of those rare scholars who, in Shia Muslim tradition, emerge as a "source of emulation", an inspiration to Shias everywhere. His position was not to be challenged. From exile, first in Iraq and then in France, the ayatollah had been the rallying point for the anger that had built up against the shah's authoritarianism, his grandiose notions and his closeness to the West. Khomeini returned to Iran in February 1979, just after the shah had fled, ready-made as the leader to guide the new Islamic state through dense virgin territory.

But Khomeini, known throughout Iran as the imam (a title bestowed, by general consent, on a very few revered figures), guided the state from on high. He did not bother with day-to-day decisions, but issued general orders and judgments. These were frequently ambiguous, even contradictory. Their effect was to build up a system of informal checks and balances that kept the country in a permanent state of flux.

On the ground, Hojatolislam (a step down from an ayatollah) Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani was central to Iranian decision-making from the start. One of the cleverest politicians that Iran has known this century, he was close to the imam, keeping a finger in every pie (his family controls, among other things, Iran's profitable pistachio industry). He could be hardline or moderate, as circumstances demanded, and for nine successive terms held the official position of Speaker of the Majlis (parliament). After Khomeini's death in June 1989, Mr Rafsanjani was an uncontroversial choice as president. He was elected by 95% of the votes cast, and his executive powers as head of government were greatly increased by constitutional amendments that included eliminating the prime ministership,

a post that had been held for eight years by Mir Hossein Mussavi, a skilful left-wing politician.

The much harder decision was the choice of successor to Khomeini. Who indeed can succeed a near-god? In 1985 the Assembly of Experts (a clerical constitutional council) had designated Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri, a learned and independent-minded cleric, as heir-apparent. But four years later he spoke out against violations of Islamic justice, including mass executions, and was crossed off the list. He remains a lurking, important presence in Qom, Iran's most holy city.

The candidate apparently favoured by the imam himself was Hojatolislam Sayed Ali Khamenei, Iran's long-time president. But the learned seminary teachers—the "white beards"—of Qom and Mashhad (another holy city) did not consider him worthy or scholarly enough to be a *marja*—and the constitution required that the country's leader should also have the supreme theological authority of a *marja*. So Mr Rafsanjani, a born fixer and Mr Khamenei's ally, arranged matters. The constitution was revised, separating the two functions. And the venerable experts swiftly elected Mr Khamenei (now promoted to Ayatollah) to the supreme post of *Rahbar* or Leader.

The alliance between Leader and president seemed solid—and vital to Mr Rafsanjani's schemes to open Iran's closed economy to foreign ways and foreign investment, defying his fellow-clerics' distrust both of foreigners and of borrowing. But it has not altogether worked out as Mr Rafsanjani planned. Once in his exalted job, Ayatollah Khamenei, an honest but not modest cleric, began to swell to fill it. He aspires to act like a *marja*. As it is, his post gives him extraordinary powers: not only are the most important appointments in his gift but he has the final word on all aspects of policy. He may not, as yet, have chosen to use this power openly; he certainly exercises it subtly.

There are probably few ideological differences

From Khomeini to Khamenei, not forgetting Rafsanjani



Rafsanjani (left) has to look up to the Leader

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between him and Mr Rafsanjani. But Mr Khamenei has become a rallying point for conservatives alienated by the president's attempts at reform. These include Tehran's powerful *bazaaris*, the traders who feel that their economic and political privileges are threatened by opening the economy to foreigners. Together with the country's conservative clerics, they also fear that the social consequences of this opening will pollute Iran's Islamic purity.

Personal grievances may also have played a part. When Mr Khamenei himself was president, that office was largely ceremonial. Decisions, it is said, were taken by Mr Rafsanjani and the prime minister, Mr Mussavi, often without consulting him. If this were true (and it has to be said that facts are not easily extracted from the mists of Iranian politics), he has had his revenge. However exercised, his authority as Leader may have blocked both Mr Rafsanjani and Mr Mussavi from competing in next June's all-important presidential election.

Mr Rafsanjani's re-election to a third successive term as president would require a constitutional amendment. Such amendments are made all the time, confirmed by easy referendum. But they need the Leader's nod, and this was not vouchsafed. Acknowledging defeat, Mr Rafsanjani announced in October that a constitutional change would not be necessary: there were, after all, plenty of other

worthy candidates for the presidency. Whatever happens, Mr Rafsanjani will remain influential.

Mr Mussavi's hopes for the presidency were dashed in a similar way. The ex-prime minister was in with a chance. He is still admired for the briskness with which he ran the economy during the war with Iraq, never allowing Iran to fall into debt—in marked contrast to what is happening now. He is liked for being—again in contrast to some current politicians—famously clean: an academic who returned to his old life without fuss when the prime minister's post was abolished. Since he is also a left-wing statist, opposed to the economic restructuring, people struggling through the thickets of inflation thought that he might somehow improve their lot. But he, too, failed to get Ayatollah Khamenei's approval, and announced in the autumn that he was not a candidate.

Mohammad Rayshari, a former prosecutor-general, once head of Iran's intelligence services, remains in the race. Mr Rayshari is a throwback to 1979, a fierce defender of "Islamic values", standing firm against any cultural invasion from the West. He is vigorously challenging the leading contestant, Hojatolislam Ali Akbar Nateq-Noori, the current Speaker of the Majlis, and getting a lot of media attention. He would be a disturbing choice.

Mr Nateq-Noori is strongly supported by the

Combatant clergy and clerics

THE only political party that Iran half-allows is in loyal (but outspoken) opposition. The late Mehdi Barzagan's Freedom Party is in shadowland, not exactly legal but sort of tolerated. Obstacles are put in its path: a ban on meetings, and what amounts to an Islamic selection board, frustrated its candidates when they tried to take part in last year's legislative elections; its headquarters are closed; its newspaper is banned. Its leader, Ibrahim Yazdi, takes brave advantage of his singular licence, obeying the Islamic Republic's laws but flailing its leaders for their failures, follies and iniquities.

Otherwise no parties, though Mr Rafsanjani has hinted heavily that the time for them could be on hand. The original hold-all Islamic Republic Party was humanely put to death in 1987, when it could no longer accommodate all its quarrelling factions. Now just the factions remain. Some of them are almost as good as parties, with their own newspapers and counted members in the Majlis.

But not quite as good: the factions' lack of programmes and status means that, in the end, they are a muddle of people pushing slogans for their own ends. The arrangement has the advantage, and the disadvantage, of fluidity: the alliances divide and subdivide; the

political geography is wondrously vague; when faction loyalties become inconvenient, they can be forgotten.

The factions' determination to avoid labels that reflect western policies has led to a competition in Islamic bellicosity. When new alliances are created, even the most secular try to attach "Hizbullah", or party of God, to their titles. The Militant Clergy (JRM) and the Militant Clerics (MRM) compete, one representing conservatives and the other their left-wing economic opposites. The Followers of the Imam's Line is an overlapping alliance, a mixture of radicalism, social conservatism and xenophobia. The pragmatists—the officials, professionals and technicians who, generally speaking, support the economic changes that Mr Rafsanjani has been trying to push through, modestly call themselves the Servants of Construction. "Liberal" is as demonised a term in Iran as it is, from time to time, in the United States.

Imprecise though it may be, it is simpler to talk of conservatives, radicals and pragmatists. Again imprecisely, the conservatives favour a degree of economic opening so long as it supports the local interests that have done well out of the closed economy. They also want to enforce traditional religious restrictions on people's private lives.

The radicals have tried, since the beginning of the revolution, to redistribute incomes more fairly (though there has been some redistribution, the main change has been to whisk riches from the shah's friends to the clerics). Their call for social justice goes down well with the poor; less so, their anti-western obsessions and their social-religious dogma. Yet, within the radical faction, there are a number of people, grouped round the newspaper *Salam*, who pursue a more tolerant and open line.

The pragmatists, whose members wane and wax, say that they want to concentrate the country's energies on economic growth, encouraging exiles to return and foreigners to invest as well as to trade. They would probably lighten social regulations as well as economic ones, but very cautiously.

In the 1996 Majlis election, the radicals and the pragmatists, who have little in common except their dislike of conservatives, teamed up to diminish the JRM's majority in parliament (won in 1992) by about 20%. A similar alliance could, conceivably, deny the presidency to Mr Nateq-Noori, the conservatives' candidate. But the presidency may turn out to be too important for factional bargaining. Iran with its active, regularly elected Majlis is more of a democracy than its Arab neighbours. But it is not the Majlis or their factional leaders who control the things that really matter. That would be far too simple.

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most traditional and conservative factions in Iran's power structure. If, as now tentatively predicted, he becomes Iran's next president, will it mean a turning back from Mr Rafsanjani's bid to introduce economic (and some social) change? Not necessarily. For one thing, as this survey will argue, these changes do not, as yet, amount to much. For another, as the box on the previous page suggests, ideological affiliations count for relatively little in today's Iran: what matters are group and individual interests.

Mr Nateq-Noori was fiercely attacked by the anti-conservative press at last year's Majlis election. But his instincts do not seem, in Iran's illiberal context, excessively hardline: as interior minister in the early 1980s he was against physically attacking women whose *hijab* was consid-



Which Nateq-Noori?

ered inadequate; and he was one of the first to say that the government should not actively pursue the *fatwa* to murder the writer Salman Rushdie. Some observers pronounce him without vision; others claim that he is one of Iran's smartest politicians who has outmanoeuvred all his rivals.

Mr Nateq-Noori could turn out a bit of a surprise. But two facts about him seem well-established. One is that he is backed by factions whose instincts are hardline; much the same groups, in fact, as have rallied behind Ayatollah Khamenei.

The second is that he will not be, as Mr Rafsanjani has been, a counter-balance to the Leader: whatever Ayatollah Khamenei wants will be acceptable to Mr Nateq-Noori. If he becomes president, the absolute power of Iran's Leader will be hard to challenge.



Dual control

ASK an Iranian official, even a junior minister, what is going on and he is quite likely to answer that "they" are doing this or that, rather than "we". The Islamic Republic has come to depend on a system of parallel powers that keeps everybody, government servants included, partly in the dark. Most obscure is the identity of those who take the decisions that count.

Almost every organisation has its shadow, and the shadow is often the weightier of the two. The army has the Revolutionary Guards, or *pasdaran*, these days directed particularly towards civil unrest. The overstuffed, under-employed army, which is only too glad to accept money instead of conscripts (\$16,000 is the going rate for complete exemption from national service), complained during the urban riots of the early 1990s that shooting at demonstrators was not its proper job. The *pasdaran* and the *basij* (the volunteer militia who, during the war, were sent in as human waves against the Iraqi guns, or walked minefields to achieve martyrdom) are thought more reliable.

The police and the *komitehs* (the dreaded watchdogs guarding against unIslamic dress or sexual or social hanky-panky) are now formally unified, though practice may be lagging behind. The bullies who peer into cars to catch a sin, such as an unrelated man and woman driving together (and, more often than not, extract money from the sinners) may be extremist squads, such as the Vengeance of God patrol. But they tend to be the sub-contracted *basij*, since, in these post-war years of high youth unemployment, teenagers are happy to join the militia, acting as the clerics' private army.

In the countryside, the provincial governors, appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, are shadowed by the Friday prayer leaders, appointed by Ayatollah Khamenei. Friday sermons, broadcast from the mosques to the surrounding streets, are a vital weapon in the political clergy's armoury. In the legal system, the courts are shadowed by the

revolutionary courts, where the judges are more likely to be clerics than in the normal courts, and where an appeal to the supreme court is not invariably allowed. Any crime considered subversive, or a challenge to the system, will be tried by the revolutionary courts. It is they, for example, who will take care of recalcitrant journalists.

The 270-member Majlis is officially shadowed by the 12-member Council of Guardians, whose six clerical members are appointed by the Leader. The council has to pass all legislation coming from the Majlis; before an election, it vets all would-be Majlis candidates (in 1996 it turned down nearly half of them). In the mid-1980s so many laws were failing to get through that Khomeini established yet another body, the Expediency Council, to arbitrate between the Guardians and the Majlis. This, in fact, has become a lawmaker of its own, charged with political decisions "that cannot be solved through regular channels". It is also yet another tool for the Leader, who convenes it and appoints its members.

The concept of parallel powers extends even into the economy. The formal economy is matched by the semi-governmental, semi-private, wholly mysterious foundations, or *bonyads*, that are accountable to nobody. The biggest of them, *Bonyade Mostazafan*, or Foundation for the Deprived, with holdings worth \$12 billion, is second in size only to the National Iranian Oil Company. It was set up in 1979 to manage the assets (and, in theory, hold them in trust for the poor) of the shah and others who had fled. It is run by an ex-*bazaari* vegetable seller who rose to great military heights after the revolution.

And so it goes on, with a chaos of organisations disguising the chain of command and making it impossible for an ordinary citizen to follow up a complaint. Many Iranians, made conspiracy theorists by experience, believe that it is the intelligence services themselves, quizzing and bugging and checking, that really control their lives.

So many ways of pulling strings

Bully-boys at work

Saving the revolution from social corruption

IRAN is becoming socially less tolerant, reported the UN's special representative on Iranian human rights in October 1996; it was not very tolerant in the first place. Canada's Maurice Copithorne listed some of the devices that the government and its thugs have been using in the name of combating "social corruption" and "decadent westernisation". They include the disruption of meetings and lectures; closing of newspapers and punishment of their editors; and a vicious prime-time television programme that denounces independent-minded academics and writers as foreign spies, showing their faces fading into a dollar bill.

One step forward, two steps back, say Iranians of their rulers' human-rights record over the past few years. Yet the savagery of the revolution's early years, when political executions could be counted in the hundreds, is long gone. Now the regime, mindful that public stoning or lashing or hanging does nothing for its image, keeps the numbers down, at least in places where the press is likely to notice. In any event, in these hard-up times, the authorities are usually only too happy to accept a hefty fine, if the sentenced man or woman can raise it, in lieu of the prescribed physical punishment. White-collar crime is nearly always settled that way. A poor burglar is more likely to have his fingers cut off. The law on Islamic punishments is specific; fortunately the Iranian constitution allows judges to take it as a guide only.

Décourager les autres

Nevertheless, reports Mr Copithorne, "the punishment regime in Iran would seem to have been significantly toughened." Some 66 people, he says, were executed between January and August 1996, far more than the year before. At least two people were stoned to death and 13 executions took place in public. The charges, apart from common crimes and drug trafficking, included adultery, spreading corruption on earth, and espionage. One man was executed for, *inter alia*, talking to a UN delegation.

Is the Islamic Republic's abuse of human rights

worse than that of the shah's regime before it? In the shah's days, according to popular legend, one out of every three Iranians was reporting for Savak, the secret service. Now, as visitors to Iran discover to their pleasant surprise, the streets are lively and friendly: people seem to feel free to talk and to criticise, to grumble about mismanagement and corruption even to foreigners, to make jokes about ministers and mullahs—though not about the Leader (subversive talk about him could rate the death penalty).

Yet, say these brave critics, the regime's secret agents are growing more pervasive, spreading into the middle classes, including the 4m or so exiles abroad, many of whom want their property back and are therefore thought open to suggestions of turning informer. And the activist opposition—the Mujahiddin in Iraq and Paris, rebellious Kurds, dissident members of the Sunni minority—are pursued, often brutally.

Iran usually treats its indigenous religious minorities—Christians, Zoroastrians, Jews—reasonably well. But it can be brutal to evangelical Christians: a couple of years ago several Assembly of God priests were mysteriously murdered. And the regime remains unremittently savage towards the unhappy Bahais who, charged with apostasy, face the death sentence, and often receive it.

Everyone has tales of people whom the regime considered inconvenient and who have simply vanished. Suspect Iranians, which includes most of the middle-class, middle-aged academics and writers who stayed on after the revolution, know that they perform largely on sufferance, constantly watched and listened to. In rather kindly fashion, the bugging system tends to employ paralysed or disabled veterans of the war with Iraq.

Iranians can talk in private as much as they like, but they are in trouble if they write their views down, pass them on to the young, or express them at formal gatherings. Newspapers are self-censored, many of them bland, criticising only what is permissible—politicians, for instance, are fair game. The better ones wriggle round the unwritten rules, stimulating debates among their readers. Small-circulation magazines, written for intellectuals, are bolder but swiftly smacked down, often by having their subsidised paper stopped. Their staff may be punished, sometimes brutally. The editor of one magazine, *Gardoun*, escaped to Germany after being sentenced to prison and a lashing; the editor of *Adineh* disappeared, mysteriously, for a time.

College lecturers who question accepted doctrine—above all, the political role of the mosque—may be fired or have their teaching disrupted by rent-a-crowd gangs. And people who get together to discuss this or that are careful to make the gatherings informal, often inviting a member of the establishment to allay suspicion.

To get a book published in the Islamic Republic calls for remarkable determination and patience. The manuscript has to be handed to the Ministry for Islamic Guidance, which assigns it to a committee, often not a particularly literate one, to decide



A privileged few can watch the X-Files

whether it is politically correct. There it joins a queue of thousands. The committee, when it gets round to reading it, may jibe not only at a book's general thesis or tone but at phrases that could have a sexual or forbidden connotation: one writer reports that his character was not permitted to have a "desire" for anything. The business of waiting, arguing and rewriting may take two years or more.

Condemned to watch the mullahs

The shah's regime, for all its faults, left people's private lives alone. The Islamic Republic meddles without cease, bringing down an avalanche of frustration and irritation. Take just one example: television. This is important; there is a shortage of other things to do in free time, and an even greater shortage of money to do them with. But Iranian television is abysmal, patronising and male-dominated: endless religious programmes, Islamically correct soap-operas, sentimental scenery. So most people

turned to satellite, with its wide choice of channels.

In 1995 the Majlis, determined to prevent creeping westernisation and outraged by the soap-operas coming out of Iranian stations in California, banned the use of satellite dishes, and the police enforced the ban. The fines for using a dish are so heavy—1m rials (about \$250) for a first offence, five times as much for a second—that few but the well-off are prepared to take the risk.

After letting people relax for a bit, the police swoop. In theory, they are not allowed to enter a home without a warrant. In practice, when they arrive, armed with information supplied, perhaps, by a neighbour, asking with intimidating politeness to be let in, few householders have the nerve to turn them away. And once in, what other forbidden objects might they not discover? Playing cards, perhaps, or, worst of all, alcohol. Bad luck for the householder who has not got enough dollars or rials to persuade the visitors to look the other way.



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Behind the chador

THE Taliban, say the Iranians smugly, are giving Islam a bad name. Indeed, the Afghan Islamists' strictures on women—no education, no jobs outside the home—make Iran seem a feminist's paradise. Iranian women, insist complacent Iranian men (and quite a few of its women too), can do anything they wish to do—so long, that is, as they are modestly dressed.

Up to a point. Compared with Arab women in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, Iranian women are doing well. Some 95% of little girls go to primary school. Older girls have a smaller chance than boys of getting higher education, but the gap is closing. They are doing well in technical schools and colleges. They can, at least in theory, go into most jobs and professions. Even "Islamic" women are becoming more conscious of their rights, making headway in various directions, including journalism.

There is none of that Saudi nonsense about not being allowed to drive or vote. Women can stand for parliament; indeed, one of them (well, she was Mr Rafsanjani's daughter) last year garnered more votes than anyone except Mr Nateq-Noori. They are masters in the home, with the confidence to control their men and the future of their children.

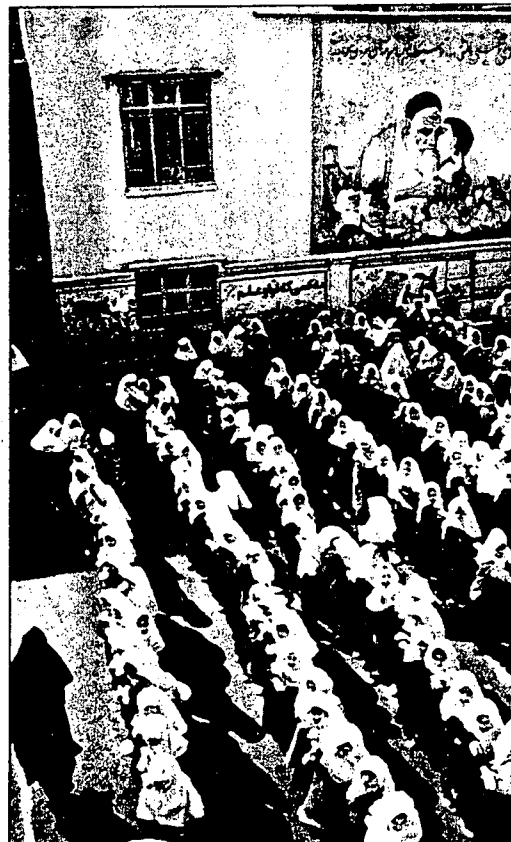
But there are snags. Women, worth less than men under Islamic law, do not get equal rights over travel (a wife cannot go abroad without permission from her husband), inheritance, divorce or custody of their children, and much else besides. Women who offend against Iran's Islamic mores can be subject to vile treatment. And the obsession with modest dress, or *hijab*, is an abiding bore.

To start with the last. Traditionally raised Iranian women often wore the *chador* in public but now it, or a loose coat and a headscarf (or a *maqnaeh*, a square of black cotton with a hole for the face) is enforced wear for all women and girls over nine at all times except in the home. The covering, intended to protect women from male lust, does make it easier for a young female to walk down a street in Tehran than one in Rome or Cairo, but

not all of them would be grateful for that. In theory, women are not supposed to wear make-up or show a lock of hair or a bare ankle. In practice, the scarves slip backwards, the lipstick shines brighter and the coats grow shorter in between swoops by the morality police. But in the end the swoop always comes.

The *hijab* regulations may be trivial, but they are infuriating for women not brought up on them. A woman publisher working in her office slips her

Fighting back,
against the law



Assertiveness training



scarf on and off depending on signals from her doorbell; a woman lawyer says that for years the tent-like covering made her feel a lesser person; a Tehran housewife can barely bring herself to go outside her own door.

The regime's protective eye on its women, whether modestly clad or not, can occasionally extort terrible punishment. Assume the worst: a young woman is found in a "compromising" situation with an unrelated man, perhaps driving out of Tehran together. Both young people are arrested and their parents summoned. The woman may be examined to see if she is virgin. If she is not, the unfortunate couple may be forced to marry.

His better half

The law is not on women's side. Some Islamic laws are open to modern-day interpretation; others are not. The discrimination that makes a woman half the value of a man is set in holy script: her testimony is worth half a man's; as the victim of a crime, she gets half the damages. A Muslim woman may not marry a non-Muslim man, though the reverse can happen.

The rules governing marriage and divorce allow a certain flexibility. A Muslim man can divorce his wife simply by saying that he wants to. An Iranian woman can, in theory, write into her marriage contract that she too has an absolute right to a divorce, without providing reasons. But to do that, she would need to be a steely person, and her husband-

to-be, and the male members of her own family, would have to be exceptional.

Short of that, the standard Iranian marriage contract, its flowery decorations notwithstanding, contains a series of bleakly practical clauses about marital breakdown and divorce, each one of which the bride and bridegroom have to read and separately sign. If a husband divorces his wife when she has done nothing wrong, he must pay her half his wealth. If a husband behaves so badly that his wife cannot continue her life with him, she may get a divorce. If he gives her no money; if he is mad; if he does something immoral in the eyes of Islam; if after five years he cannot produce a child... the clauses continue, suggesting that wronged women can get redress.

The contract is fine, say Iranian lawyers, but its translation into legal practice is not. When a woman tries to implement a clause in her marriage contract, she is likely to find the judge's sympathies on her husband's side. He will demand an unreasonable standard of proof of his bad and her good behaviour, calling on her to try again. Why? For a start, the judge will be a man. After the revolution, Iran's women judges lost their jobs. A bill to restore them is still stuck in the Majlis. Some qualified female judges have, after a struggle, been allowed to become expert counsels to a judge, but the final judgment remains his. Not until Iranian women become judges will legal wrongs against women start turning to rights.

THE ECONOMIST JANUARY 18 TH 1997

Friends and foes

How Iran sees itself in the world

IRAN, says its deputy foreign minister, Abbas Maleki, is at the cross-roads of the world. In his elegant office, in the former foreign-ministry club where the shah's men in their day were sporting with blondes in the swimming pool, he draws circles, indicating his country's foreign-policy priorities. First, the great band of neighbours: the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Gulf states, Afghanistan and Iraq. Second, the Islamic world, South-East Asia, Russia. Third, the developing world and, only after that, "the countries that can cover our needs".

That puts an uppity western world in its place on the far edge of an outer circle.

Yet, despite their preoccupation with their neighbours, their hopes of trade with the ex-Soviet empire, and with all due respect to the Islamic world, Iranians remain obsessed with the United States. The most visible sign of this obsession is the ritual demonstration, and flag-burning, outside the "den of espionage", the former American embassy in Tehran, now a training school for the Revolutionary Guard's air force. But, in these more languid times, the ritual is performed largely by bused-in children, glad of a day away from the classroom.

More genuine is ordinary Iranians' curiosity about the United States. Are talks, they ask, really going on to improve relations? Rumours circulate of secret negotiations in The Hague, Germany, Turkey. On a mundane level, Iranians smoke American cigarettes and drink Coca-Cola or Pepsi. There is an insatiable hunger for dollars. And now and then, in conversation, the question pops up: how can a man learn English and get himself to America? Would England, by any chance, be a stepping-stone?

The regime's leaders, for their part, are obsessively alive to American pressure: America's military presence in the Gulf (which even the shah would never have allowed); its economic sanctions against Iran; its accusations and its propaganda. This degree of hostility, say some dissident Iranians, helps the regime to survive from year to year, if not on a war-footing, at least on a crisis-footing. It



You can set your watch by the flag-burning

IRAN SURVEY

can present itself as a buttress, essential if Iran is to withstand the American bullying.

America's suspicion of Iran has long had an emotional edge, as though the Islamic Republic had never been forgiven for taking American hostages captive in 1979, or for other unsavoury hostage-dealings in the mid-1980s. But relations reached a new nadir when Bill Clinton decided to take on the "rogue state" that he has described as "a threat . . . to the entire region and the world."

In 1993 the administration came up with a policy, directed at both Iran and Iraq, which it called "dual-containment": this was designed to exert economic and political pressure on both countries, including the use of covert CIA operations. In 1995 the president imposed a ban on all American trade with and investment in Iran (despite the blustering, trade relations had flourished, with American oil companies the largest purchasers of Iranian oil and with one of them, Conoco, planning to invest heavily in Iranian oil exploration). The next year, sanctions were imposed on foreign companies that invest significantly in Iranian oil. But by the time Mr Clinton was re-elected in November 1996, his attempts to make Iran change its spots had so clearly failed that he was expected to rethink the containment policy in his second term.

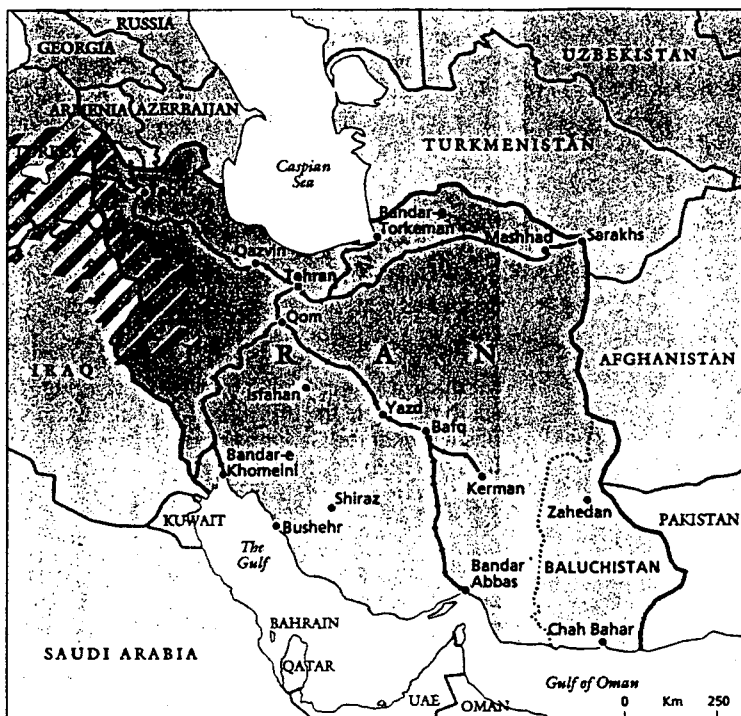
The accusations, however, continue; disturbing, if true. Iran is charged with sponsoring international terrorism, destabilising other countries in the region and rearming itself with weapons of mass destruction, including the potential for nuclear arms. Is it guilty? No straight answer, least of all on that crooked subject, terrorism.

Iran supports the Hizbullah in Lebanon, but they are terrorists only in Israel's eyes; it also, with other Muslim countries, supports Islamist groups in Palestine and elsewhere. It has done, and may still be doing, worse things. It is suspected, without as yet any proof, of being involved in the car-bomb murder of American servicemen in Saudi Arabia: it denies this. For certain, it intimidates its own people (and sometimes foreigners too, as in the case of Salman Rushdie, a British Muslim writer) regardless of where they happen to be. That terrorist charge will be dramatically strengthened—and relations between Iran and Germany shattered—if the German court now trying two men for the murder, in Berlin in 1992, of three Iranian Kurdish dissidents and their translator finds that it was the top men in the regime who ordered the killings.

Trouble all around

In the immediate post-revolution years, Iran spread its Islamic message with proselytising zeal. This zeal has long evaporated. Nowadays, Iran wants stability on its borders. It wants markets for its oil and gas and anything else it can sell. And it wants to avoid trouble that might spread an irredentist infection to its own ethnic minorities: the Azeris, Kurds, Armenians, Baluchis, Turkmens and Arabs who live on the country's periphery. Some Kurdish areas are already out of the government's control, at least by night; Baluchistan, the fief of unchallengeable drug-traffickers, is a law unto itself.

Iran, therefore, has been extra careful not to support secessionist movements such as the Muslims in Tajikistan or the Azeris in Azerbaijan. It is anx-



ious not to offend Russia. It has sponsored peace bids in Afghanistan partly because it fears an extension of Pakistani-Saudi-American influence through the Taleban, partly because it would like Afghan co-operation in controlling drug smuggling across the 600km (375-mile) border.

Iran has no love, and little respect, for the Arab Gulf states, but no wish for a quarrel either. With its strong sense of its own importance, it is not inclined to treat Saudi Arabia as a serious country: too backward, and an American proxy. The anti-Saudi demonstrations by Iranian pilgrims during the haj have become even more meaningless than the ritual dance on America's flag. Though Iran remains virulently opposed to any Middle Eastern peace with Israel, the Israeli-Palestinian deal (so long as it lasts) has knocked the heart out of that campaign.

Iran's rearmament, after its huge losses in the war with Iraq, is modest compared with what is going on in neighbouring states. With no hard currency to spare and, as yet, no domestic arms industry of consequence, Iran's military budget is roughly one-sixth of Saudi Arabia's and half Israel's. Military spending accounts for about 2% of gross domestic product, compared with 17% in the last days of the shah. Iranians, who criticise their government on almost every score, do not berate it for wasting its wealth on military toys.

The conventional build-up, replacing obsolescent American and British aircraft with Russian MiG-29s and Su-24s, and creating a coastal fleet of submarines and fast patrol boats (largely with China's help), is nothing to worry about. Iran's unconventional ambitions are less reassuring—and, indeed, are the main reason for America's attempts to get its allies to join it in economic sanctions.

Iran suffered severely during the war both from Iraq's long-range ballistic weapons, fired at its cities, and from chemical weapons. It does not want to be caught napping again. It has bought long-range





missiles from North Korea. And although in 1993 it signed the Chemical Weapons Convention, calling for a prohibition of such weapons, it may be keeping that questionable option open.

Is it planning a nuclear bomb? Maybe, but most experts agree that any such plans will take many years to be implemented. Iranians have the basic skills and they believe that, as a first-class power, they should be no less well-armed than, say, Pakistan or India. Above all, they crave the muscle to make America, lurking in the Gulf, think again. But, fortunately for the world's safety, nuclear weapons cost a lot and money is short.

Openly, Iran is trying to revive the shah's peaceful nuclear-power programme by persuading Russia to complete the unfinished nuclear reactors at Bushehr that the Germans began for the shah. The deal has been stalled for the best part of a year, apparently because of financial troubles, perhaps because of American pressure. Iran has also signed contracts with China on nuclear co-operation, and has its own small research stations. Its declared hope is eventually to produce about 20% of its electricity from nuclear plants. Observers point out that, if Iran simply wanted the most cost-effective energy policy, it would be better off spending the money on doing more to rescue its neglected oilfields and exploit its vast gas reserves.

The need, as Iran sees it, to counter American persecution colours its approach to other countries, particularly in Europe. Its "critical dialogue" with the European Union on human rights is useful to Iran both for balancing America and for keeping

open the door to European trade and investment; what the European negotiators have got out of it is less clear. The dialogue, they suggest, has made Iran less nasty than it might otherwise have been; but they have signally failed to extract a clear written commitment from the Iranian government that it will not encourage its people to murder Salman Rushdie. Iranians in the street groan over Mr Rushdie, even try to make a joke of the issue; officials refuse to acknowledge the outrageousness of the continuing *fatwa*.

Iran's economic hopes depend on attracting European and Asian investment. But the Islamic regime is schizophrenic about such investment: the revolution set out to end dependence on foreigners. So, perhaps with relief, the policy-planners return to Mr Maleki's first circle, stressing Iran's importance as a regional power. Iran's cultural influence in the Caucasus and Central Asia goes back for centuries, but its political and economic influence has been greatly strengthened by the break-up of the Soviet empire.

The Iranians are not presenting themselves as military boss: the stress is on Iran as a trading centre. A glance at the map shows that the Islamic Republic is indeed central. The old land routes, the ancient silk roads, are re-emerging. And when Japan wants to sell things to the Caucasus, by what route does it send them? By sea to an Iranian port and then overland, across Iran, by rail or road. The possibilities excite Iranians, happy to turn their eyes to a more inviting prospect than those fussy "countries that can cover our needs".

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Hard times

How not to attract investment

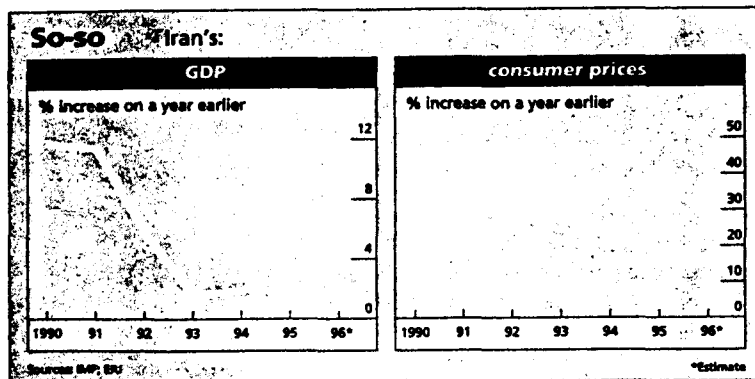
THE news may be lost on an Iranian manipulating two or three jobs to keep his family's head above water, but the Iranian economy is doing rather well. Even without the boost in oil prices, which should give Iran an extra \$2 billion in hard currency in the financial year ending on March 20th 1997, the central bank is able to reel off a long list of good-housekeeping points.

Economic growth in the current year is forecast, by the central bank, at 5.5%, but this is generally considered too rosy. The bank recently downgraded its claim of 4.5% growth in 1995-96 to 4.2%, still markedly higher than outside estimates (see chart). With official imports sharply restricted (although any-

thing can be smuggled in) and foreign credit still hard to get, the current-account surplus for 1996-97 is expected to be just under \$6 billion. The hated foreign debt—short-term letters of credit secured in the early 1990s to finance long-term projects—is still around \$25 billion, but it is being paid off in textbook fashion. Investment, claims the bank, is 23% of gross domestic product. Annual inflation, it says, is running at about 27%, which may not sound very impressive; but last year it was nearly twice that, and the year before that, according to unofficial bank estimates, it was 7% a month and rising.

The Islamic Republic's first five-year plan (1989-94) established most of the infrastructure for growth. The country had suffered horribly over the past decade: the revolution, the war, the collapse of oil production and prices, and the sharp population growth between them had caused income per head to drop by 45%. Under the plan, heavy industry, communications, roads, power (Iran now exports electricity) and schools began to be put in place. The second five-year plan (ending in 1999) will continue the work of the first, setting out to expand non-oil production and exports but continuing to be driven by Iran's oil, which still accounts for well over 80% of its export earnings.

Since the early 1990s, by when Mr Rafsanjani had established his authority as president, Iran has voluntarily adopted the principle of the IMF's





Thirsty for consumer goods

restructuring rules, albeit without asking for IMF loans in return. Its liberalisation programme follows conventional lines: privatisation, deregulation, cutting subsidies, devaluation, encouraging foreign investment. But their model, said Iranians, was China: an economic opening without a political one. Look, after all, at what happened to poor Mr Gorbachev when he introduced *glasnost* on top of *perestroika*.

So there Iran is, a large, oil-rich country, its infrastructure now mostly in place, with a market of 65m respectably well-educated people hungry for consumer goods. It is geographically central to a region of growing importance. It is developing and reforming its economy. It is politically stable (or at least nobody is keen on the idea of another revolution). Time for take-off in the next couple of years?

What went wrong

Maybe not. For a start, Iran's economic opening is more myth than reality. Not enough foreign investment is coming in to make a difference. The rial's artificially high exchange rate, after some yo-yoing, has discouraged non-oil exports. Import restrictions, by keeping out foreign machinery, are exacerbating low productivity in the country's non-oil industries. American sanctions, scornfully dismissed by Iranians, may be having a psychological effect.

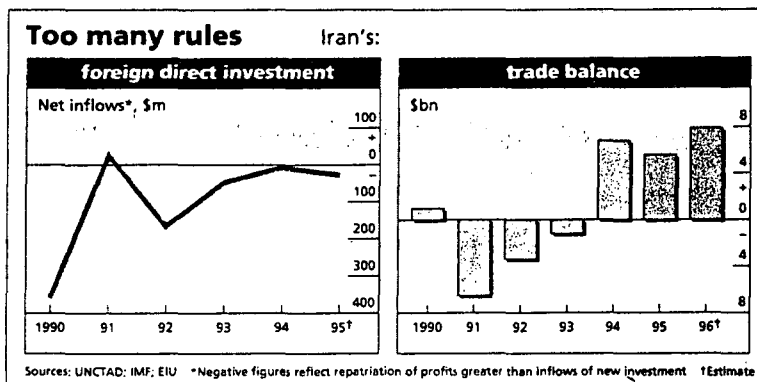
Privatisation, say Iranians, was a bad joke. The few profitable bits of government enterprises that were put on offer—seldom more than a third of any company—were quickly gobbled up by friends or relations of the new elite. Other offers, potentially available to anybody, turned out to be indigestible: wildly overstaffed state-owned firms that required new private owners to apply restrictive labour laws to the letter. At the end of it all, some 86% of Iran's GDP still comes from government-owned businesses. And even of the 14% apparently in the private sector, the larger part is the domain of the *bonyads* with their massive, accountable-to-no-

body, mafia-run empires.

The subsidised price of petrol, bread, gas, electricity and other essential goods and services remains very low. The petrol price was raised from 50 rials a litre to 130 rials over two years, but that still amounts to only two or three cents. With rice scarce and unsubsidised, poor Iranians have reluctantly switched to bread as their staple food. Economists fantasise about ending subsidies and targeting the poor directly but this does not seem, at present, a risk the regime will take.

Deregulation is no less mythical: you are looking at a government that last year alone issued more than 250 regulations on imports and exports. Would-be investors say the problem is not so much that there are too many rules, but that the rules keep changing at the whim of ministers. The two dozen ministries do not co-ordinate with one another. Deep down, those investors-in-waiting say, the Islamic Republic cannot make up its mind whether it really wants foreign investment or not.

A foreign-investment law is stalled in the Majlis. Even were it passed, potential investors doubt whether it would do any good. The rules on investment, they say, are not observed. In theory investors, as long as they register their companies prop-



SURVEY IRAN



erly, are guaranteed that they can repatriate their capital and profits. In reality, the combination of a laborious bureaucracy and the need to hand out baksheesh at every turn makes doing business in Iran, says one disillusioned foreigner, like coping with the combined bad habits of the old Soviet Union and the new Nigeria.

Not at all, say the Iranians. So long as a foreigner sticks to the rules, he should find everything in order. The reason that foreign investment is proving difficult to attract, they insist, is a "hostile political environment" that presents Iran as an unsafe place to put money into. Well, there is truth to that. It does not need America's propaganda machine to make Iran seem a politically unsafe place, but it helps. The direct effect of American sanctions is that Iran has to pay more for oil-related spare parts; instead of buying the equipment direct, it often has to get it through third parties with half-a-dozen commissions being added. And sanctions are making some European and Asian companies think again.

A nation of traders

Foreign investment is vital because local capital is neither sufficient nor forthcoming. Local investors prefer to put their money into real estate: construction, in the smarter bits of town, is booming. Iranians by tradition are traders, looking for a quick return, not a long-term investment. On top of this, Iran, unlike China, has been ambivalent towards its wealthy exiles. China welcomed back the overseas Chinese, returning confiscated plants, helping the returnees to invest and to set up joint ventures. Iran, though tolerant enough towards families coming back for a visit or a look, has made it difficult, slow and expensive for its exiles to recover their former wealth; they have to bargain, filling lawyers' pockets, in order to get some of their property back in return for shedding the rest.

Iranian exporters curse the new foreign-exchange rules that decree that \$1 is worth 3,000 rials when, everywhere in Iran outside officialdom, it is worth around 4,500 rials (except, that is, for the specially subsidised essential imports, largely controlled by the lucky *bonyads*, when it is worth only 1,750 rials). The rial has shot all over the place; at one time, in the 1980s, it had a dozen or so values. In 1994 Iran's rulers tried for a unified rate, letting it find its own value. But they lost their nerve when it went into free fall, losing about 70% of its value in a year. At that point the central bank stepped in with its "anchor policy", establishing an official rate.

Exporters have other complaints. They object, for instance, to the rule that says their hard-currency earnings must be deposited in the central bank, and released only after six months or so, either in rials or in dollars if they can prove that they need hard currency for imports. The authorities claim that the exporters had been cheating. The carpet exporters, a powerful mafia that controls Iran's most important non-oil export (with pistachio nuts coming a poor third), became so enraged by the regulations that for a time they held their products back from the market—which anyway is flooded.

Low productivity and low capacity utilisation is the curse of Iranian manufacturing. Average capacity utilisation is said to be 65%, but the big industries central to the five-year plans—petrochemicals,



A benevolent eye on commerce

steel, cement—pull the average up. Petrochemicals, with two new big complexes in Khorasan and Tabriz, are Iran's non-oil export hope for the future; at present most of the industry's output is snapped up by the home market.

Even within Iran's oil industry, on which the country's hopes depend, there are problems. A French oil group, Total, together with Malaysia's Petronas, is helping to develop two offshore oil and gas fields, in a deal that is not an investment (and thus does not fall foul of American sanctions) but will give them 50% of the take. The onshore fields, however, call out for better maintenance. As for gas, Iran has the second largest reserves in the world, but they are under-exploited, both for the domestic market and for export. Hence the importance of last year's \$23 billion gas deal with Turkey.

Hollow factories

In some of the smaller factories, three-quarters of capacity lies idle. Why? Home demand is there, and growing. Iran's boom-babies already want more than their fathers or mothers ever had.

Import controls are part of the problem. Iranian industries are seldom self-sufficient, most of them depending on imported capital equipment. When imports are stopped or delayed by the need for permits and licences, or shoot up in price because they have been smuggled in from Dubai, a business is reduced to a crawl. But this is not the only reason.

Highways leading out of Tehran are lined with factories producing everything from cars to shampoo. Some are doing well. Iran's ubiquitous Paykan (the long-vanished British Hillman Hunter) copes sturdily—if noisomely—with the capital's appalling

driving conditions. The country's private entrepreneurs are a vigorous lot, many making a go of small concerns—especially when they employ Afghan or Iraqi labourers at slave prices.

But many of the factories, most of them owned either wholly or in part by the government, turn out to be hollow. The façades look fine but there is noth-

ing much behind them except rusting machinery, men taking a break, or even kids playing football. The managers, paid a government salary that barely keeps them in Islamic beer, are off to their second, or third, or subsequent, jobs—and so, if they can find the private work, are their staff.

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Why Iranians are so tired

THE average take-home pay of an Iranian working for the government (which about half of urban dwellers do) is not enough to cover the average family's food and rent. So do most Iranians and their families sleep in the streets and live on subsidised bread alone? They do not. Even the poorest quarters of the big cities look pretty neat. In contrast to New York or London, nobody sleeps rough, and there are few beggars. In the shops in south Tehran's shabbiest districts, fruit and vegetables are overflowing the shelves. Outside the towns, too, life seems far from intolerable: peer into the kitchen of a modest village house, and you may be startled by the gleam of electrical appliances.

How do Iranians manage? Charity, and extended families, play their part in their social relationships, if not in their politics or their driving. Iranians are an unusually gentle people. Beyond that, whether poorly paid or not, most Iranian men are cogs in the great wheel of the country's underground economy.

Less so Iranian women. Though education and poverty have, together, made women readier than they were in the shah's time to contribute to the household budget, most of them still find their homes, husbands and children enough for them to cope with. This is changing, but slowly.

Making ends meet

Iranian men often have two or three extra jobs in addition to their official one, and may earn more from them than from their main job. A university professor, getting paid 500,000 rials (about \$110 at the official rate) a month, can hope, with private teaching, supervising theses and doing some research for a government ministry, at least to treble his salary.

A retired army general may have to hobble along on 170,000 rials a month. A primary schoolteacher, who is among the new really poor (along with the retired), may start off at 120,000 rials, or about \$25 a month. A two-room apartment costs at least 200,000 rials a month. So unless the teacher offers private tuition to students (it helps that no

student would pass an exam without such tuition) or fits an entirely different job—say taxi-driving—into afternoons and evenings, he or she, and family, would be on the streets.

Doctors, like professors and schoolteachers, have to make their money on the side. Patients may pay over ten times the official rate for private operations or for any complicated treatment. A qualified economist or engineer, earning 300,000 rials a month from his public-sector job, can use his contacts to make many times as much working part-time on a private project.

A detailed study of the underground economy by Firouzeh Khalatbari, an economist who used to work at Iran's central bank, shows that throughout the 1980s urban households spent on average a quarter more than they appeared to earn. There are many legal, semi-legal and illegal ways to earn money in a country cramped with restrictions and desperate for dollars. On the wrong side of the law, there is a handsome trade in drugs and antiques; at ports on the Caspian, fish merchants will mouth the forbidden word caviar (to be sold only as an official export) at anyone who looks like a greedy foreigner.

Any Iranian with foreign connections is in with a chance. Even the fellow loitering at the street corner, offering to change your dollars, may be earning more than a civil servant. The opportunities are infinite. A nomad shepherd, for instance, gets each of his ten children to apply for an import licence for a piece of equipment. It takes time, but that is the one thing they have. When they eventually get the licences, they sell them at a big profit to a manufacturer who has no time. Or a factory manager imports equipment but finds that he can make a quicker buck by selling it on to somebody else rather than using it.

Every service, even if at the time you were not aware it was a service, demands a return. The hard-up policeman who extends a journalist's visa in less than a week is owed quite a few dollars. The hard-up bank cashier may have to be given a little something if he is to provide clean notes rather than untouchably filthy and torn ones. It all keeps the economy rolling along, and Iranians away from the begging bowl.

But it also helps to explain the exceptionally low productivity of so many of Iran's government-owned industries. The managers and their staff simply cannot afford to spend much time at their place of work. Besides, having driven a taxi all night, they are yawning.



Life is too rarely a picnic

Looking towards change

But not towards another revolution

ALMOST anything can be done in Iran, with time and money: permits got, goods acquired, rules tweaked. This shadow-play is how most people get by in a tired revolution where living-costs are higher than earnings and where petty regulations smother personal freedom.

In its 18 years, the revolution has notched up much to its credit. It has spread education widely, albeit shallowly; it has woken up working-class women to their rights under Islam; it has laid the infrastructure for growth and made a stab at reforming the economy. Iran is a pleasant place to visit, tolerant of small grumbles. But it has become unloved, and not just by the *ancien-régime* middle classes. Many Iranians, tired at working so hard for so little, are unhappy with the religious-political system that rules their lives. Does their dissatisfaction signal a change in prospect?

Nobody on a white horse

Some dissidents point to the urban riots that rocked Iranian cities in the early 1990s—and recently broke out again in Kermanshah province—as the way that change may come. Local anger—in Qazvin, Shiraz, Mashhad, the suburbs of Tehran—was triggered by local grievances: shanty-buildings demolished, a rally disallowed, the death of a Sunni leader. Wider protests developed and were forcefully, even brutally, put down, by the army, the Revolutionary Guard and the *basij*.

Outside agitators were, as always, blamed for the trouble. The regime's favourite scapegoat is the Mujahiddin, the armed Islamic opposition which broke bloodily with the regime after the revolution. It has an army sitting across the border in Iraq and a political headquarters in Paris, headed by Maryam Rajavi, president-in-waiting and wife of the rebel leader. It claims to have a large following in Iran, and to be waiting for signs from inside to invade.

Iranians, who chat about most things, are prudently silent on the Mujahiddin. The impression is that, however unpopular the regime, the Mujahiddin, because of past violence and its present friendship with Iraq, may be more so. And though most Iranians want change, they do not want violent change: many shudder at the prospect of yet another revolution. Moreover, the old pre-revolutionary rebellious movements are all in some way discredited. The communists no longer carry any weight. The nationalists have been damaged by their alleged western connections. The clergy alone have their day in the sun.

Some wonder whether pressure for change might not come from the mullahs themselves, particularly the non-political clergy—up to 200,000 mullahs—who are beginning to resent the way that irritation with the politicians has spilt over into irritation with the mosque. Probably no more than 5% of these mullahs are involved in politics: a handful of ministers and their deputies, the Friday prayer leaders and Ayatollah Khamenei's representatives, and roughly a quarter of the 270-member Majlis. The rest of the clergy carry on with their ordi-

nary lives. In Qom, the centre of religious thought, scholarly dissidents cluster round Ayatollah Montazeri, forced from his position as leader-designate just before Khomeini's death and still a potential rallying point for the clerical disaffected.

But with Iran's politicisation of its clergy, and Iraq's persecution of its Shia minority, there are no longer any Grand Ayatollahs, the Shia Muslim equivalent of popes and great cardinals, who command the authority to stimulate radical rethinking, perhaps recreating a gap between mosque and state. By tradition, Shias set out to emulate a living *marja*. But the present source of emulation, for many Iranians, is still Khomeini, the dead imam enshrined in splendour in his tomb.

Some argue that, even within Khomeini's *velayet-e faqih*, there can be social and political change, strengthening the economic reform that is already on offer. But looking at current trends and faces, at the tangle of contradictory and self-seeking factions, such a change would be grudgingly offered and unreliably honoured. And would such half-hearted change satisfy Iran's boom-babies, the 30m-40m young Iranians who want not only education and jobs but also less restricted lives? When a first year arrives in college, says a lecturer, half the students are ready to lay down their lives for the revolution. By their second year, they have doubts, by the third, they are mildly critical, by the fourth, they are in outright opposition. The eyes of Iran's young army, the children of the revolution, are opening.



The Islamic Republic's new face?

Offer to readers
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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JANUARY 18-19, 1997

Iraq Warns Paris On Leader's Son

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BAGHDAD — The newspaper of the Iraqi ruling party said Friday that France would be committing a grave error if it went ahead with its decision not to allow medical treatment on its territory for President Saddam Hussein's eldest son, Uday Hussein.

"If the news is true, we will find that the French government would be com-

mitting a big mistake," the Ba'ath Socialist Party newspaper Ath Thawra said in a front-page editorial, adding, "This may cause harm to it."

France said Sunday that Mr. Hussein, who was wounded in an assassination attempt in Baghdad last month, would not be given medical treatment on its soil. A Foreign Ministry spokesman did

not give a reason for the decision.

Ath Thawra said France made its "wrong decision" because it feared reaction from the United States and Britain.

"It's not just a simple rejection of a request for the treatment of a sick person," the article said. "This decision is based on purely political considerations." (Reuters, AFP)

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1997

Outrage over food donation in Diyarbakır

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The Human Rights Association (IHD) Diyarbakır branch vice-chairman, Vedat Çetin, has issued a statement on Wednesday's food donation incident in Diyarbakır. The incident resulted in a demonstration displaying the full dimensions of the human tragedy that the inhabitants of Diyarbakır are going through. Businessman Kemal Polat donated food packages for Ramadan to 3,500 families in the Bağlar district in Diyarbakır. The Bağlar Municipality distributed the food on Wednesday from trucks in the district, but during the distribution large crowds crushed each other in their efforts to get at the food. Children fought and some of the old women were squashed between the outraged people who had failed to reach the food.

In the statement, Çetin pointed the finger of blame at the conflict between security forces and the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels, now in its thirteenth year, and the human rights violations connected with it.

He said that the food distribution scene, which was broadcast on TV, was the result of this conflict and although surprising to those outside the region, was an every day episode for those who lived there. Çetin said that the ongoing "low intensity conflict" was swallowing TL1 trillion daily, and if that TL360 trillion a year was borne in mind, people would not see these scenes, the vice-chairman proposing that the public "see" instead the forced migration of three million villagers, whose villages have been burned out, those missing in custody, extrajudicial killings, the gangs revealed after the Susurluk Accident and the problems and the results of the village guard system.

Çetin added that the people in the area have lost their

Hunger in Diyarbakır on Parliament agenda

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- The plight of the hungry in Diyarbakır, revealed in dramatic television coverage of throngs of people struggling to get loaves of bread being given away by a businessman, is to be discussed in Parliament.

Following the government's decision to send two ministers to the region, the main opposition party Motherland Party (ANAP) submitted a proposal to set up a Parliamentary commission to investigate the plight of those in Diyarbakır. ANAP parliamentary group deputy chairman Zeki Çakan said the government had ignored these people.

Republican Peoples Party (CHP) deputy

Ercan Karakaş speaking at a press conference, said the images of poverty on TV were the result of forced migration.

He noted that a draft bill submitted by the CHP to help migrants was recently rejected by the government parties, the Welfare Party (RP) and the True Path Party (DYP). Karakaş, pointing out that the government did not help those who were forced to migrate, stressed the government neither assessed the damages of these people nor compensated them.

He added that the problem cannot be solved by occasionally individuals giving aid.

In recent years, approximately 2,000 villages have been evacuated because of terrorism.

dreams now, and their pride was being wounded by such events.

He further said that the real problem was undermined by broadcasting the dramatic struggle of the people to obtain one kilogram of food and added: "These people, who have been living a productive life with pride in their villages, have been put in such a situation that they are in need of a piece of bread.

The aid of one kilogram of nylon food bags will not solve their problem."

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1997

Parliamentary support for government rapidly waning

BBP withdraws its support from government, desertions from ruling parties may be the order of the day

DKP tries to win over Kurdish deputies while DTP tries to hook onto DYP deputies

By Kemal Balci
TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Parliamentary support for the Necmettin Erbakan-led Welfare Party (RP)-True Path Party (DYP) coalition has been waning. Six months after it was established, the government finds itself in such a state that the desertion of a few deputies could bring about its collapse.

The Grand Unity Party (BBP), which has seven deputies, announced it would no longer support the government. And it is feared there will be desertions from the ruling parties.

Şerafettin Elçi, leader of the Democratic Mass Party (DKP) which has been founded to keep the Kurdish problem alive on the agenda, has launched a drive aimed at recruiting deputies of Kurdish origin from a number of other parties. He has met with

Haşim Haşimi (RP, Diyarbakır), Abdulhaluk Mutlu (RP, Bitlis), Ahmet Çelik (RP, Adıyaman), Sıddık Altay (RP, Ağrı), Mahmut Sönmez (RP, Bingöl) and Sebgetullah Seydaoğlu (Motherland Party (ANAP), Diyarbakır), and asked them to join the recently-founded DKP. He made the offer last week at a dinner and received a reply along the lines of, "Give us some time to assess this offer." If Elçi manages to persuade them, this will reduce parliamentary backing for the ruling coalition to a critical level.

Currently, the ruling parties have, between them, 279 seats in the 550-seat Parliament. According to the Constitution, the opposition must cast a minimum 276 votes to be able to topple the government. If five RP deputies decided to join the DKP, the total number of RP-DYP seats

would decline to 274 while the opposition seats would climb to 275.

The establishment of the Democrat Turkey Party (DTP) is another development which threatens the government's parliamentary base.

The DTP, led by Hüsametdin Cindoruk, has six seats. The DTP was founded by a group of deputies who had resigned from the DYP, and rumor has it that Cindoruk is trying to recruit another 14 deputies from this party.

If the five RP deputies accept Şerafettin Elçi's invitation, this might trigger more desertions from the RP. The RP has 23 deputies of Kurdish origin. One of the reservations these five deputies expressed during their meeting with Elçi involved the hazards of the DKP looking like a "Kurdish party." Three other parties who had projected such an image, namely, the People's Labor Party (HEP), the Democracy Party (DEP) and the True Democracy Party (ÖZDEP), have been closed down by the Constitutional Court.

Political circles say the Erbakan government is not yet on the brink of collapse. The "foundations" of the coalition are sound. But with the BBP withdrawing its support, "pieces of mortar" have started to fall "from the building." Desertions could open up "cracks in the walls." Then it would become more and more difficult for the "building" to remain erect.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1997

Talabani: Democratization condition for talks with Iraq

Overtures: PUK leader says Baghdad sought Russia's help in drawing him into a dialogue; renews call to PKK to abandon violence

Turkish Daily News
ANKARA- Iraqi Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani on Friday told the Turkish Daily News that his Patriotic

Union of Kurdistan (PUK) desired a federal settlement with a "democratic" Iraq, but indicated that he did not see it as an immediate prospect.

In an exclusive interview with the Turkish Daily News he visited with his leading aides, Talabani said he was not in contact with Baghdad, although there had been indirect calls for a dialogue, one made through Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeni Primakov.

Referring to the relations with the

Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) fighting a separatist war in southeastern Turkey, the PUK leader said he had always opposed PKK's policy of violence and its attacks on Turkey, but the relations had further deteriorated since last year when he said the PKK supported his rival Massoud Barzani in his Aug.31 onslaught on Erbil.

"After the invasion of Erbil — by Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) forces backed by Iraqi

tanks — we were expecting the PKK to at least condemn it; but (PKK leader Abdullah) Ocalan said in an interview with Al-Wasat newspaper that he understood the reasons for KDP's cooperation with Baghdad."

Asked whether he believed the PKK would heed his repeated calls to renounce violence, Talabani said "We have so far tolerated his mistakes, despite his verbal attacks against me, but no longer," he said. He added that the PKK's violent tactics had also turned the once-sympathetic German public completely against them.

"This is a time to bury the weapons, the world cannot be run as in the days of Ho Chi Minh or Che Guevara," Talabani added.

Regarding the future of relations with the Baghdad government, Talabani repeated earlier statements that it would largely depend on the shape of government in Baghdad. "If there is a democratic government, we will have a close federal relation; if not, ours will be a looser bond within a unified Iraq... Our laws will be in conformity with Iraqi constitution," the Kurdish leader said.

But for that, Baghdad had first to fully implement the U.N. Security Resolution 688 — which puts it under obligation to respect the rights of the Iraqi people including Kurds, Turkmens and the Assyrians.

"If a fountain is clear, the water flowing from it is also clear," Talabani said, adding

that the form of the government in Baghdad was important for them "if not for others," the latter being a jibe against KDP. Barzani is reported to have visited Baghdad twice in recent months and his KDP maintains closer ties with the Iraqi government.

He said he did not expect full democracy from Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, but Iraq's form of democracy "should be at least as that of Jordan or Kuwait."

Asked to comment on the reported contacts between PUK and Baghdad, Talabani said there had never been official negotiations of any sort between the sides. Other than some veiled threats served by Baghdad through some religious intermediaries after PUK's recapture of the strongholds of Sulaimaniya and Koy Sanjak last October that Talabani should not attempt to retake Erbil.

But Baghdad kept wooing PUK and sent a message through Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeni Primakov for the start of a dialogue. Iraq's deputy prime minister Tariq Aziz conveyed the message calling for the start of a dialogue when he visited Moscow last November.

Talabani later told a press conference that PKK would be asked to close a camp it had been running in the PUK area. Another camp, operated by an Iraqi Kurdish group would also be closed.

But the Kurdish leader said his forces

would not fight the PKK although "We will not allow our area to be used for attacks against Turkey, Iran and Syria."

He dismissed reports of a political agreement between PUK and Iran, but said Teheran was providing humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi Kurdish refugees.

Regarding his talks in Ankara, which included a meeting with State Minister Abdullah Gül beside foreign ministry and intelligence officials, Talabani said the latest situation in northern Iraq had been discussed and he had sought moral and political backing from Ankara.

He also called for Ankara's permission for resumed relief work by the international NGOs, saying they would bear in mind Turkey's concerns. Turkey last year restricted the permission to NGOs to travel to northern Iraq, suspecting they were sympathetic to the PKK rebels entrenched in the Kurdish enclave.

Referring to the recent talks held in Ankara between PUK and KDP for the consolidation of peace, Talabani said he was "hopeful", without elaborating. The important issues such as power sharing and the distribution of revenues were reported to have largely unsolved at the end of the third round of the talks sponsored jointly by Turkey and the United States.

But he said he hoped elections would be held in the Kurdish enclave this year.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1997

Police chiefs in Söylemez affair held in custody

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Former police chiefs who are alleged to be the brains behind the Söylemez Brothers Gang, which consists almost exclusively of the members of the armed forces and the police, were apprehended and sent to prison on Friday, according to the Anatolia news agency.

A criminal court in Istanbul had earlier issued arrest warrants in absentia against former senior police chiefs namely Deniz Gökçetin, Sedat Demir and Erdal Durmaz for their involvement in the Söylemez Gang.

The police chiefs who were caught during an operation carried out in the district of Florya in Istanbul are also charged with assisting the members of the Söylemez Gang Brothers. Under tight security measures, they were transported from the anti-terrorism branch to the office of the chief

prosecutor.

Istanbul Chief Prosecutor Ferzan Çiftci said his office had launched investigations against the people who had harbored the suspects.

The prosecutor demands a prison term of up to 24 years against Gökçetin and a fine in the amount of 10 times the money he had allegedly made from bribery. On Sept. 5, 1996, the court issued an arrest warrant in absentia for Gökçetin. The office of the chief prosecutor in Ankara has recently filed a criminal case against the gang of brothers publicly referred to as the "Söylemez Gang" on charges of violating laws concerning possession of false ID cards, firearms, bombs and similar dangerous weapons, in addition to attempted muggings, robbery, and the selling of military assets, Anatolia reported on Wednesday.

The prosecutor has demanded prison terms of up to 40 years for Mustafa Söylemez and 34 years each for Sena Söylemez and Mehmet Faysal Söylemez.

In his indictment, the prosecutor claimed that in December 1994 the Söylemez brothers had used violence against individuals from the "Time Out" company in an attempt to force them to hand over shares of the firm.

In January 1995, the brothers were alleged to have threatened the people responsible for organizing hajj affairs in order to collect the money themselves. The search conducted at the Söylemez residences in Ankara exposed that the gang had in their possession two anti-aircraft shells, hand grenades, military and police uniforms, and false ID cards.

Turkish Daily News SUNDAY, JANUARY 19, 1997

Pro-PKK activist re-arrested

Xulam allegedly committed
"perjury and forgery"

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON — Kani Xulam, a pro-PKK Kurdish activist working as the Director of American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN) in Washington has been re-arrested by U.S. law enforcement officials on Friday on alleged

charges of "perjury and forgery" for fraudulently obtaining more than \$13,000 in federal and state college aid — according to a TDN source.

Xulam, a Turkish citizen of Kurdish ethnicity born and raised in Turkey under the name Nimet Gündüz, but has used at least four aliases, was arrested by Metropolitan District Police and is expected to be extradited to Santa Barbara County, California, where the arrest warrant was issued, authorities said. Xulam headed the American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN) in Washington, D.C. when he was arrested and charged with passport fraud in April 1996 after an investigation by the

U.S. State Department's diplomatic security service. He was tried in California on passport fraud charges for receiving a U.S. passport by using the false identity of a baby died in Louisiana at a traffic accident at the age of 18

months.

Xulam was convicted in that first case of obtaining and using a passport in the name of Steven Barry Citron, an 18-month-old boy who was killed with his family in a car crash in Louisiana in 1993. Xulam assumed his identity.

Although the felony theoretically carried a sentence of up to 20 years in jail, the Armenian-American judge who tried Xulam in California gave a much lighter sentence of 400-hours of community service due to a series of mitigating circumstances and character witnesses who testified in his favor. Xulam was serving his "community service" sentence at the same AKIN office in Washington where he was arrested.

His arrest Friday was based on charges brought by Santa Barbara County, which alleged he obtained a total of \$13,257 in student grants and loans provided by the federal and state governments when he attended Santa Barbara City College and the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Xulam used Citron's name to enroll in the university, obtain the loans, sign the checks and get a driver's license, according to the arrest warrant.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1997

Report: Iraq trying to buy British arms

German Press Agency

LONDON- Iraqi agents are seeking to buy new military hardware in Britain so Baghdad can resume production of Scud missiles and cluster bombs, a British newspaper reported Sunday.

The Sunday Times based its report on information from a Western businessman who said he had recently visited a military facility on the outskirts of Baghdad who was shown drawings of Scud missile parts.

Iraqi agents have targeted companies in London, Birmingham, Southampton and Reading in a covert operation, the paper said. The production of missiles in Iraq has been

banned by United Nations resolutions passed since the 1991 Gulf War.

According to the paper, Iraqi military officials have provided Western businessmen with comprehensive "shopping lists" of hardware they need to upgrade and refurbish equipment earlier acquired from Matrix Churchill — the company that was at the centre of Britain's arms-to-Iraq scandal.

The paper also claims the Iraqi military machine is so far advanced that it is only a month away from being able to start work on Scud missiles capable of carrying conventional and biological warheads.

The paper says its information is based on documents from Iraqi defence officials as well as on evidence from Western businessmen who have recently visited Iraqi weapons sites.

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) was quoted as saying it had received reports of suspected Iraqi orders from British companies and had agreed to investigate.

A DTI spokesman stressed the department currently had no evidence of such activities. But he warned that, while British firms could discuss supplying medicine and essential civilian supplies to Iraq, the sale of military hardware was still outlawed.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1997

Turkey seems prepared to revoke its Euro-Court recognition

Officials claim the European Court of Human Rights has forgotten its mission of serving justice and has become a political tool for anti-Turkish quarters

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Signs are mounting that Turkey may be getting ready to withdraw the right of individual petition by its citizens to the European Commission of Human Rights, and to revoke its recognition of the legal competence of the European Court of Human Rights.

An increase in costly convictions for alleged gross violations of human rights, mostly relating to the crisis in the Southeast, and a favorable decision on behalf of a Greek Cypriot woman, appear to have pushed Ankara to this point.

Officials informing the Turkish Daily News about the "deep Turkish dissatisfaction" over what are seen as "politically motivated rulings," against Ankara, maintain there is a concerted effort by "certain circles" to erode Turkey's standing in Europe.

"Turkey will have no choice but to

make an assessment of the situation in the event that these efforts continue," one source informed the TDN.

"If the Human Rights Commission and Human Rights Court continue to make politics at Turkey's expense, then it is obvious that Turkey will not just sit back and watch this," the source added.

Officials do not openly say that Ankara will withdraw its recognition of these two key institutions of the Council of Europe.

Recent press reports from Strasbourg, where the Council of Europe is located, indicated that Ankara has signalled that it may withdraw its recognition of the competence of the European Court of Human Rights.

These reports also said that a delegation from the Human Rights Commission would be arriving in Ankara in February to try and dissuade Turkey from taking such a step.

Turkey's main bone of contention vis-a-vis the Commission of Human Rights is that it has been accepting as admissible, cases brought by Turkish citizens against the government even though full legal recourse in Turkey has not been exhausted. Turkish officials point out that under the Commissions own rules a plaintiff has to have tried all means of legal recourse in his or her own country before their case can be considered admissible and sent to the European Court of Human Rights. In the case of two recent convictions against Turkey — known as the Akdivar and Aksoy cases — the rule of "domestic recourse," was waived.

Turkish officials have watched with growing concern as this gradually becomes the practice rather than the exception for cases concerning the Southeast. Members of the security forces are accused of forcibly evacuating villagers, burning their villages, torturing locals for alleged Kurdish separatist sympathies, and engaging in extrajudicial killings.

These officials accuse the London-based Kurdish Human Rights Project organization and the Ankara headquartered Turkish Human Rights Association of masterminding these cases.

They maintain that in some cases the plaintiff whose cases have been submitted to the Commission for Human Rights, are not even aware that such an application has been made on their behalf.

"By putting aside, in the case of Turkey, its own rule regarding the seeking of legal redress at home first, and by accepting these applications as admissible the Commission for Human Rights is serving the interests of ill-intentioned quarters," the source informing the TDN said.

"In the case of the Akdivar case the Turkish government submitted evidence to indicate that compensation had been paid in Turkey to individuals as a result of certain occurrences that took place in the Southeast," the source said.

"As far as the government is concerned, this evidence suggests that there is the possibility of satisfactory recourse to redress in terms of national law."

The widespread belief among officials in Ankara is that those who are behind these applications aim to get the Commission for Human Rights to codify the fact that human rights violations, especially in the Southeast, have become a standard aspect of state administration, that there is no satisfactory legal recourse in these cases, and that this overall situation is based on racial discrimination.

"With its latest rulings, where the political aspect predominates regardless of the appearance of legality that has been given, the European Court for Human Rights has served this interest," the source informing the TDN said.

In order to reinforce this view, officials point out that in its ruling on the Akdivar case, the European Court of Human Rights referred to the fact that the clashes in the Southeast are between "state forces" and sections of the Kurdish population — particularly members of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) — who want autonomy.

These officials say that these remarks, which do not reflect either the legal or the political truth, clearly indicate that the Human Rights Court is "engaging in politics of its own." "The European Court of Human Rights, with these rulings that coincide with the piquing of efforts to prevent Turkey from taking its place in the rapidly evolving new European architecture, has lost its impartiality," the source informing the TDN indicated.

A recent ruling by the European Court of Human Rights in favor of a Greek Cypriot is being taken in Ankara as further evidence of anti-Turkish bias.

In the "Loizidou case" the court upheld that a Greek Cypriot woman's rights had been violated by Turkey, which was preventing her from accessing her house on the Turkish side of the divided island.

Turkish officials are angry that this case was deemed admissible even though the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe — to which the Commission and the Court are attached — had ruled previously that respect for human rights on Cyprus could only come about as a result of a settlement on the island through inter-communal talks.

These officials believe that the Greek Cypriot side has thus successfully used the Human Rights Court — which should in fact have taken the Turkish Cypriot side as its interlocutor in this case and not Turkey — in its efforts to obstruct a Cyprus settlement.

As to the state of human rights in Turkey, these officials maintain that Turkey is fighting terrorism while complying with the requirements of human rights, democracy and the supremacy of law.

They also maintain that efforts are continually being made to push the state of human rights in Turkey to the highest level.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1997

Talabani: US may hand revenues management over to the Turkish side

PUK leader also denies negotiations with Baghdad, indicating that such negotiations should be conducted by the government to emerge from Kurdish elections

By Saadet Oruç
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) revealed on Saturday a U.S. warning that unless the rival Kurdish factions agree on the means of collecting revenues from incoming border traffic from Turkey, Washington would ask Ankara to take on the task.

The issue of revenues has been one of the main bones of contention between the rival northern Iraqi Kurds who have shown themselves to be prepared to war over this issue. Concerning reports of PUK contacts with Baghdad, Talabani told the TDN that this would be the year of "free elections" in northern Iraq. Acknowledging "contacts" but denying "negotiations" with Baghdad, Talabani said that they wished such "negotiations" to be conducted by the government that emerges from the election.

Talabani also underlined that a prerequisite for these elections would be the compliance by Baghdad with U.N. Security Council Resolution 688.

Talabani also expressed his hope to meet U.S. officials in Ankara after he returns from the Hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca for which he leaves Turkey today.

Talabani arrived in Ankara last week, immediately after the third round of the talks between his PUK and the rival Kurdistan



PUK leader Jalal Talabani

Democratic Party (KDP) held in the Turkish capital under Turkish and U.S. auspices with British and Turkmen officials in attendance.

Also speaking to the TDN, Sami Abdurrahman, a leading KDP figure who was in Ankara for last week's talks with the PUK, maintained that all the "political cards" relating to northern Iraq were in the hands of his group.

Abdurrahman also said the KDP talks with Baghdad, which have elicited anger from Washington, were essentially centered on the democratic rights of the Kurds of Iraq.

Jalal Talabani pointed out that the main success of the visit was the "good relations established with Turkish brothers based on confidence".

"I think now both sides trust each other more," he said. "We agreed about the continuation of the peace process in Iraqi Kurdistan. And we will do our best, step by step, for securing the Turkish border. The demands of our Turkish brothers are very reasonable. It is not something that we cannot do." When questioned what these demands were, Talabani explained: "They are not asking us to fight against the PKK. They just asked us not to cooperate with the PKK, not to help the PKK. They told us that they understood our situation."

Referring to the third round of Ankara talks, Talabani declared that the Turkish officials were satisfied with the PUK delegation's condemnation of the PKK, as well.

Talabani met with Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller in an occasion in which the Turkmen had also been represented by Sinan Çelebi. He attended talks at the Foreign Ministry as well as at the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) with the MIT undersecretary, Sönmez Köksal.

He also explained the reasons for not being able to talk with U.S. officials: "Pelletreau was really very sorry for not talking to me. Also the U.S. diplomats in Ankara tried to contact me but they could not because of technical reasons. I hope that we will have a chance on my arrival from the al Amra, maybe 10 days later. I would also like to add that our delegation was received warmly in Washington, during the previous talks on northern Iraq."

Asked about the implementation of the Oct. 31 agreement and the peace process, Talabani said:

"We think that there must be a schedule for the implementation of the Oct. 31 agreement in Ankara as soon as possible. It is not good to delay it so much, (because) perhaps some foreign forces can intervene and disturb it. And about the revenues of Habur border gate; our Turkish, British and American friends are stressing the urgency of the problem. Muhammad (Tofiq, the head of PUK delegation in the talks) told me that Mr. Pelletreau asked Barzani to decide quickly, otherwise they will ask the Turkish government to do something for the distribution of the revenue in a suitable way."

Asked about contacts with the Baghdad government, Talabani said that a government (in the Kurdish north), which was to be established after the free elections, (which he sees possible to be held this year) had to take the responsibility of contacts with the Iraqi government "if Baghdad accepts the

democratization". "Instead of going into negotiations separately, it is better to be united," he said.

When he was reminded that the elections would raise the tension, he said that he expected the fight of votes, not of guns and artillery.

He said he believed the Oct. 31 agreement would be

implemented by Newroz (March 21).

The KDP on speaking to Baghdad

Sami Abdurrahman told the TDN on Friday that the KDP, in their talks with the Iraqi administration, had asked for their democratic and national rights. He added that the United States had strongly objected to any agreements between the KDP and Baghdad. He emphasized that there had been no conclusion in talks between his party and Baghdad.

Abdurrahman also denied reports that KDP leader Massoud Barzani had visited Baghdad in December. A Kurdish source said the Iraqi National Congress had announced that Barzani had been in Baghdad on Oct. 6 and Dec. 10.

The KDP representative also claimed his party was the strongest in the region, as it was the first Kurdish party in the region — over 50 years old.

Abdurrahman said the KDP was in a good position financially and strongly denied claims that Baghdad was attempting to control the administration of north-

ern Iraq, saying the administration would be under the control of the Iraqi Kurdish people and the northern Iraqi Parliament.

He also expressed confidence that peace would be cemented in the region saying the cease-fire could not easily be broken because the monitoring measures were set to become even stronger.

He also explained the KDP's objection to part of the statement released after the third round of peace talks in Ankara last week which referred to the decision to close the Atrush refugee camp and to the "legitimate security interests of Turkey": "Of course, we respect and take into consideration the legitimate security interests of Turkey, but this is a fact of the discussions between the KDP and Turkey, not these talks. On my visit to the Foreign Ministry after the talks, I explained our reasons to the officials for the objection."

Turkish Daily News

MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1997

What awaits Turkey on the European front?

In the first six months of the 1997, Turkey has to keep its eyes on France, which holds the term presidency of the Western European Union, and the Netherlands, the term president of the European Union

By Nazlan Ertan

Turkish Daily News

PARIS- In the first six months of the 1997, Turkey has to keep its eyes on two capitals, the Hague and Paris, which hold the term presidency of the two key Western organizations, namely, the European Union and the Western European Union, the EU defense arm-designate.

The priority for both institutions, the European Union and its defense-arm designate Western European Union, seems to be the question of enlargement, but the presidencies of both institutions carefully omit direct reference to the Turkish membership in their respective programs.

The Dutch presidency, submitting its program to the European Parliament at the end of 1996, said that preparations for enlargement would be one of its preparations, along with the intergovernmental conference (IGC) and the preparations for the European Monetary Union.

The Dutch presidency aims to conclude the IGC during its term, but has warned its European partners that this was not a presidential decision. "Much depends on the willingness of the 15 member states to resolve conflicts and overcome the

remaining obstacles, for the agreement of all is needed if the IGC is to achieve results," according to the Dutch policy paper. The Dutch presidency also has the mission of orchestrating the preparations for enlargement but, like on the question of IGC, adopts a guarded tone. While the new presidency said it would go on with the efforts of accession for the Central and Eastern European and two Mediterranean countries, it warned that both the EU and the prospective partners had to make their preparations.

"For the EU, this will involve institutional reform and a review of its internal policies, particularly the financing system, the structural funds and the common agricultural policy," the Dutch paper said. The Dutch presidency also hinted at the previous efforts at dialogue with the candidates had been less than fruitful. "During its presidency, Netherlands will make every effort to ensure that the structured dialogue with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which in the past had been no more than a succession of monologues, becomes more of an exchange of views," the paper said.

The Dutch paper also sounded noncommittal on the accession of Cyprus: "The recommendations regarding Cyprus and Malta have been available for some considerable time. They are favorable, although the partition of Cyprus is the main issue requiring consideration by the Presidency in that regard," it said. The Dutch presidency outlined the necessity of holding Association Councils with Turkey, Cyprus and Malta, under the headline of follow-up for the Barcelona Conference, which aims to bring the European Union closer to its Mediterranean neighbors.

"The principal element in relations with the Mediterranean countries in the second Euro-

Mediterranean conference, which the Netherlands will help to prepare, will be held in April in one of the Mediterranean partner countries. The Presidency's aim is to improve the structure of the follow-up activities and to achieve concrete results in the implementation of the Barcelona Declaration... Relations with the Mediterranean partners will develop further through association and cooperation councils to be held, for example, with Turkey, Malta and Cyprus," the Dutch paper said.

It made one further reference to the Cyprus question by naming it under the EU-U.S. plan of action. "The priorities will also depend to some extent on developments in 1997, for example, the American involvement in Bosnia and Cyprus, and the role played by the United States in the Middle East peace process," it said. Three questions confront Turkey during the Dutch presidency: Will the Dutch succeed in setting a date for the Association Council between Turkey and the European Union, which has so far been blocked by Greece? Will the Dutch presidency invite Turkey to a summit between the European Union and all aspiring members to take place after the IGC? Although the negotiations with Cyprus for membership will not be under the Dutch presidency but the next — Luxembourg — will the Dutch presidency be preparing the groundwork or will it let the bid simmer for the time being? The answers will be seen in the next six months, but at least on the question of Cyprus, the apprehension of the Dutch presidency seems clear. Speaking to the European Parliament, the Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo said that the divided state of Cyprus made not only its own enlargement but any enlargement of the EU and NATO difficult, as reported by Anatolia news agency.

WEU and French presidency

The French presidency of the WEU would have to deal with the standoff between Greece and Turkey, whose relations with the WEU is put to test through its refusal to allow the WEU to use NATO assets and capabilities for WEU operations if it does not share all aspects of the operation.

The French presidency will therefore try to find a solution that would enable Turkey to fully participate in the decision-making and planning of the Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF), and by doing this it would try to balance the fears of Greece that this would not mean the full membership of Turkey.

Two dates will be important for the WEU under the French presidency — the April meeting of the Chiefs of Defense, where the participants will discuss the technical aspects of the CJTF, and the May meeting of WEU Council of Ministers, the deadline for solving the Turco-Greek dispute before the presidency goes to Germany.

The French presidency has outlined three priorities with regard to the WEU: the strengthening of the WEU's institutional ties with the European Union; the assortment of the WEU with necessary operation capabilities — whose backbone is the CJTF — and, finally, giving thought to WEU's internal modus operandi.

In a speech to the WEU Parliamentary Assembly at the end of 1996, French President Jacques Chirac said the 50th anniversary of the WEU, which is in 1998, was a good opportunity to "codify the relationships between the WEU, the EU and NATO, and to decide on the possible amendments to that effect to the Treaty of Brussels." It remains to be seen if the changes will open the Turks the way of full membership before it becomes a member of the EU.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1997

Human Rights Watch opposes Turkish aircraft orders

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Human Rights Watch has issued a statement strongly opposing Turkey's plans to acquire new aircraft to combat the PKK, what it called "an armed opposition group."

Turkey's various military orders has been either canceled in the past or put on hold due to such pressures brought on by Human Rights Watch as well as anti-Turkish ethnic lobbies and arms nonproliferation groups.

Super Cobra helicopters, built by Bell Textron, and cluster bombs are



two examples of orders canceled as a result of such pressures on the State Department, Pentagon and the U.S. Congress. After the \$140 million sale of the Super Cobras was suspended by the U.S. State Department, Turkey announced in November 1996 that it had canceled the deal.

Decommissioned Knox-class frigates and 150-km range ATACMS (Army Tactical Missile System) are examples of orders that have been stalled by Washington. The ATACMS order, which was submitted back in December 1995, however, has been approved in December 1996 and sailed smoothly through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the last days of the 104th Congress.

New choppers

Human Rights Watch said "negotiations for the following military aircraft and equipment for the Turkish military and police forces are under way:

■ "Four CH-47 Chinook large-capacity military cargo helicopters," at a cost of about \$135 million. Chinook helicopters are manufactured by Boeing in the United States.

■ "Fifty S-70A Black Hawk armed transport helicopters." These would be part of a \$1.1 billion deal signed with Sikorsky, the U.S. manufacturer, in 1992-93 for 95 helicopters.

"Turkey has already received forty-five of the Black Hawks under this arrangement, with the remaining aircraft to be co-produced. The deal is currently suspended over disagree-

ments about the terms of co-production," Human Rights Watch said.

■ "Thirty AS-532 Cougar combat, search-and-rescue and utility helicopters."

Ankara has already received delivery of 20 of these helicopters for \$253 million as part of an earlier contract.

A follow-up deal is currently being negotiated with the Paris-based German-French consortium Eurocopter for co-producing 30 helicopters, worth about \$400 million, according to Human Rights Watch.

■ "Fifty-Four F-4 Phantom fighter jet upgrades."

This is an estimated \$600 million modernization contract from Israel Aircraft Industries that was signed by Turkey's prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, on Dec. 6, 1996, despite all the previous fears for Erbakan's anti-Israeli bias. The jets would receive new radar, electronic countermeasures, weapons and navigation systems.

■ Popeye missiles: "Turkey has also announced plans to purchase 30 Popeye precision-guided stand-off missiles from the Israeli company Rafael for the jets," according to Human Rights Watch.

■ "Logistical support for the F-16 fighter jet fleet."

Turkey is negotiating a deal with U.S. defense contractors Lockheed Martin, the aircraft engine division of General Electric, the guidance and control systems division of Litton Industries, and Westinghouse Electric for \$125 million.

The Clinton administration has notified Congress of its intention to approve Turkey's request for authorization of the deal.

Violations

Human Rights Watch argued that "fighter planes and military helicopters similar to the ones listed above" were used in "Turkey's counterinsurgency campaign" and "has resulted in gross violations of international humanitarian law. This has included firing indiscriminately at villages, thereby killing civilians and destroying property; transporting troops to and from villages which are forcibly depopulated and burned; and abducting, torturing and killing civilians."

To add some balance to its accusations, Human Rights Watch also noted that "the PKK is also implicated in a pattern of serious human rights abuse, such as extrajudicial killings, indiscriminate fire, kidnappings and extortion."

Halt the sales

Human Rights Watch has urged the United States and other Western governments "to refrain from further sales to Turkey of weapons that are likely to be used in violations of human rights and humanitarian law."

"Both the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's principles on arms transfers and section 502B of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act call for such a restriction on the sale of weapons," Human Rights Watch said.

Turkish Daily News TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1997

Mysterious child deaths investigated in Şanlıurfa

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The third scientific team sent to the village of Duruca near the southeastern town of Şanlıurfa to look into eight mysterious deaths since July 1996 has started its investigation in the region, the Anatolia news agency reported.

A written statement from the Health Ministry said eight children between the ages of four and six in the village had died of unknown causes between July 1996 and Jan. 19, 1997. It was noted in the ministry's statement that the first five deaths occurred in July and August and that the bodies had been buried without the ministry

being notified. Then Fatma Aldemir was hospitalized on Sept. 5, 1996 at the Şanlıurfa Children Hospital, but every effort to save her life failed. The Health Ministry said that teams of scientists had examined other children in the village and tested water and food samples from the region.

The statement said that the cause of Fatma Aldemir's death could not be determined even after an autopsy. "Although the cause of deaths could not be identified," it read, "the findings support the view that the deaths were not caused by infection. On the other hand, the cause might be a toxic material swallowed or inhaled."

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1997

Trade Minister Erez slams TÜSIAD democracy report

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Trade Minister Yalim Erez on Tuesday reacted to a report by the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TÜSIAD) calling for better democratic standards, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The report was publicized a day before at a press conference in Ankara by TÜSIAD chairman Halis Komili, after it had been presented to Parliament Speaker Mustafa Kalemli.

"I can't understand how an organization, which itself lacks democracy and is controlled by capitalist forces, can give us lessons on democracy," Erez told reporters in Ankara.

Erez said that TÜSIAD must recognize current realities in Turkey. "Their duty is to draw foreign capital to Turkey and advertise the country abroad. If they really need democracy, let them (the businessmen) have their own democratic structure within their own organization first," he added.

Asked whether he was disturbed by calls in the report for the abolition of the National Security

Council (MGK), the minister said he had not read the report, but did not think it reflected the realities of Turkey. He described the businessmen's report as a "tool to keep themselves on the agenda."

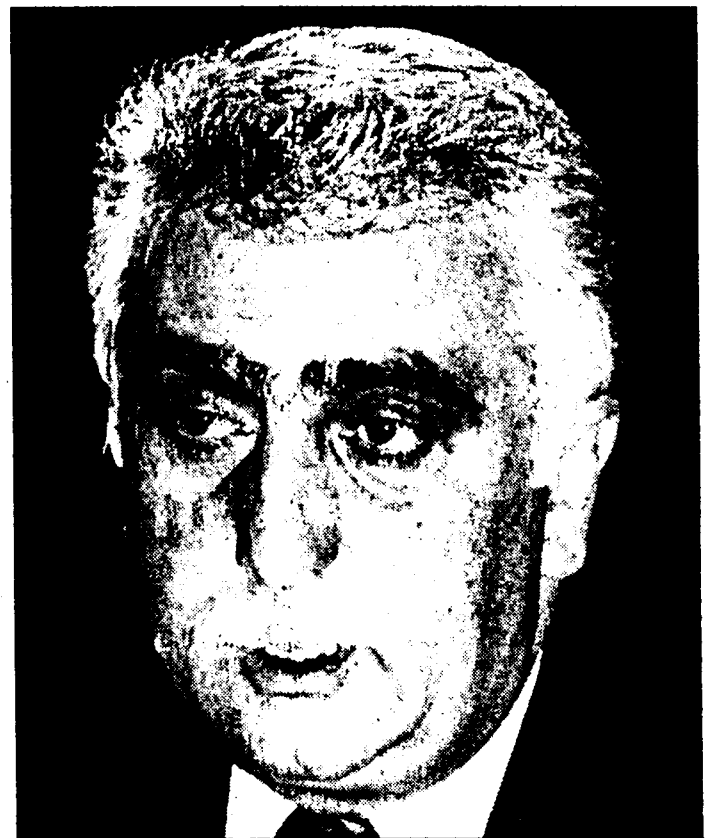
DYP withholds backing for report

Cihan Paçacı, deputy chairman of the ruling coalition's junior partner True Path Party (DYP), was also among those who criticized the TÜSIAD report, indicating that parts of it were unacceptable.

According to Paçacı, part of the report was prepared by an academic who does not hide his socialist tendencies, and this is contradictory to the ethic of TÜSIAD, an organization based on capitalist principles.

The DYP's deputy chairman said projects by civic organizations such as TÜSIAD on social issues should be encouraged, but this does not mean the findings of every project would receive support.

Paçacı also said that the section of the report recommending the abolition of the MGK was not in line with Turkey's historical and social traditions.



Trade Minister Yalim Erez

PKK threaten force if Atrush refugees return to Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The PKK militants announced that they would resort to force if the refugees living in Atrush Camp are made to move to Turkey, the Anatolia news agency reported on Tuesday.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) withdrew its flag from Atrush Tuesday and stopped supplies of humanitarian aid. Although the UNHCR called on the refugees to travel to Mukubli and Balkoz provinces, it was reported that the PKK was trying to prevent this. It also appeared that the PKK had threatened to use weapons if the refugees were forced to go to

Turkey. The separatists were seen as warning officials of the Massoud Barzani-led Kurdistan Democratic Party not to force the refugees to return to Turkey, but UNHCR officials in Ankara said that they could not either confirm or deny such reports.

Questioned about their position by the TDN on Tuesday, UNHCR officials responded as follows: "We have announced already that we no longer provide assistance in the camp. Our final material assistance was deliv-

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1997

Turkish Daily News

ered in December and we have not been able to get access to the camp since. We are hoping that the refugees will move to the two transit sites so that we can continue to assist and protect them.

"Again we stress that the majority of the camp population are vulnerable refugees in need of international protection. We continue to urge all parties concerned to respect the security of the refugees in Atrush. But given the increasing tension in the region, we insist that the camp population take the deadline seriously. We remain

committed to assisting the refugees in northern Iraq, but assistance cannot continue in the current form of the Atrush camp."

They also pointed out that the leaders in the camp had prevented the refugees from expressing themselves freely, and that the security situation had deteriorated to such an extent that UNHCR officials could neither speak to the refugees nor even show themselves in the camp.

Three Anatolian news agency correspondents trying to cover the evacuation were briefly detained by KDP security officials.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1997



DYP Deputy Sedat Bucak protected from cameras by his bodyguards as he leaves via the service door of the kitchen after being heard at the Parliamentary Susurluk investigative commission.

Parliamentary Susurluk commission hears Bucak

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- The parliamentary investigative commission set up to look into state-mafia links, the Susurluk accident and the illegal relations it

revealed, has heard from Sedat Bucak, the True Path Party (DYP) Urfa deputy. Bucak was the only person to survive the accident which occurred on Nov. 3, 1996 near Susurluk. Police Chief Hüseyin

Kocadağ, nationalist mafia member Abdullah Çatılı who has been accused of mass murder, and Çatılı's girlfriend Gonca Us were all killed in the same accident.

Bucak went into the commission room looking "weary and tired." Following his three hour hearing, he was secretly taken from Parliament by his bodyguards through the back door of the restaurant kitchen.

It was reported that Bucak started his testimony to the commission by saying, "I am very sick. I feel weary. I should not have come here due to my health problems, but I am a member of Parliament. That is why I came." He also said he wanted to bring into the open claims which had come to light after the Susurluk accident, and also those about gangs within the state, which had grown over the past two and a half months. "Whatever there is, it should be disclosed. The perpetrators, if there are any, should be punished. I am the one who wants this to happen the most. I am very uneasy about the publications and claims about me, which have been going on for weeks. That is why everyone should tell what they know, and the allegations must be proven," said Bucak.

Noting that he has undertaken the fight against terrorism as a personal duty, Bucak said, "I love my country. That is why I have been continuing the fight against terrorism for years. My family and I have been carrying on this struggle since 1970. We have had many losses since then. Some of my relatives and friends have died in this struggle."

However, Bucak would not give direct and clear

answers to the commission's questions. When it was pointed out that he had given more information on a TV program after the accident, Bucak said, "I am telling you what I know. I was on that program when my health was not in good condition. I could not remember what I had said ten minutes after the program. I forget what I say in ten minutes due to my health problems."

Welfare Party Deputy Mehmet Elkatmış, chairman of the investigative commission, made a brief statement after the meeting and said Abdullah Çatılı's wife Meral Çatılı, his business partner Ahmet Baydar and Arzu Yaman, the sister of his girlfriend Gonca Us, would be heard as planned.

The commission will hear former National Intelligence Organization (MIT) Undersecretary and Commander in Chief of Gendarmerie Teoman Koman and former Istanbul Chief of Police Necdet Menzir on Thursday.

Akşener: "No salary to Çatılı"

Interior Minister Meral Akşener said the Interior Ministry had neither paid salaries nor given a gun license and identity card to Abdullah Çatılı, mafia member and key name in the alleged state-mafia links.

Akşener, in reply to a written interrogatory motion, noted that there were no records in the Interior Ministry giving Çatılı a salary, gun license or identity card. She added that Çatılı had not received a medal or award for services to his country, and it was out of the question that his family would be awarded.

Turkish Daily News

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1997

Cambridge scholar: customs union not beneficial in the short run

By Orya Sultan Halisdemir

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- Süreyya Yiğit, a Cambridge scholar specializing in the customs union between the EU and Turkey, said the agreement had not been beneficial for Turkey in the short term, as had been expected. In an interview with the TDN, Yiğit pointed out it was rather difficult at the moment to tell whether the customs union was a means toward an end, meaning full membership of the EU, or whether it was an end in itself.

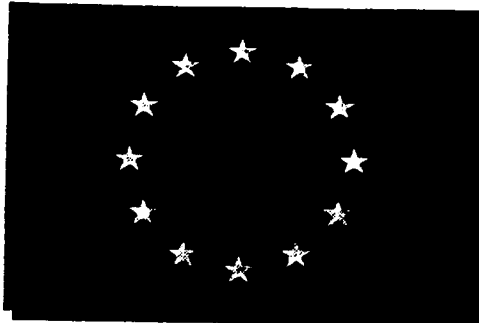
"When we look at the 1996 figures, the first four months indicators show that Turkey increased its exports to the EU by five percent. On the other hand, Turkey's imports from the EU increased by 60 percent, which surely is far from a healthy picture," said Yiğit, taking a pessimistic outlook.

However, the economy was not only affected by foreign trade. "We should also investigate whether there was any growth in the field of foreign investment in Turkey after the signing of the agreement. Unfortunately, when we consider the short period involved, we can see this area was not very encouraging either. The first eight months of 1996 revealed a decline in foreign investment coming to Turkey," he added.

According to Yiğit, trying to explain the decline in foreign investment in relation to the customs

union agreement would not be completely accurate. "This is because there are other factors involved, such as political stability, problems of the Treasury, problems of sources etc..." he said, claiming that these other factors should also be recognized as influencing foreign investments.

Despite his impression that Turkey has had a negative experience so far during the short period of the customs union, Yiğit believes that when long term benefits are considered, a rather different picture can be expected.



"Because goods imported from the EU are mostly to be used in investment, we will reap benefits. They will be transferred to production. From this point of view it will surely be beneficial for Turkey."

Assessing the political aspects of the customs union, Yiğit supported the idea that Turkey, by signing the deal, had reached a point of close political relations with the EU.

"Turkey is not the only country to sign the customs union. So did Andorra and San Marino. But Turkey is the biggest country with which the EU signed the deal. With its signature, Turkey voluntarily adopted the EU trade policy. This is unique in the history of economics. A country which is not a full member of an organization has accepted treaty obligations of that organization," Yiğit said, underlining the importance of Turkey's pledge to the EU trade policy.

"However we still do not know which route EU-Turkish relations will take in the future. It has only been one year since the signature of the agreement. It might lead to an end, or be an end in itself," he said, highlighting the vagueness of future relations.

When asked how the Greek veto on financial aid promised to Turkey under the customs union affected relations between the EU and Turkey, Yiğit pointed out that the EU had contradicted itself on this point. "Despite the fact that the aid promised is not a huge amount to rescue Turkey from all its shackles, by not keeping the promise made to Turkey a difficulty has been highlighted. There is an important principle involved here."

Yiğit said.

"Greece is playing the game according to its national interests. As it is a member of the EU, it is also trying to get the EU on its side against Turkey. This has been recognized in Turkey, and surely creates anti-European trends in society," he continued.

"The anti-European trend in society is not wrong. If the EU pledges things but does not abide by its word, then it is the one who should be seen as violating its promises. Turkey says 'If I was promised these things and you did not give them, why should I keep my promises.' Whether it is Greece or any other country that is causing this deadlock, it is the EU's problem," he clarified. Yiğit pointed out that the Welfare Party (RP) could easily use these kinds of EU policies as a tool to defame the EU to the public.

When reminded of the interpretation put on this issue by Michael Lake, the EU representative in Ankara, that Turkey's trade gap had widened because Europe, as a market, had not boomed since Turkey became a member of the customs

union, Yiğit said he shared this view, but it was not enough to explain the trade gap.

"Turkey did not receive any reduction under the customs union in the tariffs and quotas imposed on its exports of industrial products to the EU, except in relation to textiles and petrochemical goods... However, the EU had been exporting to Turkey subject to a 15 percent tariff, and then their exports increased because the 15 percent tariff was removed."

Yiğit argued that Turkey would not gain from the size of the market in Europe, but from being a participant in that market. "The market is already big. The important thing for Turkey is that the industrial sector can get used to the rules of competition and can compete with Europeans. If it can do that, it would mean Turkey could become competitive. The real aim is not only to sell, but also to increase our ability to compete," he added.

According to Yiğit, there has been no increase in the number of cars produced by the automotive sector in Turkey since the customs union. However, he said that the textile sector had improved by eight percent following the signature

of the agreement.

"It is a well known fact that the automotive industry did not greet the customs union very warmly. The austerity measures taken on April, 5, 1994 had already badly affected this sector. So it is not clear whether the customs union or the austerity measures had the greatest impact on the automotive industry. However, it is also true there has been no increase in the number of cars produced in Turkey after the customs union," he maintained.

"However, the textile industry was always in favor of the customs union. When quotas are lifted, they will really benefit from it. This sector forecasts it can achieve \$10 billion worth of exports when the quotas are lifted," said Yiğit, noting that the industry anticipates a boom in the future.

When asked to comment on whether it was a contradiction to see that Moody's had dropped Turkey's credit rating, Yiğit replied that had Turkey not signed the customs union with the EU, then Moody's might have dropped the rating by two points rather than only one.

MERCREDI, 22 JANVIER 1997

12° ANNEE, N° 3087

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LE POINT SUR LA TURQUIE

L'EX-DÉPUTÉ KURDE AKSOY EN PRISON JUSQU'À L'AN 2001

Incarcéré depuis le 14 octobre 1995 à la prison d'Ankara où il purge une peine de 3 ans pour délit d'opinion, Ibrahim Aksoy, ex-député kurde de Malatya et ancien président du parti DDP, vient de se voir signifier qu'en raison de récidive dans ses délits d'opinion séparatiste, l'amende de 216. 666. 666 LT à laquelle il avait été condamné a été commuée en 5 ans de prison. Par ailleurs, la condamnation à 2 ans de prison avec sursis prononcée par la Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat d'Istanbul pour son article "L'alévisme et la question kurde" a été ratifiée par la Cour de cassation turque. Celle-ci doit bientôt statuer sur une autre condamnation, à 16 mois de prison et à une amende de 133. 333. 333 LT, de cet homme politique kurde pacifiste pour un article intitulé "Bosnie-Somalie-Kurdistan". En

l'état actuel de ses dossiers, Ibrahim Aksoy devrait rester en prison jusqu'au 17 février 2001! Si évidemment la machine judiciaire turque ne le condamne pas à d'autres peines pour ses écrits et ses déclarations. Chargée de faire taire les opposants, la justice turque dispose toujours d'une batterie de dossiers sur les opposants lui permettant de garder ceux-ci en prison aussi longtemps que le souhaite le Conseil de Sécurité nationale à dominante militaire. En raison de cette singulière logique, le sociologue turc Ismail Besikçi, actuellement incarcéré à Bursa, est condamné à plus de siècles de prison pour ses écrits sur les Kurdes. L'ancien maire de Diyarbakir, Mehdi Zana, qui a déjà passé 15 années de sa vie derrière les barreaux, fait l'objet d'une série de nouvelles poursuites judiciaires qui ont à ce jour déjà abouti à des condamnations à 4,5 ans de prison pour deux livres de témoignage sur les prisons turques et les grèves de la faim qui y ont eu lieu.

ONZE POLICIERS IMPLIQUÉS DANS L'ASSASSINAT DU JOURNALISTE M. GOKTEPE RETROUVENT LEURS POSTES

A la suite de la vive émotion suscitée par la mise à mort en plein Istanbul et devant de centaines de témoins de ce journaliste du quotidien Evrensel, ces policiers avaient été "suspendus" par le ministre de l'Intérieur. Leur procès a été confié à des cours de province, officiellement "pour des raisons de sécurité". Plus d'un an après les faits, ces policiers n'ont jamais comparu devant une cour et leur procès reste au point mort. Affirmant que l'enquête disciplinaire concernant ces policiers était terminée, le nouveau

ministre de l'Intérieur, Mme. Aksener, a décidé, par un décret du 27. 12. 1996 dont la presse vient tout juste prendre connaissance, de lever la suspension les concernant et de les faire affecter à leurs postes à la Sûreté générale d'Istanbul. Selon le préfet d'Istanbul, Ridvan Yenisen, ces policiers ont subi "la plus lourde des sanctions disciplinaires, à savoir un gel de 12 mois dans leur tableau d'avancement". Les commentateurs relèvent que dans un pays où des intellectuels peuvent être condamnés à deux siècles de prison pour leurs écrits, sanctionner des policiers accusés du meurtre d'un journaliste de "12 mois de gel dans leur tableau d'avancement" fait perdre toute considération pour la Justice, censée être la même pour tous les citoyens.

"DISPARITIONS", EN HAUSSE CONSTANTE

Dans le registre des violations des droits de l'homme, la Turquie, avec l'augmentation du nombre des "disparitions", ces dernières années, tient le haut du pavé et n'en finit pas d'attirer l'attention. Ce sont les régions kurdes qui sont le plus touchées par ce fléau; ainsi rien qu'en décembre 1996, on relève 9 "disparitions", à la suite de mise en garde à vue. Selon le président de la Commission juridique de l'Association turque des droits de l'homme IHD, Osman Baydemir, cité par le quotidien Özgür Politika du 14 janvier, "en un an 226 disparitions dans les provinces kurdes ont été enregistrées par l'IHD". Dans la seule ville de Diyarbakir 9 "disparitions" ont eu lieu l'année dernière. Le ministre de l'Intérieur, Mme. Meral Aksener, commentant les chiffres de l'IHD, a affirmé que "39 de ces personnes ne sont pas disparues mais sont détenues et en vie et que 82 personnes n'ont d'aucune façon été placées en garde à vue car aucune indication les concernant n'existe dans les registres". Répondant au ministre, M. Baydemir déclare: "Le propre des phénomènes de disparitions est précisément les autorités (police ou gendarmerie) ne garde aucune trace des disparus dans les registres officiels".

LICE, TOUJOURS SOUS ETAT DE SIEGE

Cette ville kurde, de la province de Diyarbakir, en grande partie détruite à la suite de l'intervention des forces armées turques en octobre 1993, continue de souffrir le martyre. Selon Turkish Daily News du 27 décembre 96, le 20 décembre durant un raid militaire sur la ville, tous les habitants mâles, soit 2500 personnes âgées entre 15 et 60 ans, de cette localité ont été regroupés dans la cour de la gendarmerie locale. Le chef de la gendarmerie s'adresse à eux et leur déclare que "100 volontaires" seront désignés pour servir dans les milices pro-gouvernementales, en cas de refus personne ne sortira de la cour. Après les avoir gardés pendant trois jours au cours desquels ils ont été tabassés et forcés à suivre un entraînement militaire, les vieillards et les fonctionnaires ont été libérés avec de nombreux blessés parmi eux. Ceux désignés pour servir comme "protecteurs de villages", ont été relâchés au bout de cinq jours et armés par la gendarmerie. Ces événements ont provoqué un tollé dans le milieu des organisations de défense des droits de l'homme et des syndicats. Une mission a été formée ayant pour but de se rendre sur place et de mener une enquête. Cette mission de 21 personnes formée des représentants du parti pro-kurde HADEP, de l'Association turque des droits de l'homme, du syndicat DISK, de la branche locale de Reporters sans frontières et de l'écrivain Orhan Pamuk, devait se rendre à Lice le 14 janvier. Mais l'accès de la ville leur a été interdit par le super-préfet, Necati Bilican. S'exprimant au nom de la délégation, l'ancien député kurde Ahmet Turk, vice-président du HADEP, a déclaré dans une conférence de presse: "aux yeux de l'opinion, cette interdiction vaut aveu de culpabilité et montre une nouvelle fois l'absence de démocratie en Turquie".

INTERDICTION D'UN LIVRE DE LA JOURNALISTE ALLEMANDE LISSY SCHMIDT

La Cour de Sûreté de l'État d'Istanbul a décidé, le 16 janvier, la saisie de tous les exemplaires d'un ouvrage

intitulé Özgürlüğün Bedeli (Le prix de la liberté) écrit par la journaliste allemande Lissy Schmidt. Celle-ci, après avoir travaillé pendant des années en Turquie, s'était, à partir de 1992, installé au Kurdistan irakien où, jusqu'à son meurtre mystérieux en 1994, elle travaillait pour plusieurs organes de presse européens dont l'AFP. Selon la cour turque, le livre de L. Schmidt ferait de "la propagande séparatiste" et son éditeur turc doit comparaître pour répondre de ce chef d'accusation

LA TURQUIE EST UN DES MEILLEURS "CLIENTS" DE LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME POUR L'ANNÉE 96

La Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, organe judiciaire du Conseil de l'Europe, a été submergée par les requêtes des citoyens des 40 pays constituant cette organisation pan-européenne. 12. 153 plaintes ont été déposées en 1996, un chiffre en progression de 20% par rapport à l'année précédente. Les plaintes jugées recevables par la Commission progressent de 30% et représentent 624 requêtes dont 37 requêtes émanant des citoyens de Turquie. S'exprimant au nom de la Direction des droits de l'homme du Comité des ministres, Pierre-Henry Imbert, a souligné l'attention toute particulière accordée à la Turquie dans la réforme de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, qui est suspendue à la ratification d'un protocole signé par tous les États membres. Elle consiste à rendre plus efficace la juridiction européenne notamment en matière d'exécution des arrêts rendus. En désignant la Turquie comme un pays peu "discipliné" et comme "un des plus gros clients" de la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, M. Imbert a déclaré: "La Turquie va-t-elle utiliser le biais du blocage pour manifester son mécontentement contre les critiques portées par le Conseil de l'Europe, ou bien va-t-elle ratifier le protocole pour ne pas s'isoler?". La plupart des requêtes déposées contre la Turquie portent sur les exécutions extrajudiciaires, et sur la destruction et l'évacuation des villages kurdes.

TÜSİAD has done its duty for the democratic system

For years various Turkish governments have emphasized the need for democratic reforms in our country. Nothing much has been done really because this needs a drastic change in the current mentality in Turkey.

Despite the calls for such reforms, have past governments had the political will for such progress? We doubt it. From Süleyman Demirel onwards the promises for democratic reforms have remained as promises and wishful thinking.

But now there is a new opening. The Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) has taken the matter into its own hands by introducing a package under the title "Improving Turkey's Democratic Standards" and has made very serious proposals on real political and social reformation in our country.

The conservative circles in Turkey have greeted the report with incredible criticism and antago-

nism. These are the people who have lost touch with all global realities and who want to push our country into isolation.

Turkish businessmen see that under the current circumstances Turkey can never hope to become an elite member of the family of civilized nations. Without reforms it will remain as an insignificant semi-democracy on the doorstep of Europe. It is normal that the TÜSİAD democratization package will be debated at length. TÜSİAD has done an invaluable service to this country by the mere fact of opening up such a

debate. Turks need to discuss this issue. There are some aspects of the TÜSİAD package that may be considered dangerous by some circles who want to preserve the status quo in this country. But in general, the report is very positive and conciliatory. It can create the much wanted social contract in Turkey and create an environment of understanding between the opposing factions in our society. TÜSİAD proposes to overhaul the system in Turkey and they are right. That is what we need and that is what we will sooner or later get. Those who are unhappy with the TÜSİAD proposals should make their own proposals and open them to public debate. TÜSİAD introduces very positive proposals concerning the exploitation of religion, ending military dominance, a new approach to the Kurdish issue and other areas where we need urgent reforms. It offers a new political system where democracy will function better.

Yet, we see some people are already criticizing TÜSİAD for trying to create a new opening that could lead to reforms. The True Path Party (DYP) has even accused the businessmen of interfering in politics. The pro-Islamic Welfare Party on the other hand sees some very positive elements and says the package is worth consideration.

The business elite have done their duty. Now the others sectors of the society should follow.

DYP plays down German court affront

Confusion reigns over comments by German judge, with opposition deputies calling for clarification and full inquiry

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Parliament reacted on Wednesday to comments by a German chief judge apparently implicating Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller in the protection of drug smugglers.

The comments were initially presented as part of a verdict delivered to court, although later reports suggested the judge was merely quoting evidence supplied by witnesses. "There is no such verdict. The story was denied afterwards," said Ali Rıza Gönül, deputy chairman of the True Path Party (DYP) parliamentary group.

DYP Secretary-General Nurhan Tekinel said the Turkish media had exaggerated the incident, which did not even merit attention in the news. Tekinel said he had thought "Where on earth did this come from?" when he read the news in the papers, as Çiller herself had done.

He noted that the media was wrong in making the incident front page news. "If it were me, I would not have spared any place for it in the papers. Those being accused in a court may make claims about anybody. It does not necessarily mean that the accusations are true just because they have been recorded in court minutes.

I was surprised. If the papers had printed the news with big fonts and reported the news as if it were true, then I would have put up the papers on the walls in Parliament. The media should pay attention to these," he said. DYP Deputy Chairman Hasan Ekinci noted that the story had been denied and that there were no such accusations in the court's ruling.

Tansu Çiller declined to comment on the issue when entering Parliament on Tuesday.

ANAP: If story is true, it is a scandal

Motherland Party (ANAP) deputies reacted strongly to the German judge's mention of Çiller. "If the story is correct then it is a scandal," said ANAP Deputy Chairman Yaşar Okuyan. Okuyan said the issue should be investigated in Turkey and could not be dismissed just by sending a protest memorandum. "If the story is correct then it should be investigated. If it is not then a stronger reaction should be given, to protect Turkey's honor," he said.

ANAP deputy Yaşar Topçu said the verdict was very important because drug smuggling was considered a crime against humanity in international law and politics. "The Foreign Ministry must make a comprehensive statement on this. It is not an ordinary claim, and the Turkish government is under suspicion. No one has the right to place this guilt on us," he added.

Another ANAP deputy, Ahmet



Hasan Ekinçi

Nedim, pointed out that the story could be more damaging when spoken than when proven true. Nedim said the government had to make the court's ruling clearly understood, adding that there were still unknown aspects of the subject. "If the story is true, if the court is right, then we should be ashamed," Nedim said, adding that it was impossible to remain silent on a decision harming Turkey's reputation.

ANAP Deputy Chairman İbrahim Yaşar Dedelek said: "This is a very sad incident. The fact that 65 percent of the world's drug traffic passes through Turkey was reiterated at a meeting of international narcotic police in Antalya. Why should Turkey be in such a condition? These things have increased in the past three years. Çiller has been either the prime minister or the deputy prime minister in these three years. What the German judge said are only claims.

I am not offended by this, because why weren't there any claims about people such as Ecevit, Demirel and

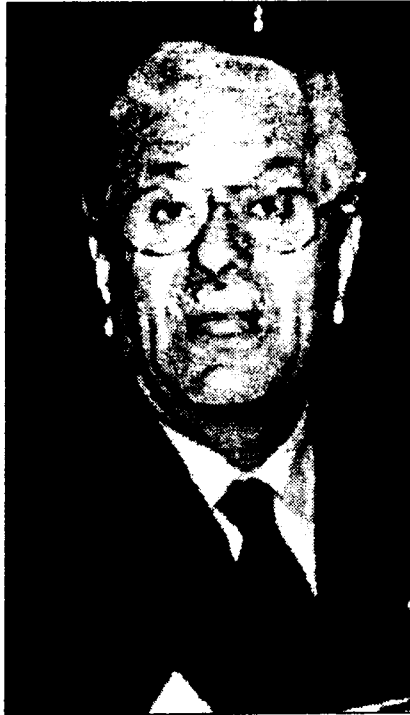
Yılmaz, who have been prime ministers for many years? If such claims have reached those countries and Turkey has begun to be pointed at in such issues, Çiller has the main responsibility for that. Turkey protested to Germany.

But before doing that, the perpetrators of the Susurluk scandal should have been tried in court. Çiller, who is involved in a new scandal every day, is damaging Turkey and causing the country to lose prestige. There is no smoke without fire."

ANAP Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairman Murat Başesgioğlu said: "It is a sad event that a German judge has made such a statement about a Turkish minister.

It is also interesting that a serious nation like the Germans should mention Çiller just out of the blue. Turkey should investigate this issue and ask for the case file."

Welfare Party (RP) Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairman Salih Kapusuz said: "There has been no official statement sent to the Turkish embassy or



İsmet Sezgin

the government. There has been a slanderous statement against the Turkish government. It is not possible that we protect unlawfulness and drug smuggling. This event has been considered to be unlucky for our government and state. We have given the necessary orders to the officials."

Democrat Turkey Party (DTP) Deputy Chairman İsmet Sezgin said: "Hüseyin Baybaşın, who is one of those tried in the smuggling case, is a perjurer, as we have learned from the media.

He gives the impression that he was rented. We should not trust such a person's statements. However, I would find it useful if the case was investigated in Turkey, since the issue is being seriously discussed in the country and the relations of these people with state officials have been proved."

Cevdet Selvi, Deputy Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (DSP), said: "It is ill-luck for Turkey that a high-ranking politician, who is currently deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and who was in the past prime minister, is under suspicion in other countries. It is sad for the entire public. We do not know for certain whether the German judge had evidence in his hands, but these accusations cannot be tolerated.

These accusations should be seriously investigated and considered. When there are so many doubts surrounding Çiller's name, it is not possible for us to say anything to the judge. Çiller, who is scared to clear herself from accusations, is always faced, clearly or indirectly, with such claims.

The radical solution would be for Çiller to resign. She should at least resign from her post as foreign minister. She is actually overdue in doing so. I opposed Çiller's being foreign minister at the beginning.

Now everyone can see how correct I was. It is a must that the Susurluk scandal be solved and Çiller cleared, so that Turkey can get rid of such accusations. But since Çiller does not intend to do so, the best solution is for her to resign."

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1997

US says Xulam is wanted on nine counts of felony

State Department rebukes pro-PKK Kurdish activist

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Responding to the allegation of Kani Xulam, the director of the pro-PKK Kurdish organization American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN), that the U.S. State Department was "harassing" him, the State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns refused the allegation. Burns reminded that the reason why Xulam was arrested last Friday in Washington was because he was wanted by a California court on "nine counts of felony." Court papers show that Xulam is a "fugitive" from Santa Barbara, California court for "larceny," among other possible charges.

Xulam, born as Nimet Gunduz in Turkey, was arrested previously in the U.S. for falsely adopting the names "Serenio Citron" and "Stephen Barry Citron" and obtaining a U.S. passport under the latter name. Xulam was sentenced to 400 hours of community service at AKIN office by an Armenian-American judge in Los Angeles for committing passport fraud — a felony that potentially carries a jail sentence up to 20 years.

Baseless

Burns said "the charge that somehow the State Department is harassing this guy is just baseless."

"Let me tell you the facts," Burns continued. "On the afternoon of January 16th, last Thursday, the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security received a call from the District Attorney's office in Santa Barbara, California. The District Attorney's office

informed us that they had issued a nine-count felony arrest warrant for Mr. Xulam. They requested our assistance in locating him. We agreed to provide that assistance." "On Friday, January 17th, Mr. Xulam was located by Diplomatic Security agents of the Department of State and arrangements were made with the Metropolitan Police of Washington, D.C., to arrest him, and he was arrested in the presence of two of our Diplomatic Security agents."

Serious charges

"Now, these charges are very serious - nine counts of felony. They were brought by the District Attorney in Santa Barbara. They're not State Department charges. That's not how the American judicial system works, as you know very well, but perhaps he doesn't know or chooses not to believe."

"He's got to submit to the legal authority of the State of California here. These are serious charges. He'll have to face them." "The State Department simply provided assistance at the request of our own judicial authorities and was able to help find him and help in his arrest. That's what we're responsible for doing under our own law," Burns said.

Free on bail

After his arraignment hearing on Saturday, the D.C. District Court judge let Xulam go free with a \$5,000 bond on his own personal recognizance. Xulam's next hearing in Washington D.C. court will be on February 19, 1997 to determine if he would be extradited back to California or serve his sentence in Washington D.C.

Turkey slams German judge's anti-Turkish comments in drug case

Anger: Foreign Ministry, ambassador Vural have made plain Turkey's acute displeasure over 'slander'

Turkish Daily News
ANKARA- The Turkish gov-

ernment has hit out at alleged claims by a German chief judge that the Turkish government, and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller in particular, protects narcotics smugglers. Foreign Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel said the claim was not only wrong but was also defaming.

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1997

"The claim, the slander, is unbecoming and we condemn it," Akbel said at his weekly press conference on Wednesday. Akbel also said the Foreign Ministry had made a formal protest to the German Embassy.

"Last night, (Tuesday night) Foreign Ministry undersecretary Onur Oymen protested to the German Embassy. In Bonn, the Turkish ambassador gave a note to German Foreign Ministry and he will also write a letter today to Klaus Kinkel, the German Foreign Minister. We have also asked for an explanation," Akbel said.

Akbel also said that a German television program had "defamed" the Turkish flag. He said that freedom of the press did not allow the media to "defame" another country's flag. A German television program had used as a graphic a picture of the Turkish flag with a hypodermic syringe sitting on it. An official from the German Embassy said they were trying to find out exactly what the judge

had said. "There were two stories in the press. One of them saying that judge was giving the court's opinion and the other saying the judge was just quoting from the convicted criminals. We are trying to find out just what exactly the judge said."

Meanwhile, speaking to reporters, Öymen, said the claim was totally false and no one should allege such wrong ideas about a government.

"These kind of things are totally against the nature of international relations. Even a judge has to obey international relations," Öymen said.

German ambassador Hans Joachim vergau said "German courts are independent; but on the other hand a judge does not represent the German Government." The diplomat, in his statement to the Anatolia News Agency, said the best thing would be waiting for the end of the trial.

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Turquie-Kurdes-Pétrole : Attentat à la bombe du PKK contre l'oléoduc irako-turc près de Mardin

ANKARA, 23 jan (AFP) - Les maquisards du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont perpétré, dans la nuit de mercredi à jeudi, un attentat à la bombe contre l'oléoduc irako-turc dans la région de Midyat (sud-est, sous-préfecture de Mardin) qui a causé un incendie, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Un groupe de rebelles kurdes du PKK ont déposé une bombe à l'oléoduc près du village de Sogutlu, selon la même source.

Le brut qui s'est dégagé de l'oléoduc s'est répandu sur une surface importante et s'est enflammé sous le choc de l'explosion. L'incendie n'avait pas été encore maîtrisé jeudi dans l'après-midi, malgré l'intervention des équipes de pompiers dépêchées depuis plusieurs localités avoisinantes.

Le double oléoduc irako-turc reliant les champs pétrolifères irakiens au port turc méditerranéen de Ceyhan-Yumurtalik a été rouvert mi-décembre, après plus de 6 ans de fermeture suite à l'embargo imposé à l'Irak par l'ONU après son invasion du Koweït en août 1990.

La réouverture de l'oléoduc entrain dans le cadre de l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture" aux termes duquel Bagdad est autorisé par l'ONU à exporter des quantités limitées de pétrole (l'équivalent de 2 milliards de dollars tous les six mois) pour acheter des vivres et des médicaments, afin de soulager sa population durement affectée par l'embargo.

L'oléoduc, formé de deux conduites de 40 et de 46 pouces de diamètre et longues de 986 et 890 km, est d'une capacité de 1,2 million de barils par jour.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 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, maquisards, militaires et civils.

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USA-Turquie-presse : Campagne pour la libération d'un journaliste turc emprisonné

WASHINGTON, 23 jan (AFP) - Une pétition signée par plus de 300 journalistes, responsables d'organes de presse ou défenseurs des droits de l'Homme réclamant la libération de Ocak Isik Yurtçu, un journaliste emprisonné en Turquie depuis plus de deux ans, a été remise jeudi à l'ambassadeur turc à Washington.

"Ocak Isik Yurtçu a été poursuivi et emprisonné pour avoir mené à bien sa mission de journaliste", a commenté la

présidente du Comité pour la protection des journalistes (CPJ), Kati Marton, qui a remis la pétition.

L'ambassadeur turc, Nuzhet Kandemir, s'est engagé à transmettre la pétition à son gouvernement, "notant que plusieurs journalistes turcs importants et certains membres du gouvernement turc partageaient la préoccupation du CPJ concernant les poursuites contre M. Yurtçu et sa mise en détention", selon un communiqué de l'association.

Ancien responsable de la publication du quotidien Ozgur Gundem, aujourd'hui disparu, M. Yurtçu a été condamné à une peine de 15 ans et dix mois et purge actuellement sa troisième année de prison.

Il a été condamné pour "propagande séparatiste" pour avoir publié des articles sur le conflit entre les autorités turques et les séparatistes kurdes.

Parmi les signataires de la pétition figurent les journalistes Terry Anderson, Tom Brokaw, Tina Brown, Walter Cronkite, Dan Rather, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, ainsi que le prix Nobel de la paix Elie Wiesel.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1997

Turks Protest To Germany In Drug Case

By Kelly Couturier
Washington Post Service

ANKARA — The government has protested to Germany after two judges there alleged that high-ranking Turkish officials, perhaps including the deputy prime minister, Tansu Ciller, have protected heroin traffickers.

"These accusations are very ugly and we denounce them," said the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Omer Akbel. He added that protests had been made to the German Embassy in Ankara and to the German foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel.

Presiding over the sentencing of three convicted drug smugglers, a judge in Frankfurt said Tuesday that the court had found — based on evidence presented in the case — that there were close ties between the Turkish government and heroin traffickers operating in Turkey and in Europe.

Judge Rolf Schwalbe was quoted in press reports as saying that two Kurdish clans known to be involved in the heroin trafficking through Turkey had "ex-

cellent relations with the Turkish government" and "personal contacts with a woman minister in the government."

Asked Wednesday to name the woman minister, another judge in the case, Dox Neveling, was quoted as saying that the two Kurdish clans had influence at "the highest levels of the government, and the name of Mrs. Ciller was cited during the hearing of the case."

The allegations were made when Turkey is being shaken by accusations that officials in the government and security apparatus have ties to a network of criminal gangs. In exchange for helping the government eliminate people deemed enemies of the state, including Kurdish separatists, the criminals are said to have been protected by officials and allowed to enrich themselves through drug trafficking, money laundering, extortion and other criminal activity.

The scandal emerged in November, when an car accident revealed that a

militant ultranationalist and convicted drug smuggler had been riding in the same car with a top police official and a member of Parliament from Mrs. Ciller's True Path Party.

The press and opposition politicians called the accident an indication of widespread corruption involving public officials, including Mrs. Ciller and Mehmet Agar, who was forced to resign as interior minister.

A report from the prime minister's office has called for a judicial investigation of Mr. Agar and Sedat Bucak, the lawmaker who survived the car accident. The report cleared Mrs. Ciller.

Mrs. Ciller, who is also foreign minister in Turkey's coalition government, reportedly is seeking an apology from the German government, but a well-informed source said that Bonn was unlikely to comment on the case beyond saying that its general policy was to respect the independence of the judicial system.

Turkish Daily News
FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1987

TÜSIAD 'Democratization Report' debate overshadows annual meeting

Berker: Democratization cannot be abandoned if Turkey's future is to be healthy

Boyners: There are those who would like to see TÜSIAD as a 'Canary Lovers Society'

Koç: One could have wished that our opinions had been polled before the report was offered to the public

By Niki Gamm / Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL - The report which the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Society (TÜSIAD) offered to the Turkish government at the beginning of this week, "Perspectives on Democratization in Turkey," overshadowed its 27th annual meeting held yesterday at swissotel The Bosphorus. The debate which it engendered has angered some segments of Turkish society and encouraged others.

As has happened with other reports in the past which have been issued by TÜSIAD (the report on Turkey's indebtedness, the education system, etc.), this too has served to stir up a debate on how democratic the country has become and in what directions it should be going. Outgoing TÜSIAD Board Chairman Halis Komili reflected on the recent past in his keynote speech, emphasizing the important role which the organization played during the period from 1971 to 1980. As representatives of the private sector, TÜSIAD members had served as a locomotive in efforts to introduce a free enterprise system into Turkey. He also took note of the unexpected instability in the system which occurred in the 1980s.

Komili warned that while efforts were being made in the economic sphere to correct and turn around the problems, it was unfortunate that the short term measures were having no effect on macro indicators. And given the present circumstances, Turkey's need was for a community wide effort to reconcile differences and carry out essential economic, political and social reforms. And how this is to be achieved is through democracy.

This was the responsibility of everybody, Komili insisted and he urged as well that the report should be read carefully by everybody. He defended the report where there had been particular criticism such as occurred over proposals related to the National Security Council.

Komili also reminded his audience as he concluded his remarks that two years ago on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of TÜSIAD that 25 years later everybody would be living in a completely new Turkey. And during that time the country would show that speedy growth could be achieved without abandoning democracy, a just distribution of income could occur and people could live together in peace.

Support for Democratization

Report continued

TÜSIAD High Advisory Council Chairman



Feyyaz Berker referred to the organization's constitution which committed its members to universal principles of democracy and human rights as he addressed his listeners. And in the course of speaking, Berker said, "Democratization is a subject which Turkey cannot abandon during the course of building its future in a healthy manner. Strong economies will be able to catch the wind in their sails within a framework of a state based on modern law, with a social basis which is enlightened and transparent and which judges itself according to the universal measures of democracy and law."

TÜSIAD member, industrialist Sakıp Sabancı who spoke to the audience supported the presentation of the Democratization Report as a duty which befell TÜSIAD whether the ideas expressed in it were good, ideal, perfect or debatable. Cem Boyner suggested in his address that there were people in Turkey who likened the organization to a "Canary Lovers Society" but he himself found the report to be one which should be discussed and debated as one would do with an advisor's report.

Businessman Rahmi Koç, caught by reports as he left the TÜSIAD meeting, admitted that he hadn't read the report and could have wished that it had been debated by TÜSIAD members before being issued to the public.

However he admitted that democracy in Turkey was not something which would be a single jacket fitting everybody. It was one which would always produce pain and people would learn from it.

Tanor calls report an effort at enlightenment

Prof. Dr. Bulent Tanor who prepared the democratization report for TÜSIAD has said that generating ideas is not a prerogative of Parliament alone. Responding to criticisms of the report, the Istanbul University Law Faculty member told Anatolian Agency that the report which Komili presented to the government was not "a memorandum, but an effort at enlightenment." He emphasized that the report was a contribution to an overall effort on the part of those who wanted democracy in Turkey to develop. In other countries which are democratic associations, labor unions, nongovernmental organizations and people are free to offer their views but this is not perceived as usurping Parliament's role.

Noting that Parliamentary Speaker Mustafa Kalemli had proposed that the report be transformed into a legal proposal and offered to Parliament, Tanor expressed his reservations. He pointed out that the

Lake: Dynamic for growth, closer economic and social integration with EU established

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- "I believe that the dynamic for growth, for closer economic and social integration (with the European Union) is already established. Part of the success of that is due to TÜSIAD and its leaders," said Ambassador Michael Lake, in a luncheon speech Thursday following the Turkish

Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association's 27th general assembly meeting at swissotel The Bosphorus.

Lake, who is the head of the Representation of the European Commission in Turkey, was laudatory of the efforts which TÜSIAD has made to assist in the country's economic integration and to pursue such orthodox goals as the liberalization of the regulatory system and follow a vision of being able to set strictly business goals. He praised as well the four-year-long efforts of TÜSIAD Board Chairman Halis Komili, whose term has come to an end.

The ambassador pointed out though that

Komili and his colleagues had been facing the formidable task of "contributing to and even guiding the modernization of their country in record time." Unlike their colleagues and rivals in European Union member states, they had faced formidable challenges which included adjustment to European values of democracy, human rights and freedom of expression.

"Turkey is going through a transition period, perhaps at two or three levels simultaneously," Lake remarked. "It is going through an historical change in its cultural system of government in three decades instead of three centuries..." Lake also emphasized the importance of the TÜSIAD report on democratization as the organization represents a segment of society responsible for 60 percent of the nation's production and 45 percent of its exports. He also noted that, as a non-governmental organization, it had a broader sense of responsibility to the people as a whole.

One part of the process through which Turkey is going is the growing openness of society as

witnessed by the role played by the media over the most recent revelations of crime and scandal which has illuminated some of the country's murky underworld.

Lake stressed his belief that this will lead to Turkey's better assessing its own value and worth and bring it closer to Europe.

Noting changes in attitudes to population growth, disparities in regional and personal incomes, the free circulation of workers and human rights, Lake praised the way in which considerable results have been achieved. Not least has been a diminution in the state's role in economic life from over 50 percent when he arrived in 1991 to under 30 percent today. He further noted that foreign direct private investment had suddenly increased at the end of 1996 and within that Europe's share.

This accompanied an 80-percent increase in two-way trade during the past three years, an illustration of an irreversible trend towards further integration.

majority in that body were conservatives and this majority did not represent democratic groups. At the same time the opposition was important but problematic. He didn't feel that Parliament would make an important effort on the subject. Tanor further suggested that opposition to the report had come from people who had not taken the trouble to read it in its entirety. He offer as an example those who objected to the proposal that the use of Kurdish be left free. In 1991 in any case using Kurdish had been freed but three articles remained in the Constitution regarding its use and these had to be removed.

New board chairman, members chosen

TÜSIAD elected Muharrem Kayhan as its new

board chairman, according to a statement issued by Council Chairman Aydin Bolak following the election. Members of the board include Hasan Arat, Ant Bozkaya, Muhtesem Ekenler, Aldo Kaslowski, Tuncay İzilhan, Ömer Sabancı, Hasan Subaşı, Sinan Tara and Erkut Yucaoğlu. Standby members are Sadi Gücüm, Korkmaz Ilkorur, Ömer Koç, Mahfi Eğilmez, Murat Öztemir, Hasan Çolakoğlu, Pekin Baran, Feyhan Kalpaklıoğlu, Frederic Giraud and Ahmet Eren. Following the meeting, a luncheon was held at which Ambassador Michael Lake, the head of the Representation of the European Commission in Turkey, delivered an address.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1997

Elmalı coins may return to Turkey this year

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The seven-year legal battle to get the 1,700 "Elmalı coins" returned to Turkey is nearing its conclusion and the signs are that Turkey's Culture Ministry may win the case, with ministry officials claiming that the weight of evidence was in Turkey's favour.

The Anatolia news agency reported

that the verdict should be reached later this year.

An illegal excavation in the Antalya's Elmalı district in 1984 resulted in the discovery of nearly 2,000 coins, most of which were smuggled out of the country.

Between 1989 and 1991, the coins were sold by public auction in the cities of Los Angeles, Munich and Zurich.

A mere 16 were handed back to Turkey after discussions, and the Culture Ministry's General Directorate of Statues and Museums filed a lawsuit in Massachusetts State Court for the coins' return.

Most of the coins are owned by the OKS Partners company, one of the partners of which is well-known U.S. collector William Koch.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1997

TÜSIAD's 'Democratization' report pleases nobody

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Reactions and criticisms are looming to the report "Perspectives of Democratization in Turkey" published by the Union of Industrialists and Businessmen of Turkey (TÜSIAD) earlier in the week.

The Minister of Industry, Yalın Erez, said: "I could not understand how an institution, which has no internal democracy and is governed by the power of capital, could lecture Turkey on democracy," while Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tansu Çiller said at a reception for the president of TÜSIAD, Halis Komili, that her government was determined to maintain freedom of religion and conscience, expression and thought, and the diffusion of capital to the base. The deputy-chair of the True Path Party (DYP), Cihan Pacacı, accused TÜSIAD of assigning "socialist professors" to prepare reports. TÜSIAD chairman Halis Komili was summoned by the Chief of Staff and was lectured on the wrong timing of the report regarding Turkey's priorities by Chief-of-Staff General Ismail Hakkı Karadayı and Vice-Chief General Çevik Bir. The generals also expressed concern on the report's proposal that the constitutional principles of "secularism and indivisible unity" should be abandoned.

ITO: "Not words, but action and investment"

Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (ITO) chairman Mehmet Yildirim criticised the TÜSIAD report saying: "It is easy to be a preacher of democracy, but what is difficult but important is to take action for democracy."

Yildirim said in a written statement that the report did not have any originality since it repeated known facts. "This report is a collection of ideas proposed by this or that circle before, and we may agree with many of them," he said. "But the era of preparing reports has come to an end. People expect not reports but action from businessmen. In parallel to the end of regional inequalities through sustained social and economic development, most of the proposed points would be automatically realized. Turkey with a strong economy will be strong domestically and internationally and thus some things will be realized easily."

Yildirim concluded that what is to be done is to continue new investments without interruption and asked how many investments in the East and South East of Turkey had the authors and supporters of the report undertaken so far.

MUSIAD: "Democratization

report preaches anti-democracy"

The chairman of the pro-Islamic Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MUSIAD), Erol Yazar, criticized the TÜSIAD report for having an anti-democratic stand against Islamic education.

"TÜSIAD members have the freedom of not sending their children to the religious schools. However, they have no right to introduce restrictions on the will of the increasing number of people who prefer these schools."

On the other hand, Yazar said they agreed with TÜSIAD's proposals for changes to the law of political parties and the constitutional changes the report contained.

Different circles

The criticism from business circles towards the report is interpreted as due to the different scales of business that different business circles represent.

TÜSIAD is known as an organization representing big business

in Turkey, whereas MÜSAİD and the chambers of commerce are known to consist of small and middle scale businessmen. TÜSIAD's advocacy of the workers' right to strike, a minimum wage and so on is viewed by medium and small scale industrialists as a threat against their existence.

Turkey's small and medium scale industries operate largely as an "unrecorded economy," in which the workers do not have any insurance or job security. TÜSIAD-affiliated large industries can afford, on the other hand, to make improvements in workers' rights. In fact, the TÜSIAD-affiliated businessmen see such improvement as necessary for the country's political stability. MÜSIAD's objections to the TÜSIAD report are based on a further disagreement on the future of Turkey's economy. While TÜSIAD stands for further Westernization and an acceleration of integration within the European economy, Muslim businessmen see such integration as a threat to Turkey's Islamic identity.

Only trade unions pleased

The chairman of the left wing Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK), Ridvan Budak, said that what is expected from a contemporary employer's organization is to advocate a rapid realization of democracy in Turkey, and because of that DISK finds the report positive.

"The TÜSIAD report certainly has its shortcomings and mistakes. But in its general appearance, the report does not show any negative aspects," Budak said.

Other labor union leaders also expressed support for the report and particularly the proposal: "Individuals should be given religious education after they adopt a democratic and questioning culture."

The chairman of the Confederation of the Public Workers Unions (KESK), Siyami Erdem, stated that it was a fortunate development that TÜSIAD was aware that limited democratic understanding has reached its limit in Turkey, and added that they supported the struggle that the economic organization intends in order to install democracy.

"TÜSIAD is a big power in Turkey," Erdem told the TDN. "It is an organization which forms the spinal chord of the economy. The struggle that this organization intends for a democratic and secular Turkey is a positive intention, although it is insufficient."

"We believe Turkey will have a democratic structure through these kinds of efforts. It is essential to change the status-quo structure of the country to a democratic structure for the welfare and security of the people."

Erdem underlined that both the employers and the workers struggle for democracy in Turkey now, and added that they especially supported TÜSIAD's ideas about the abolition of the National Security Council.

Komili's final gesture

TÜSIAD's "Democratization" report has also been interpreted by many as a final gesture by TÜSIAD chairman Halis Komili before the end of his term in office.

The TÜSIAD Annual General Meeting is being held on Thursday in Istanbul and is expected to elect Muharrem Kayhan as the new chairman to replace Komili, and Bülent Eczacıbaşı as the new chairman of the TÜSIAD High Council of Consultation. The present chairman of the council, Feyyaz Berker, said they aimed to initiate a discussion at all levels on social and economic issues by issuing the "Perspectives of Democratization in Turkey" report. Berker said that as TÜSIAD they gave importance to social issues as much as economic ones and that the market economy cannot be thought of in isolation from human rights and democratization.

turkish daily news

Friday, January 24, 1997

Tarikats and Cemaats in Turkey

Due to his cautious approach to sensitive political issues and moderation, there are rumors among the radical Islamists of Fethullah Hoca's being an 'agent' jeopardizing the future of the Islamist movement and of Islam by preaching 'wrong Islam'

By Nilüfer Narlı

Turkish Daily News / ISTANBUL

The Fadime Şahin scandal, her sexual abuse by Aczimendi tarikat sheikh Müslüm Gündüz, has created apprehension about the nature and functions of tarikats (Islamic orders) in Turkey. So what is a tarikat? What is their role in Turkey? In order to answer these questions it is necessary to define the terms "tarikat" (Islamic order) and "cemaat" (Islamic society/group) and clarify the difference between them. Then we will offer an understanding of their social and political functions.

Tarikats are traditional Islamic organizations which have responded to various cultural, social, and political needs. Established as early as in the 10th century, tarikats — small brotherly groupings of mystics living in communities — prevented Islam from becoming a cold and formal doctrine, keeping it alive as an intimate, compassionate faith. They were successful in sustaining Islam because the followers of tarikats were not often the orthodox ulema, but they were rather flexible pious individuals who presented the faith on a personal, but not institutional basis, and with personal fervor and charisma. The tarikat Islam was heterodox in that it deviated from Sunni orthodoxy with its mysticism and Sufi tradition. They undertook significant political and social functions in the past. First, tarikats, particularly the Nakshibandis and Kadiris, were mainly responsible for spreading Islam in East and Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa in the mediaeval period. They did not face resistance, but enthusiasm from the local people because the Islam they presented assimilated local traditions and provided people with a new identity and understanding of the world and the universe. They were also among the foremost leaders in Islam's military and political battles against the encroaching power of the Christian West such as the revolts led by tarikat sheiks in Morocco and Algeria.

Political significance

The politico-religious significance of the tarikats lies in the fact that they challenged the orthodox Islam represented by the state by urging a "new" Islam throughout the history in the Muslim world. They were also socially functional as they provided their members with a powerful combination of spiritual renewal and human companionship. Furthermore, they provided social welfare to their

disciples and to other needy people. For example, they offered schools, food and lodging to travelers during the Ottoman era.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the networks of secret mystic brotherhoods were pushed underground when the tarikats were outlawed by a law that banned tekkes and zaviyes in 1925 during one-party rule (1923-1946). During this period, they provided a semi-secret platform to conduct covert Islamicist activities. Their secret, semi-mystic lay followers sustained popular Islam and ensured that Islam came through the 20th century strong and vital.

After the easing of rigid secularist measures during the period of Democratic Party rule (1950-1960) and the provision of civil liberties by the 1961 Constitution — including freedom of speech and assembly — tarikats began to operate on a semi-legal grounds (despite the fact that in legal theory they were still illegitimate, as the ban on their activities was not lifted) and forge alliances with political parties.

The tarikat Islam was heterodox in that it deviated from Sunni orthodoxy with its mysticism and Sufi tradition

Their social function has been widened with the urbanization and industrialization that has uprooted many Turks from their traditional communities in villages and towns and created new social needs. Tarikats are functional in contemporary Turkey because they offer people a sense of belonging to a community, human companionship, a set of guiding rules, identity, and organization.

They also respond to the needs of people concretely by offering financial support, accommodation, and a network for improving professional contacts. They function as social welfare institutions in Turkey where almost 30 percent of the population have no social protection.

Despite their semiformal organization, tarikats are the most active organizations. They function as voluntary associations and interest groups in a country like Turkey where associational rights have been curtailed, and therefore hampering the development

Infiltration

The Fethullahi plan targets infiltrating the military and the police. Their attempts were disclosed. See Hikmet Çetinkaya's article entitled: Belge ("the Document") in Cumhuriyet (June 13, 1994). Also see, Ruşen Çakır, 1990, Ayet ve Slogan for their infiltration into military high schools. Fethullahis have been often associated with the state and they are seen as a group that may promote its interest while they stick to their ultimate aim of establishing the state of Islam, a hidden objective, which is not openly declared by the Fethullahis.

The relationship between the state and Islamic groups is too complex to grasp a coherent picture reflecting this relationship. There are tarikat members in the strategic ministers, such as the Ministry of Education (see above) and the Ministry of Interior. As reported in Turkish Daily News, Cumhuriyet daily wrote: "pro-Welfare Party (RP) cells are becoming entrenched in the Ministry of Interior. Some 700 of the 1,600 key ministry executives throughout the country (such as provincial governors, county governors and Interior Ministry inspectors) are believed to be RP supporters as compared to nearly 400 during the time of former Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin (1992-1993).

"The number had increased rapidly in the past 12 months. Of the country's 76 provincial governors, 24 have performed pilgrimage to Mecca in the last few years at the invitation of the Saudi Arabian authorities. In 1994, Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe did not permit 20 provincial governors to go to the pilgrimage to Mecca at the invitation of the Saudi authorities" (Turkish Daily News, May 3, 1994). Islamicists (particularly "moderate" groups) have penetrated the state structure. According to Ali Sirmen (a journalist working for Milliyet daily), the state gave concessions to the Islamic groups and are involved in such groups with an aim of using them against other radical political groups in Turkey including the radical Islamicists. This claim is based on his observations in Şanlıurfa (a province in the Southeast Turkey). Regarding these observations, Ali Sirmen wrote in Milliyet (February 27, 1994): "The Director of National Education, İsmet Ergen, often organizes sohbet ("talk") meetings to discuss religion with school teachers. Ergen does not shake hand with ladies due to his Islamic beliefs". Then, Sirmen asked "Who was this Şanlıurfa governor, Ziyaeddin Akbulut?" In replying to this question Sirmen wrote: "According to an official document (dated October 18, 1992), Akbulut rented an 8,000 m2 estate (in Paşabaşı Mahallesi ward, Koşuyolu Street) that was owned by Province Administration to Gaziantep İpek Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı ("Gaziantep İpek Eğitim ve Kültür Foundation"). This foundation is controlled by the Fethullahis. The rate of the

of autonomous interest groups representing various socioeconomic and political interests. Against this background, the founding principles and functions of tarikats and cemaats can be better understood.

The Iskender Pasha Convent

Among them the Iskender Pasha Convent is one of the most established tarikats. It was founded by one of the leading Nakshibandi sheik, Mehmet Zahit Kotku (1897-1980). After Kotku passed away, his son-in-law, Professor Mehmet Esat Coşan (1938), became the sheik.

Though the Iskender Pasha Convent is a tarikat, it has never confined its activities solely to religious and Sufi purposes and activities. Rather it has involved itself in daily social and political matters. Kotku had two roles: as a sheikh with poetic and mystical style, he impressed his disciples deeply by providing them with spiritual satisfaction; as a social leader he preached the importance of strengthening faith along with material developments and technological advancement. He also stressed the importance of developing an interest in moral, social, and political issues. Kotku encouraged his disciples to take an active role in politics and affect political input mechanisms.

The National Salvation Party, a forerunner of the Welfare Party, was established in 1972 with the initiatives and active contributions of Kotku, who acted as a founding father and mastermind giving ideas and advice. For example, Erbakan's idea of developing heavy industry was introduced by Kotku. Thus, Kotku was a sheikh of the order, on the one hand, and a founding father of an Islamicist political party on the other.

Kotku's doctrines

The politico-religious doctrine of Kotku has three distinctive characteristics. First, Kotku encouraged his disciples to fully benefit from the new measures that softened the rigid secularism of the early republican period, and advised them to advance Islamic education nationwide in order to strengthen faith. For example, after the government issued permission for the opening of Q'uran courses (after 1949), Kotku mobilized his disciples to open as many Q'uran courses as possible.

Nakshibandis have also built mosques and established foundations that finance Islamic activities and fulfill welfare functions — such as providing scholarship to religious students. Secondly, Kotku close-

monthly rent is 150.000 TL (in 1994)."

The aim of the Foundation is to provide bright students with an Islamic education in accordance with the teachings of Fethullah Hoca and send a group of them to Military Lycee and Academia. This is a plan to encounter the obstacle for imam-hatip graduates to enter military academies. See Ali Sirmen's article entitled: "RP Bu, Ya Devlet Ne" ("This is the Welfare Party but what is the Real Face of the State?") in Milliyet (February 27, 1994).

ly followed national, regional and international social, economic, and political developments in Turkey, and responded to such developments with an aim of influencing public policy concentrating on national and international developments. He also advised his disciples to take an active interest in national affairs, which is seen to be the duty of a pious Muslim.

Kotku encouraged taking an active role in politics — such as forming a political party that is seen to be a vehicle of Islamicization. Thirdly, Kotku recognized the importance of infiltrating the strategic public institutions and encouraged his disciples to join the civil service and be promoted to top bureaucratic posts. In the late 1960s, several Nakshibandis were employed by the State Planning Organization. Later, in 1973 when the National Salvation Party shared a coalition with the Republican People's Party, many disciples of Kotku were said to be recruited in the administrative cadres of the ministries of strategic significance, such as the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Islamicist have always given a special importance to the control over the Ministry of Education (See box). With an aim of remaining in good terms with the state, the Iskender Pasha Convent tends to accommodate its Islamic philosophy to secular principles, but it does not hesitate to criticize the regime and its rules under required circumstances.

Nevertheless, its Islam seems to be reformist, mod-

ernist and pluralist, since compromising with the system, and forming a political party and contesting elections are compatible with its Islamic political philosophy.

This tarikat has a strong support base, but is particularly influential in three provinces of the Marmara region: Istanbul, Izmit and Adapazarı; and in an Eastern Anatolian province, Kayseri.

The cemaats

While tarikats are historical entities with a centuries-old Islamic tradition, cemaats are new, as they emerged after the establishment of the Republic. However, Cemaats have organic ties with tarikats and derive their fundamentals from the related tarikat. For instance, Süleymanis (see below) embrace all teachings of the Nakshibandi tarikat.

The Süleymani cemaat is the product of the partial relaxation of secularist measures in the early 1950s, where these measures allowed two new Turkish brotherhoods to appear, in addition to the Nakshibandis, Kadiris and Mevleviis.

The first one is the Risala-i Nur of Said Nursi who had been advocating a Sharia regime since the beginning of the 1920s, and the second one is the Süleymanis, named after their founder, Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan.

The social function of the tarikats has been widened with the urbanization and industrialization that has uprooted many Turks from their traditional communities in villages and towns and created new social needs.

The Nurcus

Among the cemaats, Nurcus are the more established. They were founded by Said-i Nursi in the early 1920s. The Risala-i Nur was initially more influential in the Eastern provinces; today it is said to have at least one million followers all over Turkey. After Nursi died in March 1960, Nurcus were divided into various groups where each functions as an independent Islamic society. Minor differences in Islamic world views and political outlooks exist among Nurcu groups, but they have not turned into major divergences. All except a minority of Nurcus tend to work within the system. Nurcus have forged alliances with the center-right — the Democratic Party-Justice Party-True Path Party — since the early 1950s. A small group of Nurcus preferred to back another center-right party, the Motherland Party, in the 1980s.

On the other hand, a radical minority, the Med-Zehra group, also called Hizb-i Kuran (The Party of Q'uran), opposes the present regime and its rules, and thus refuses to employ constitutional methods. There is another highly radical Nurcu group, Aczmendiler, based in Elazığ province in Eastern Turkey.

They have a large number of supporters organized in Istanbul too. Its political discourse has an anti-

Education

After the March 27, 1994 elections many people who worried about the further increase in the votes of the Welfare Party warned the public authorities of the danger created by the informally provided Islamic education, by the Islamicist teachers, and by the higher number of imam-hatip schools whose graduates were promoting the Islamicist cause at universities. They argued that all these activities were approved by the top bureaucrats. As a response, Nevzat Ayaz of the Ministry of Education "dismissed a total of 15 bureaucrats (on April 20, 1994), three from the top level, after consulting and obtaining approval from President Süleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller," reported in Turkish Daily News (April 28, 1994). Ayaz sacked some officials, appointees of the former Education Minister, Köksal Toptan, on the grounds that they had displayed pro-sharia behavior and engaged in tarikat activities. Moreover, some of these officials in the Training and Education Board had drawn most criticism for recommending pro-sharia publications to state-schools. For example, the daily Cumhuriyet gave excerpts recommended by the Board.

"According to one of the excerpts, the New Year celebration is like a devil's ball and encyclopedias are unnecessary piles of household items." (Turkish Daily News, April 28, 1994; report entitled "Pro-Shariah officials, new crisis within DYP").

regime and anti-West rhetoric.

One of the leading Nurcu-originated cemaats is the Disciples of Fethullah Gülen (Fethullah Hoca'nın Talebeleri), which is influential in Istanbul, İzmir, Adapazarı, Afyon, and Isparta. The Disciples of Fethullah Gülen is the most influential pro-Islamicist group with a vast network of foundations, private schools (for example, there are 35 schools in Turkey and more than 200 in the Turkic Republics (See Tempo December 28, 1994, No.52, pp.14-16) and one in North Iraq, Kirkuk), and hostels. It has a moderate Islamicist approach. Their philosophy combines neo-nationalism, neo-Ottomanism and Nurcu thought.

Neo-nationalism is a new sense of ethnicity that emerged as Turks watched the reemergence of Turkish communities from the Balkans to China and nurtured by the events around them, most notably the growth of outspoken Kurdish nationalism. Neo-Ottomanism is a reevaluation of the Ottoman past with a deep respect and feeling of nostalgia, and investigating whether the Ottoman model would provide any solution to the present problems. Although Fethullah Gülen was formerly a well-known Nur-disciple, he avoids being identified with the teachings of Said-i Nursi who founded the school; whenever he refers to the teachings of Said-i Nursi, Gülen does not pronounce the name of Nursi. His reluctance lies in the fact that the name Said-i Nursi recalls radicalism and the Kurdish cause.

Fethullah Hoca

Due to his cautious approach to sensitive political issues and moderation, there are rumors among the radical Islamicists of Fethullah Hoca's being an "agent" jeopardizing the future of the Islamicist movement and of Islam by preaching "wrong Islam." A number of radical respondents interviewed in 1992 (when I conducted a survey covering 500 Islamicist university students) also directed similar criticisms against Fethullah Gülen. They accused him of being involved in a state-sponsored fitne (conspiracy) against Muslims to divide them and to alienate them from politics.

There is also information showing that Gülen has employed a smooth approach to obtain strategic points in order to carry out Islamicization effectively. For instance, reports revealed that the disciples of Gülen infiltrated the police schools and military high schools with an aim of capturing future senior posts in these institutions. (See note 1)

Consistent with this moderate approach, Fethullah Hoca has often advised loyalty and obedience to the state, and he even suppressed the anti-state position of radical groups. When the youth marched and shouted slogans to protest the government before the coup of 1980, he stressed that such protests were not "Islamic". For example, when there was a nationwide boycott in the Higher Islamic Institutes in 1977, Fethullah Gülen stated in his preaching that "there is no boycott in Islam." Likewise, in 1989, Gülen seemed to favor the system interests against the Islamicists' head-covering cause when thousands of females protested the government's decision to ban the covering.

He severely criticized the women who marched to protest the ban on wearing the head-covering at the universities.

Preaching in İzmir Hisar Mosque, on November



Fethullah Gülen (center), one of the most prominent proponents of Said-i Nursi's philosophy is also influential in political and economic circles.



Arzavandî tarikat Sheikh Mustafa Cikilida of "Fatiha Şahin" İnce sees here addressing his followers.

26, 1989, Fethullah Gülen made a statement which shocked the majority of Islamicists: "Many women in chador who marched on the streets are men disguised in female dress or indecent women who never wear modest clothes". Later, in February 1995, speaking at a fast-opening dinner (during the month of Ramadan), Gülen declared that whether a woman covers her head or not is a minor question, it is just "a detail". This statement again annoyed many Islamicist, and radicals accused Gülen of collaborating with the secular forces against Islam.

Fethullah's political views and understanding of Islam do not often clash with the "official Islam". Fethullah's ideas are often in harmony with the official views, particularly in periods of political crisis. For example, during the Gulf War, Gülen's disciples supported the Turkish government's cooperation with the Coalition against Iraq. The newspaper Zaman and the periodical Sızıntı, which disseminate Fethullahi views, published many articles endorsing the policies

pursued during the Gulf War in 1991.

The Welfare Party's victory

The victory of the Welfare Party in the March 27 (1994) local elections has further strengthened the confidence gained by the Islamicists. Does this provide greater autonomy to Islamicist groups? Would they refuse to accommodate to the rules of the system. In order to answer these questions, it is important to examine the recent developments in the relations between the governments and moderate Islamicist groups like Fethullahis. Fethullah Hoca did not seem responsive to Prime Minister Çiller when she requested his endorsement for the Anti-Terrorism Bill in December 1994. The bill had been prepared by the commission some two months previous, and had been endorsed by the Council of Ministers.

The daily Zaman, like other Islamicist circles, strongly opposed the bill, arguing that it revived the now-defunct Article 163 of the Turkish Penal Code which banned "Islamicist propaganda". Although there was no diametrical alteration in his attitudes towards the bill, Gülen preached moderation and tolerance in social life, and accommodation and compromise in political behavior in February 1995, soon after his meeting with the prime minister.

In his speeches, he underlined the importance of openness to new ideas and dialogues with foreign cultures. This move was seen to be a collaboration with the laic system against the radicals who oppose to accommodate to the regime and to blend Islam with other political doctrines and foreign elements. (See note 2) A survey conducted by Nilüfer Narlı, which included 500 university students from various universities in Istanbul in 1992, indicated that the

Disciples of Fethullah Gülen has a nationwide influence with large numbers of followers among the university students. Narlı's survey also showed that their publication, Sızıntı, is the most frequently read periodical of the Islamicist students interviewed.

Conclusion

In contemporary Turkey tarikats have largely deviated from the traditional path of mystical tasavvuf thought and absolute religious devotion in that they have become more worldly and practical organizations.

Tarikats and cemaats are organized in financially powerful foundations that play important political and social roles. They are instrumental in mobilizing people for political action. They also function as surrogate kinship networks for those who are uprooted from a traditional communal environment and lost alone in a metropolitan milieu.

Notes:

(1) For examples of opposition to the anti-terror bill, see, Zaman (November 18, 1994). For the information on the meeting of Çiller and Gülen, and developments following their meeting, see Sabah (December 12, 1994) and Tempo (December 28, 1994. No.52, pp.14-16).

(2) See Yeni Yüzyıl (February 15-17, 1995) for the tension between the radicals and Fethullah Gülen; and for the antagonism between the Welfare Party and Gülen group due to differences in their approaches to certain Islamic issues such as head-covering, tolerance in Islam, Islam and state relations.

Turkey among countries to receive Iraq compensation

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1997

The starting date: Compensation money for applicants is expected to start flowing as of mid-February

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey is among the countries, organizations and individuals that will start receiving compensation as of the middle of February from the Compensations Committee set up under the United Nations, the Anatolian news agency reported on Thursday.

The executive secretary of the committee, Carlos Alzamora, was quoted by Anatolia as reminding a news conference in New York on Thursday that 30 percent of the revenue gained by Iraq from its food-for-oil deal under resolution 986 would be given to the committee.

Alzamora said money had already started flowing to them from this source and indicated that they had come to the point of

being able to start making payments.

Turkey estimates its losses as a result of the U.N. embargo imposed on Iraq in 1990, for invading Kuwait, at anywhere up to \$30 billion.

The loss is said by officials to be the result of lost transit revenues from the pipeline running from Kirkuk in northern Iraq to Yumurtalık on Turkey's Mediterranean coast. The halting of cross-border trade through the Habur border gate between Turkey and Iraq, is also said to be a major contributor to these losses in revenue.

The money to accrue to the Compensations Committee is said to stand at around \$100 million a month.

Alzamora said that the number of applications to his Committee was in excess of 2.6 million, which in money terms represented \$200 billion in compensation being sought by countries, organizations and individuals.

He indicated, however, that there could be a drop in these figures after a close evaluation of which applications are admissible and which are not.

Alzamora also indicated that they had received applications from over 100 countries and that the documentation relating to these applications came to more than 28 million pages. Officials indicate that the period for applying to the committee has now closed and expect that processing the applications by hand will take at least five years.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1997

Government downplays German court's controversial comments

Interior Minister Akşener says neither the Turkish government nor Çiller in particular were implicated in German drug case

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Allegations by a German federal judge suggesting the Turkish government, and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller in particular, were involved in the sheltering of international drug smugglers dropped like a bombshell on the Turkish political scene.

Interior Minister Meral Akşener announced on Thursday that the government had looked into the issue thoroughly and found that neither the Turkish government nor Çiller had been implicated during the drug smuggling case, heard in the Frankfurt Federal Court.

Akşener said the Interior Ministry liaison office in Germany had spoken with the prosecutor of case, who strongly rejected the suggestion there had been anything in the court proceedings involving the Turkish government. She said the judge's statement was disturbing and hideous.

The minister announced there was very close cooperation and a steady flow of information between German and Turkish security agencies on the trafficking of illegal narcotics.

On the other hand, members of the pro-Islamist Welfare Party wing of the government took a firm position behind their coalition partners. Responding to opposition demands for an investigation into the affair, Justice Minister Şevket Kazan said it was



Undiplomatic remarks by a German judge against Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller have caused a storm between Ankara and Bonn

unfair to accuse the government of being ignorant of the issue, and that the Foreign Ministry and the Bonn embassy had taken all necessary action.

Ecevit says German accusation based on Çiller's own statements

Veteran leftist politician Bülent Ecevit said that claims by a German judge that True Path Party (DYP) chairwoman Tansu Çiller was sanctioning international narcotics smugglers had undoubtedly been induced by some of Çiller's own public statements.

Speaking at the parliamentary group meeting of the Democratic Left Party (DSP) on Thursday,

Ecevit said, "If a minister or politician publicly portrays narcotics smugglers, who are also known to be on the state payroll for illegal armed activity, as national heroes, then he or she should be ready to face serious allegations from abroad."

Referring to Abdullah Cati, the ill-famed right-wing militant killed in the infamous Susurluk accident, Çiller had said that all those who had fired guns for the well-being of the state were honorable people.

Ecevit demanded an investigation into the claims of the German judge to see if they were based on concrete evidence or the unfounded testimony of drug

smugglers brought to trial.

He said the people wanted to know if the German court had been contacted by Turkish authorities to obtain the relevant documents pertaining to the case, and asked the Parliamentary commission investigating the Susurluk incident to pursue the allegations.

The Susurluk commission meeting later on Thursday decided to look into the German court's allegations. The DSP chairman said the Susurluk incident and the unfolding events played into the hands of those who wanted to mar Turkey's reputation and added, "Even if Çiller's primary motivation is to clear her own name, the duty to clear Turkey's name belongs to all of us."

Ecevit remarked that it was wholly unjust to indict the whole country for the actions of a few, but pointed out it was getting harder to defend the state as more and more security officials were proven to be collaborating with drug traffickers.

A similar statement came from the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) on Thursday.

General Secretary Yaşar Okuyan said German courts had made three other claims during the past year indicating that the Turkish government was involved in illegal narcotics trade.

"The pertinent documents for these claims must be investigated. If the allegations are proved false then Turkey must react very strongly, and if they are found true then the government must resign and the female minister in question (Çiller) must give up politics," said Okuyan.

editorial

Why should Bonn be apologizing to us about Çiller?

By Ilnur Çevik

Expressing outrage over allegations by a German judge that Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller has links with organized drug smuggling Turkey demanded a formal retraction and apology from Bonn.

It may well be true that a German judge has violated his obligations and executed Tansu Çiller without a trial. Yet, is it right to hold the Federal Republic of Germany responsible for the actions of a judge?

In the past, several court decisions in Turkey have outraged our friends in Europe and thus we have had to tell them that the courts in Turkey are independent and the government cannot interfere in their rulings.

Turkey's anger should be directed at

Frankfurt Judge Rolf Schwalbe, who on Tuesday convicted a trio of drug smugglers with links to Turkey.

Judge Schwalbe told the court that the illegal trade in Turkish heroin was dominated by the Senoglu and Baybascin families in Istanbul.

"The families have excellent links to the (Turkish) government and personal contacts to a (woman) minister," said Schwalbe, the head of Frankfurt's

17th district state court, after sentencing a Belgian, an Italian and a Turk to prison terms ranging from five to nine years. When asked which minister he had been referring to, Judge Schwalbe said he had meant Foreign Minister Çiller.

Schwalbe told the German News Agency (DPA) that the high Turkish government links enjoyed by the smugglers had come out during investigation of the case and that it was here that Çiller's name had been mentioned.

Here we have to be extremely careful in what we say. If the German judge has based his remarks about Çiller on sound evidence then this is really very damaging, not for Turkey but for the foreign minister who is also the leader of the True Path Party (DYP).

A judge neither in Turkey nor in Germany, is a representative of the government. The justice system is independent and has to be treated so.

We should not make hotheaded statements fired with nationalistic considerations. We should not try to create tensions in Turkish-German relations but we should also try to demand justice. If the German judge did something wrong then we too can use the judicial means presented in the German legal system to take the judge to court.

If the German judge has made empty accusations then he will be punished. But this will be according to the book and not due to our tantrums...

US suggests four alternatives to BOTAS is not on list of 'bad boys' Turkey-Iran gas deal

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON - The U.S. Administration is considering four alternatives to the Turkish-Iranian natural gas pipeline under construction, according to a well-informed TDN source in Washington.

These alternatives — thought to be sufficient to meet Turkey's increasing energy needs — are:

- 1) Importing more gas from Central Asia via Russia.
- 2) Importing more liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Algeria.
- 3) Getting LNG from Egypt in accordance with the \$2 billion deal signed between the two countries at the Cairo economic summit.

- 4) Importing natural gas from Qatar.

Algeria and Qatar have reportedly discovered new gas fields and are ready to expand their exports.

A senior Egyptian official whom the TDN consulted seemed to be aware the Administration was considering Egyptian gas as one way of solving Turkey's energy needs. The Egyptian source, however, sounded rather skeptical about the viability of such a plan. "Let the United States finance it too," he quipped with a smile.

Turkey and Iran have signed a \$23 billion 20-year agreement to deliver natural gas from Iran to Turkey, in answer to Turkey's increasing energy needs. State Minister Fehim Adak claimed that during his recent official visit to Washington he explained the exclusively economic nature of the Turkish-Iranian deal, and that American officials "understood" his justifications.

The TDN source claims the Administration's opposition to the agreement with Iran had not diminished even by one iota, despite the picture of "understanding" supposedly projected to Adak behind closed doors. The Administration has reportedly developed the above four alternatives by way of undercutting Turkish arguments in support of continuing Iranian rapprochement.

Iran is one of the countries on the U.S. State Department's list of "state sponsors of international terrorism" — as is Syria, with whom, however, Washington maintains normal diplomatic relations.

BOTAS not a "bad boy"

The same informed TDN source also clarified recent Turkish press reports that the U.S. Administration is getting ready to retaliate against companies such as BOTAS, the Turkish state official pipeline construction company, which has allegedly violated the D'Amato Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. BOTAS has started work on constructing a 300km segment of the Turkish pipeline at its border.

"BOTAS is not on the list of bad boys because the Administration does not yet have such a list of violators," the source said. "We are not even sure if there have been any violations or not," the source told the TDN. The D'Amato Act prohibits any company from investing over \$40 million in the petrochemical sector of either Iran or Libya.

Turkish Daily News
FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1997

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JANUARY 25-26, 1997

Saddam's Son's Wounds May Have Paralyzed Him

600 Seized in Roundups Since Dec. 12 Attack

By Douglas Jehl
New York Times Service

DAMASCUS — More than a month after he was shot in an attempted assassination in Baghdad, the eldest son of President Saddam Hussein still has not been pictured standing, and there are suggestions that he may have been wounded more seriously than first reported.

At the same time, a leading Iraqi opposition figure said Thursday in Syria that a subsequent roundup of suspects in Iraq has resulted in the arrests of about 600 people, including 20 high-ranking military officials.

The opposition leader, Wafiq Samerai, a former Iraqi general and intelligence chief, said the blow to the opposition had been as serious as Iraq's penetration in June of a network reporting to another opposition group.

It was the third setback in eight months for opposition groups in Iraq. Opposition operations in northern Iraq were set back in September when Iraq sent its forces into the Kurdish region.

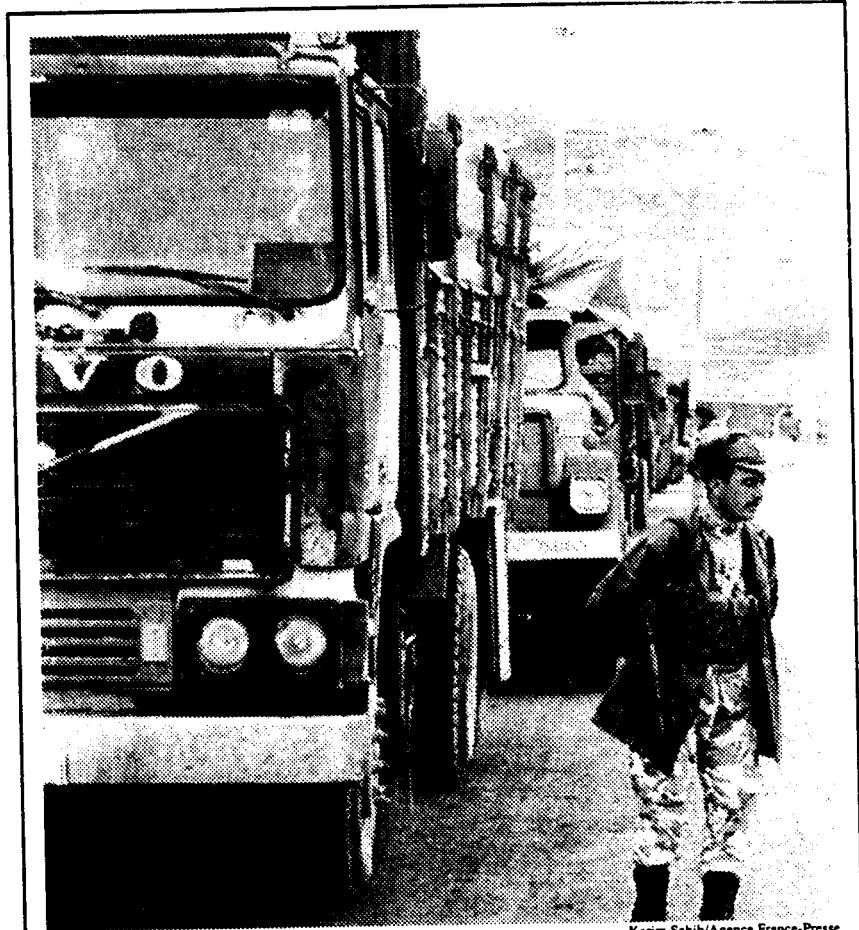
If Mr. Samerai's account is correct, it would be significant that the focus of Iraq's response to the attack has been on the military leaders and others from the Sunni Muslim-dominated central part of Iraq that provides the base of support for Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader.

In its public statements, Iraq has appeared to blame the Shiite Muslim opponents of Mr. Saddam for the attack. The Shiites, whose base of operations is in neighboring Iran, have claimed responsibility for the Dec. 12 shooting.

Udai Hussein, 33, has been regarded by many as a possible heir to his father. Gunmen armed with machine guns opened fire on him from close range as he sat in his Porsche.

Interviewed several times from his hospital bed by Iraqi television, Udai Hussein has said that he is recovering, although he has disclosed that bullets remain lodged in his body.

In each appearance, the injured Hussein has remained sitting in bed, with his torso and legs covered. Opposition officials who have studied the pictures say that he may have partial paralysis.



Karim Sahib/Agence France-Presse

BARTERING POINT — Trucks entering Iraq from Turkey on Friday carrying smuggled goods and food destined for markets in Baghdad. The goods are exchanged for oil, which is taken to Turkey.

■ 2d Group Claims Responsibility

A little known Iraqi opposition group calling itself Nahda, or Renaissance, has taken responsibility for the assassination attempt against Udai Hussein. Agence France-Presse reported from Dubai.

A senior Iraqi opposition official in London supported a report in Al Hayat, an Arabic newspaper based there, that four members of the group escaped

from Iraq to Europe after the Dec. 12 attack in Baghdad against Mr. Hussein.

The official said Nahda was behind the assassination attempt, and not the Shiite Muslim Ad Da'wa al Islamiya, another opposition group that had claimed responsibility for the attack.

"Nahda is a group of young nationalists of various Sunni and Shiite backgrounds, with different political orientations," the opposition official said.



•Le Monde - samedi, 25 janvier 1997 •Le Monde - samedi, 25 janvier 1997

L'attentat contre le fils aîné de Saddam Hussein pourrait relever d'un règlement de comptes familial

AMMAN

de notre correspondante
au Proche-Orient

Allongé sur son lit d'hôpital, une couverture remontée sur les épaules : les images d'Oudaï Saddam Hussein régulièrement diffusées par la télévision irakienne ne varient pas. L'héritier du président irakien n'a pas bougé de son lit depuis l'attentat dont il a été la cible le 12 décembre 1996. Atteint d'au moins quatorze balles, dont quatre n'ont pu être retirées, Oudaï a subi une ablation de la vessie et requiert une greffe osseuse pour reconstituer des os du bassin pulvérisés. Deux des balles qui n'ont pu être retirées se trouvent à proximité de la colonne vertébrale, ce qui aurait conduit les médecins français qui l'ont examiné à ne pas entreprendre d'intervention chirurgicale, de crainte des conséquences qui peuvent aller de la paralysie à la mort.

Depuis cet attentat immédiatement annoncé par la télévision irakienne, contrairement aux coutumes du secret qui prévalent à Bagdad, de nombreuses rumeurs courent sur les éventuels auteurs. A trente-trois ans, Oudaï s'est fait tellement d'ennemis qu'il est quasi impossible de privilégier une quelconque hypothèse. La thèse d'un règlement de comptes familial pourrait être renforcée par deux faits récents, qui tendent à prouver que le clan veut désormais resserrer les rangs et montrer son unité.

RÉCONCILIATION

En signe d'allégeance renouvelée et de sacrifice, compte tenu de l'état de santé d'Oudaï, Ali Hassan El Ajid, cousin germain de Saddam

Hussein et exécuteur de ses basses œuvres, notamment au Kurdistan et au Koweït, a donné sa fille de seize ans en mariage à Oudaï. Celui-ci est déjà officiellement marié à la fille de son oncle et ambassadeur à Genève, Barzan El Takriti.

Le deuxième fait plus surprenant est la réhabilitation des gendres de Saddam Hussein, Hussein Kamel Hassan et Saddam Kamel Hassan, tués, selon la version officielle, par des membres de leur tribu, qui voulaient venger leur « trahison ». Homme fort du régime, Hussein Kamel avait fait défection en Jordanie en août 1995, et appelé à « renversement du régime criminel de Bagdad ». Dépit du peu d'intérêt qu'il suscitait quelques mois après sa spectaculaire défection, Hussein Kamel était rentré en Irak avec une incroyable promesse d'amnistie en février 1996. Il avait été assassiné trois jours après, avec son père et deux de ses frères, lors d'une bataille de rue, présentée par le régime comme un règlement de comptes tribal. La télévision irakienne avait, quelques heures avant les meurtres, annoncé le divorce des deux filles du président, mariées à Hussein Kamel et son frère Saddam et affirmé qu'elles n'étaient pas au courant de la « trahison » de leurs époux.

Aujourd'hui, les deux hommes sont qualifiés de « martyrs » et leurs « épouses » portent le deuil. En compagnie de leur mère, elles reçoivent en noir les visiteurs qui se pressent à l'hôpital pour voir Oudaï. Avec son frère Kousaï, responsable des services de sécurité présidentiels, Oudaï était le principal instigateur du meurtre de Hussein Kamel

et de sa famille. Pour sceller, à la manière tribale, la réconciliation avec cette branche de la famille, d'importantes sommes d'argent ont été offertes à tous les proches d'Hussein Kamel, l'acceptation de l'argent signifiant la fin de la querelle. Le dernier frère en vie d'Hussein Kamel, Jamal aurait ainsi touché 400 millions de dinars.

L'hypothèse d'un attentat politique ne peut toutefois pas être écartée, Oudaï étant sans doute l'homme de la famille le moins difficile à atteindre. Dépravé, obsédé sexuel, il avait pris l'habitude de faire des randonnées solitaires en voiture de sport, au cours desquelles il cherchait une femme. On ne compte plus celles qu'il « enlevait » pour le plaisir d'un soir, et nombre de jeunes femmes à Bagdad avouaient ne pas sortir le soir dans certains quartiers, restaurants ou boîtes de nuit fréquentées par Oudaï.

EXCENTRICITÉS

Contrairement à son père ou à son frère, quasi invisibles, Oudaï se montrait en public, seul ou en compagnie d'amis. Une de ses dernières excentricités fut de s'offrir depuis quelques mois un jeune tigre, qu'il promenait avec lui. Quelques semaines avant l'attentat, raconte un témoin, Oudaï s'était arrêté dans un restaurant de brochettes connu du quartier huppé de Mansour, là même où il a été blessé, pour acheter cinq kilos de viande qu'il avait donnée à dévorer à son félin, en pleine rue. Dans un pays où la viande est devenue un luxe inabordable pour l'immense majorité de la population, le fait n'est

pas passé inaperçu.

Sur l'attentat lui-même, les seules certitudes sont qu'il a été commis par deux hommes, qui n'ont pu être arrêtés par des services de sécurité pris au dépourvu.

Peut-on relier cet attentat à celui dont a été victime, le 11 janvier, l'ancien ministre des affaires religieuses et conseiller présidentiel, Abdallah Fadel Abbas El Samarai ? Selon de très bonnes sources, Samarai a été tué de soixante balles par des opposants, qui se seraient vengés du rôle joué par ce dernier dans la répression des émeutes chiites, qui avaient éclaté le 2 mars 1991, la veille du jour de la signature du cessez-le-feu de la guerre du Golfe. A cette époque, et pour engager chacun des hauts responsables du régime dans la répression, le président irakien avait envoyé un certain nombre d'entre eux dans les régions concernées, pour superviser la mise au pas sauvage des insurgés.

Le palais présidentiel a annoncé, sans autres détails, la mort de Samarai, dans « un accident fâcheux ». La victime a toutefois eu droit à des obsèques grandioses. Selon une rumeur, un autre haut responsable, ancien premier ministre, membre du Conseil du commandement de la révolution, Mohammad Hamza El Zoubeidi, aurait récemment échappé à une tentative de meurtre. Si cette tentative était confirmée, il pourrait s'agir du début d'une vague d'attentats contre les hauts dignitaires d'un régime honni, que l'attentat contre Oudaï aurait inaugurée.

Françoise Chipaux

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

Turquie-UE : Ciller rencontrera cinq ministres européens à Rome

ANKARA, 24 jan (AFP) - Le ministre turque des Affaires étrangères, Tansu Ciller, rencontrera cinq de ses homologues européens mercredi à Rome en vue d'améliorer les relations entre la Turquie et l'UE, a-t-on appris vendredi de source diplomatique.

Mme Ciller s'entretiendra avec les ministres des Affaires étrangères Klaus Kinkel (Allemagne), Malcolm Rifkind (Grande-Bretagne), Hervé de Charette (France), Lamberto Dini (Italie) et Abel Matutes (Espagne).

Lors de cette réunion, les six ministres aborderont notamment le problème de l'application de l'accord d'union douanière entre l'UE et la Turquie, la récente crise des missiles avec Chypre et les projets d'expansion de l'UE.

L'accord d'union douanière est entré en vigueur en janvier 1996. En raison du veto de la Grèce, la Turquie n'a cependant pas reçu l'aide européenne promise de plusieurs centaines de millions de dollars.

A Rome, Mme Ciller va demander aux cinq ministres de trouver une solution pour éviter l'obstruction de la Grèce au versement de cette aide destinée à compenser en partie les pertes de la Turquie, dues à la levée des barrières commerciales, selon la même source.

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Chypre-USA-Turquie : Washington n'est pas disposé à donner des garanties de sécurité à Chypre

NICOSIE, 24 jan (AFP) - Les Etats-Unis ne sont pas disposés à donner des garanties de sécurité à Chypre, comme le lui ont suggéré Athènes et Nicosie, et préfèrent se consacrer aux efforts d'un règlement politique dans l'île, a déclaré vendredi l'ambassadeur américain à Nicosie.

"Ce n'est pas une chose que nous faisons traditionnellement et je ne vois pas cela arriver maintenant", a dit M. Kenneth Brill à l'issue d'un entretien avec le président chypriote Glafcos Cléridès, selon l'agence chypriote CNA.

Les Etats-Unis "ne donnent pas de telles garanties à des pays tiers, hors du cadre de ses alliances", et Nicosie n'a pas proposé sérieusement l'idée de telles garanties" contre l'usage de la force par la Turquie contre l'île dont elle occupe le nord depuis 1974, a indiqué M. Brill.

"Nous préférons nous concentrer et être actifs dans le processus positif de promouvoir une solution, mais il faut d'abord surmonter les tensions" a-t-il ajouté.

Le problème de Chypre est "fondamentalement un problème politique qui ne peut être résolu militairement, mais par des négociations", a dit M. Brill.

La récente décision de Nicosie d'acheter des missiles russes qui seront livrés dans 16 mois, "nous a ramenés dans le sens opposé à l'objectif" recherché d'une solution pour laquelle Washington s'est engagé à fournir en 1997 "un grand effort" a-t-il estimé.

Le chef de la diplomatie grecque Théodore Pangalos avait souhaité jeudi que les Etats-Unis "s'engagent à garantir" la sécurité de Chypre, si celle-ci renonçait à déployer des missiles russes S-300 sur son sol.

Selon lui, le moratoire proposé par Washington sur le survol de Chypre par les avions grecs et turcs "ne permet pas de résoudre le problème créé par les violations turques des résolutions de l'ONU et du droit international".

Le porte-parole du gouvernement chypriote Yannakis Cassoulidis avait réitéré mercredi le rejet du moratoire et réaffirmé que Nicosie se réservait le droit de suspendre unilatéralement le survol des avions grecs, pour favoriser des progrès une fois le processus politique lancé.

Selon M. Cassoulidis, "une garantie américaine de la sécurité de la zone libre de Chypre et de la sécurité des Chypriotes-turcs, favorisant le départ des troupes d'Ankara, rendrait le moratoire acceptable et l'achat des armes inutile".

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Turquie-Drogue : Lourdes accusations contre la Turquie d'un haut responsable britannique

ANKARA, 26 JAN (AFP) - Le vice-ministre britannique de l'Intérieur, Tom Sackville, assure que certains membres du gouvernement turc et de la police sont impliqués dans le trafic de drogue à destination de son pays.

Dans un interview à la chaîne de télévision privée turque Interstar, qui doit être diffusée dimanche soir et dont le texte a été obtenu par l'AFP, M. Sackville affirme que des informations qu'il avaient transmises aux autorités turques sur des opérations secrètes contre le trafic de drogue avaient été transmises aux trafiquants.

Il existe de "graves problèmes" dans la coopération entre la Grande-Bretagne et la Turquie dans le domaine de la lutte contre le trafic de drogue, selon M. Sackville.

"Nous avons des doutes sérieux sur les informations que les autorités turques nous accordent, nous ne sommes pas sûrs de leurs crédibilité" a-t-il ajouté.

Il a déclaré que 80% de l'héroïne saisie en Grande-Bretagne provenait de la Turquie.

"Si ça continue comme ça, la position internationale de la Turquie sera détériorée, il faut que la Turquie nous démontre qu'elle fait quelque chose dans le domaine de la (lutte contre la) drogue", a-t-il déclaré.

Par ailleurs le quotidien turc Hurriyet a cité dimanche un haut responsable de l'Observatoire Géopolitique des Drogues basé à Paris, qui accuse les services secrets turcs de financer la lutte contre les rebelles kurdes par l'argent de la drogue.

"La drogue issue de la Turquie traverse les Balkans et, comme une nouvelle voie, le Caucase pour être acheminée à l'Europe. Si ce trafic n'est pas soutenu par certains milieux, comment pourrait-il se faire ?" a demandé ce responsable demandant l'anonymat.

La Turquie a dénoncé mercredi les accusations portées par des magistrats allemands selon lesquelles l'Etat turc, et en particulier le ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller, couvre le trafic d'héroïne en provenance de Turquie et à destination de l'Europe.

Un magistrat de Francfort, Rolf Schwalbe, a affirmé mardi que l'existence de liens étroits entre les trafiquants et le gouvernement turc était établie.

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Turquie-drogue : Trafic de drogue: Ankara rejette les accusations britanniques

ANKARA, 26 jan (AFP) - Ankara a vivement réagi dimanche soir à des accusations d'un vice-ministre britannique et d'un organisme international selon lesquels l'Etat turc était impliqué dans un trafic de drogue à destination de l'Europe.

"La Turquie demande que des preuves concrètes soient présentées et rejette les affirmations sans fondement visant à mettre notre pays sous soupçon. Le fait que la Turquie soit accusée de telle façon générale est inadmissible", indiquait un communiqué du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères parvenu à l'AFP.

Le vice-ministre britannique de l'Intérieur Tom Sackville a affirmé que certains membres du gouvernement turc et de la police sont impliqués dans le trafic de drogue à destination de la Grande Bretagne.

Dans une interview à la chaîne de télévision privée turque Interstar, qui devait être diffusée dimanche soir et dont une partie du texte a été cité par un journal turc, il affirmait que des informations transmises aux autorités turques sur des

opérations secrètes contre le trafic de drogue avaient été passées aux trafiquants.

"Nous avons des doutes sérieux sur les informations que les autorités turques nous accordent, nous ne sommes pas sûrs de leurs crédibilité", a estimé le responsable britannique.

Par ailleurs, le quotidien turc Hurriyet a cité dimanche un haut responsable de l'Observatoire Géopolitique des Drogues, basé à Paris, qui accuse les services secrets turcs de financer la lutte contre les rebelles kurdes par l'argent de la drogue.

Le ministère turc des Affaires étrangères a ajouté dans son communiqué que "notre réaction a été exprimée et des démarches nécessaires ont été faites à Ankara concernant les affirmations d'origine britannique et française et la présentation dans l'immédiat (à l'Etat turc) des preuves qu'ils disposent, a été demandée".

La Turquie, qui agit en "coopération intense avec les autres pays dans la lutte contre le trafic de drogue", est "toujours prête à enquêter par les voies légales sur toutes les affirmations, dans le cadre de ses responsabilités internationales", a précisé le communiqué turc.

Une première accusation contre la Turquie avait été lancée mardi par des magistrats allemands selon lesquels l'Etat turc, et en particulier le ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller, couvrait un trafic d'héroïne en provenance de Turquie et à destination de l'Europe.

Le magistrat de Francfort, Rolf Schwalbe, avait affirmé que l'existence de liens étroits entre les trafiquants et le gouvernement turc était établie. Ankara avait vivement protesté contre ces propos.

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Irak-GB-Turquie : L'Irak critique la GB pour avoir dépêché des diplomates dans le nord

BAGDAD, 26 jan (AFP) - L'Irak a critiqué dimanche la Grande-Bretagne pour avoir envoyé dans le Kurdistan des diplomates de son ambassade à Ankara et reproché à la Turquie d'avoir autorisé leur passage en territoire irakien.

"Nous dénonçons l'attitude de la Grande-Bretagne qui a envoyé ses diplomates dans la région de Salaheddine et d'Erbil et nous considérons cet acte comme une violation de notre souveraineté", a affirmé le quotidien As-Saoura, organe du parti Baas au pouvoir en Irak.

De même, "nous faisons assumer à la Turquie la responsabilité d'avoir autorisé les diplomates à passer la frontière, sans le feu vert du gouvernement irakien", a ajouté le journal.

"Il n'est pas du droit de la Grande-Bretagne, ni d'aucun autre pays d'empiéter sur la souveraineté de l'Irak sur l'ensemble de son territoire", a poursuivi le journal.

Le Kurdistan irakien (nord) échappe au contrôle du pouvoir central depuis 1991, mais l'Irak a repris pied fin août dans une partie des zones kurdes en aidant une faction kurde contre une autre dans les combats qui les opposaient.

Le Congrès national irakien (CNI), une coalition de l'opposition irakienne basée à Londres, avait annoncé qu'une délégation de l'ambassade britannique à Ankara s'était rendue le 19 janvier au Kurdistan.

La délégation, qui s'était rendue dans les villes d'Erbil, contrôlée par le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK de Massoud Barzani) et de Souleimanieh, fief de l'Union Patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK de Jalal Talabani), avait rencontré des responsables kurdes et d'autres du CNI.

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Turquie-Israël : David Levy probablement en Turquie en février

ANKARA, 26 jan (AFP) - Le ministre israélien des Affaires étrangères, David Levy, est attendu "très probablement" en février à Ankara, à l'invitation de son homologue turc Mme Tansu Ciller, a rapporté dimanche l'agence Anatolie, sans préciser de dates.

Cette visite, qui est en état de s'organiser selon l'agence, serait une première visite en Turquie d'un ministre israélien depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir en juillet à Ankara du premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan, du Parti de la Prospérité (Refah, islamiste).

Le Premier ministre israélien Benjamin Netanyahu s'était dit très content jeudi de la façon dont se développaient les relations avec le gouvernement turc. "Malgré nos précédentes inquiétudes, nous sommes maintenant très contents de nos relations avec le gouvernement Erbakan", a dit M. Netanyahu dans une interview au quotidien Milliyet, publié à Istanbul.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,
MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1997

Turkey Faults German Judge

ANKARA — Turkey said over the weekend that it would sue a German judge who accused Foreign Minister Tansu Ciller and other cabinet members of protecting heroin smugglers, unless he apologizes or releases evidence supporting his claim.

A Frankfurt trial judge, Rolf Schwalbe, had said Tuesday that heroin traffic between Turkey and Western Europe was controlled by two Istanbul families that had "excellent relations" with the Turkish government and "personal contacts" with Mrs. Ciller, a former prime minister. (AFP)



Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1997

Yaşar Kemal receives Nonino Literature Award

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish writer Yaşar Kemal has been awarded the international "Nonino Literature Award" in Udine, Italy, the Anatolia news agency reported over the weekend.

The 74-year-old writer was described as "the master of Turkish literature, an astounding writer and human being," as the award was presented.

In his acceptance speech Kemal said, "To write is something very humane, it is also a work of art. It is to create one's own personal style. Although my master was Stendhal, I feel that I am closer to Chekhov and Faulkner. If Homer was living in this century, he would have written like Faulkner."

Awards were also presented to Luca Cavalli Sforza for the best Italian writer and Polish writer Lezlekk Kolakowski who was honored as the "Contemporary Master."

News of Kemal's award received wide coverage by the Italian media, in both the cultural pages of newspapers and on radio. In an article published in the paper Corriere Della Sera, Kemal was portrayed as "a genuine epic writer. He is able to look deep into his soul, baring all its grief and humor. He manages to fight tragedy, emphasize unfairness, yet always retain an adventurous spirit."

Turkey slams drug charges from the West

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1997

The Paris-based Geopolitical Narcotics Monitor claimed drug smugglers enjoyed protection by the highest authorities in Turkey, and British Assistant Home Secretary Tom Sackville said many narcotics operations had failed because of Turkish leaks

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Foreign Ministry on Sunday reacted harshly to proliferating allegations of high-level involvement in illicit drug operations, seeing it as an orchestrated campaign to undermine Turkey's developing ties with Europe.

The strongly-worded statement followed Sunday's press reports quoting British and French officials as joining in the allegations, first aired by a German judge, targeting the Turkish government.

The statement said necessary representations were made in Ankara and Turkey's displeasure was made known together with a request for the speedy delivery of whatever information and evidence they claim to have.

"It is noteworthy that such claims lacking any documentary proof are made through the press and certain institutions instead of being conveyed to the Turkish government in the framework of the international cooperation against narcotic smuggling," the foreign ministry complained.

The statement said it was regrettable that some European countries ignored Turkey's constant warnings that the drug smuggling was a chief source of income for the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) terrorists, and instead of banning a PKK-run TV station (MED-TV), broadcasting from their soil and financed by drug money, were directing accusa-

tions against Turkey.

"Turkey is demanding to be shown concrete evidence and is rejecting all unfounded allegations lacking such proof. The airing of such generalized accusations against our country is unacceptable," said the ministry statement.

The official anger was vented at the incriminating reports from Britain and France which followed allegations by German Judge Rolf Schwalbe in the Frankfurt State Court that Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller was in personal contact with known Turkish drug smuggling families. The Paris-based Geopolitical Narcotics Monitor has claimed that drug smugglers enjoy protection by the highest authorities in Turkey, and British Assistant Home Secretary Tom Sackville has said many narcotics operations had failed because of Turkish leaks. The BBC has said, "Turkey has become the Columbia of the Middle East. This situation not only tarnishes the country's image but also aggravates living conditions for millions of Turkish nationals living abroad."

Sackville said more than 80 percent of heroin seized in Britain originated from Turkey, and further that they could not be sure of the accuracy of information conveyed to British authorities by Turkish security agencies with regard to drug smuggling.

British anxiety stemmed from "disturbing reports and claims that members of the Turkish police and even members of the government

are involved in drug trafficking," he said. Remarking that the involvement of government officials and politicians with convicted criminals tarnished Turkey's international image, Sackville added, "There are facts which have been uncovered as a result of certain events and investigations. We know that classified information regarding narcotics operations have fallen into the hands of drug smugglers in the past. What I mean is that when we informed Turkish authorities of these operations, they leaked the information to the drug smugglers and the operations failed."

The Geopolitical Narcotics Monitor, an institution which regularly consults both the European Union and the United Nations, has overtly accused Turkey of being involved in the illegal narcotics trade. A Monitor official said 70 percent of drugs arriving in Europe came from Turkey and added, "Can this go on if it is not being supported by someone? It is impossible to say there is no political connection." The official said that drugs seized in Turkey were neither destroyed nor reported to international agencies. "The money from these seized narcotics is being given to the unofficial militia fighting the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). This is known in Europe. A large narcotics network has been uncovered, this is such a large network that everyone is involved in it one way or the other," he added.

Turkish Daily News TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1997

Black money blackens image

Turkey, not boasting of the best of images because of its human rights record, is fast taking on a lasting reputation as a haven for death squads, rogue security officials and corrupt politicians. The country is rocked nearly every day with new episodes in a political scandal revolving around links between politicians, terrorists and underworld bosses. The investigations, defying efforts of cover up show that officials have liberally employed fugitive terrorists for the "elimination" of "state's enemies" in return for which the crime bosses and their terrorist partners were given a more or less free hand for drug trafficking. The links, in recent days, caused accusations from politicians and officials of Turkey's European allies targeting the Turkish government ministers.

Since the black money, the proceeds from drugs or arms smuggling, or other fraudulent exports, fuel the scandalous dealings, TDN is publishing a two-part comprehensive analysis of the money laundering techniques and the practises, taken from the in depth economic quarterly, EKONOM, with the publishers' permission.

Part -I-

By Cahit Uyanik

In the Oscar-winning movie "Ghost" the good-looking actor returned from the other world to save his pretty wife from an avaricious banker who was laundering black money. The movie had a happy ending but the black money issue remains as potent as ever. Money laundering is a new type of crime which the world began to take notice of after 1980 and which has even found its way into movie scripts. However, this crime is not being committed using firearms but with computer keyboards, modems, the Internet and smart cards. The seeds of money laundering were sown with the unbelievably rapid development of computer communications and financial transactions technology. From then on it spread to all economies large and small with the winds of liberal exchange and bloomed to its current magnitude. Black money has reached horrifying dimensions today. According to a U.S. senator interested in the issue, between \$500 billion and \$1 trillion worth of black money is being laundered annually. This is merely the black money which is laundered — the amount of black money which is not laundered cannot even be estimated. The United States, with the world's most liberal economic and banking legislation, is the country with the greatest black money problem. Beneath the surface of this phenomenon lies the huge drugs trade. An estimated 17 million Americans regularly use some type of illegal drug. This drug money is being funneled into legal sectors through a variety of ingenious methods. Laundering amounts to between \$300 and \$500 billion per year in the United States. This amount has been officially stated by the Federal Reserve (the "Fed").

An amount which scares even the Fed

Another number the Fed articulates is even more shocking. The total net assets of U.S. banks are calculated to be approximately \$4.2 trillion. This means that around ten percent of the money entering the registered and legal sectors is black money. The amount of black money laundered in the world every year — \$500 billion by the most optimistic estimates — can be put into perspective with certain comparisons in Jean Ziegler's book "Switzerland Launders It Better." Laundered black money equals the U.S. defense budget and is enough to finance the yearly oil consumption of all Western countries.

When we want to find out where all this black money comes from, we always come across large-scale criminal activity. The rising wave of international terror is always backed by the narcotics trade. Drug trade which used to be in the hands of marginal mafia groups is now concentrated in the hands of terrorist organizations. This highly profitable trade makes small terror groups grow in size and get out of control. According to research by the General Directorate of Security, 10,250 kilos of heroin, 573,000 kilos of hashish and 126,000 kilos of cocaine were produced in 1994 alone. Arms smuggling, prostitution, kidnapping, extortion, counterfeit

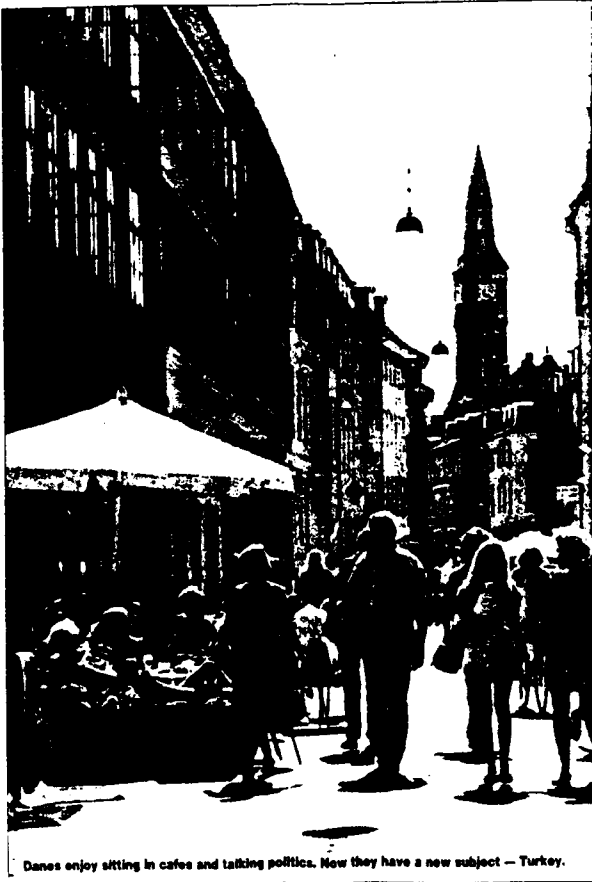
documents and industrial espionage can all be added to the list of black money sectors. The agency which is responsible for the coordination of the international fight against laundering, the FATF, said this to EKONOM: "It is hard to come up with an aggregate figure for laundered money. Experts say that any figure cannot be more than an estimate based on the science of statistics. Whatever the exact figure may be, the estimates show it is in the hundreds of billions of dollars. However, we do not have a definitive figure nor do we have the distribution according to regions and countries."

Laundering on the Internet

A multitude of methods has been devised to launder the hundreds of billions worth of black money. The most negative aspect is that launderers make use of state-of-the-art computer and communications technologies. No matter how successfully authorities try to patch up the holes, a definitive conclusion cannot be reached. For instance, transactions over the Internet and with smart cards cannot be controlled and registered in any way. The reporting of suspicious transactions over \$10,000 to authorities, which is seen as a must by most countries in the fight against laundering, therefore cannot be very effective. According to the U.S. Treasury Department's Financial Crimes Department, professional launderers change their computer software every three months to avoid being traced. Experts are trying to find a way of controlling computer and card transactions without infringing upon the right to privacy. The most state-of-the-art method for laundering is through the Internet and by using smart cards. Then what are the classical techniques? The Wall Street Journal explains: "The narcotics dealer gives a \$20,000 check to a check collector friend working for any organization. It is normal for a check collector to carry large amounts of cash and to go to banks many times during the day. Hence this black money can easily enter the legal sector. The drug dealer gets \$16,000 for his check while the check collector gets the remaining \$4,000. Then the drug dealer transfers the postal check to a previously opened account in an offshore bank. Amounts up to \$20 million can be laundered this way. All you need to do is to find a check collector."

The problem of globalization and the computer age

The classic method of money laundering is similar to the rumors in Turkey which emerge usually when the winner of a lottery prize disguises his/her name. According to these rumors, the mafia discovers the name of the winner and buys the ticket from him by paying even more than he earned from the lottery. Then the mafia receives the prize through the mediation of a bank director (working on a contract basis). Thus, the money is laundered through legitimate procedures used in the lottery and banking sectors. That method, in fact is a marginal way of laundering money, and it is not known whether there are still some people using this old-fashioned way. According to a report by the Security Directorate's



Danes enjoy sitting in cafes and talking politics. Now they have a new subject — Turkey.

comply with the commitments we have made in negotiations with Turkey... I'm always in favor of that. When it comes to enlargement, it is not on the agenda now. What is on the agenda is to carry out the customs union agreement that would give rise to much more cooperation in the economic field between Turkey and the EU."

Petersen: 'I wish it could have been otherwise, but it couldn't.'

Walking around in Denmark, you see a poster on some of the walls: A Kurd with his typical face and big black eyes, thick mustache and three-day beard. The poster describes the man as a Kurdish refugee from Turkey and says, "In his country they allow torture. What are we going to do about it?"

This poster might be a little bit old. Nowadays it is unnecessary to ask "What are we going to do about

it?" because Denmark has decided to take Turkey to the Human Rights Commission with the claim that a Danish citizen was tortured in Turkey.

This matter involves Kemal Koç, a naturalized Danish citizen of Kurdish origin from Turkey, who was detained when he tried to enter Turkey on July 8 to attend the funeral of his brother. He was officially arrested the next day on charges of attending pro-PKK rallies in Denmark and Germany and for helping the organization in various ways.

Koç, who was finally released on Aug. 15 and allowed to travel home pending his trial, alleged, while in Turkey and once back in Denmark, that he had been tortured by the Turkish police. Six months after his arrest, Denmark decided to take Turkey to the Human Rights Commission. Turkish Foreign Ministry officials think that this decision of Denmark's is totally related to Danish inter-

national politics. The Danish budget passed Parliament with the help of "unity list" members who are drawing a lot of attention to the Kemal Koç issue. So the Danish government, in order to pay its debt to the "unity list," decided to take Turkey to the Human Rights Commission. But for Petersen they have other reasons and he also confessed that this decision was a very unusual case.

"It is important to understand that in Denmark, currently a member of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva, we have made the fight against torture one of our priorities. This is a high priority in Denmark not only the case of Turkey but in all other countries as well, so we are trying also in this case to, so to speak, extend the boundaries in cases of torture. It is an unusual step to take but we are ready and willing to take unusual steps in the fight against torture."

Ankara also views this case as very unusual but stresses that it will review its relations with Denmark. But for Copenhagen this is not the case; Denmark will try for continued cooperation with Turkey.

"We wish to see Turkey as an active participant and working together with the EU economically and politically. We won't stand in the way of such cooperation," the Danish foreign minister said.

On the other hand, according to Danish newspapers, Petersen has said in the Danish Parliament that they were afraid that Koç would be killed because in England an individual who took Turkey to the commission died in mysterious circumstances. When the TDN asked about this, the Danish foreign minister did not deny it and added:

"There has been one case where an individual took a case before the Human Rights Commission and was later, in mysterious circumstances, liquidated. This was a case where the person in question had accused Turkey of using torture. Now that is also a very unusual case."

Another debate about the Koç case in Denmark concerns whether it will be won or lost and what will happen if it is lost. Petersen himself seems to have some doubts about the outcome.

"The Human Rights Commission will establish the facts of the matter. If after looking into the case they reach the conclusion that the facts of the matter do not substantiate Mr. Koç's claim to have been tortured, they will come out and say so. But the aim of the commission is to establish the facts. After that, they will reach a judgment, so I feel that this is the right way to go about things," Petersen said.

He also added that there was a time limit of six months for the application to the commission. Denmark had applied to the commission just one day before the time limit expired.

"It would have been more convenient for us to wait until his case was finally tried but we were afraid that would have cut off the possibility of going to the Human Rights Commission. I wish it could be different," Petersen said.

After the Danish decision, Turkish Foreign Ministry officials pointed out that this is Denmark's term as president of the Organization for Security and Cooperation on Europe (OSCE) and are afraid of Danish bias. Petersen denied it.

"We have to be fair to all members of the OSCE and we certainly try to be.... OSCE principles have to do with democracy, with respect for human rights, and we are not in contradiction with the basic principles of the OSCE."

In reply to a question about Cyprus and the OSCE, Petersen said that Cyprus was mostly the

department set up to fight against smuggling and organized criminal activities, crime syndicates have been laundering illegal money through more sophisticated and less suspicious ways, such as:

"Establishing phony companies, using false receipts, receiving loans from a local bank branch by showing a certain amount of money deposited abroad as guarantee, operating gambling houses, betting on horse-racing, using credit cards received from the tax-exempt countries, purchasing large buildings and properties with cash, smuggling money abroad, investing money in stock market shares or government bonds, benefiting from the liberalized banking services in free-trade zones, establishing tourist agencies and transferring the money through travelers cheques, making enormous purchases of assets besides real estate.

Most of the methods mentioned in the above list had even been used before the dazzling effects of the latest technological developments emerged. Money laundering used to be considered as an "internal matter" while the world's economies and banking systems were separated by barriers. But the problem gained a universal aspect with the globalization of the economy. The money launderers started to use international banking systems more frequently in order to avoid prosecution by the authorities of the country where the money was laundered. The cost of hiding the money within the sophisticated financial systems was found to be much lower than establishing phony companies or preparing false receipts. This method also saved more time for the money launderers.

FATF: A special organization to fight money laundering

The global problem of money laundering has brought the need to include all countries in the world into the struggle against that illegal activity. "The United Nations Convention on the Prevention of the Smuggling of Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances" initiated on Dec. 19, 1988 was the first to serve such intentions. A declaration of principles issued in Dec. 1988 by the "Basle Committee" which is controlled by the central banks of Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States and Luxembourg, specified the standard procedures of the fight against money laundering. The G-7 countries who noticed that illegal money started controlling their economies formed the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) in July 1987 to reform the financial system and standardize the procedures against money laundering.

Later on, the FATF was joined by the OECD countries, including Austria, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hong Kong, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. Additionally, the European Commission and the Gulf Cooperation Council were also admitted into the FATF, bringing the number of the members to 28. FATF, which is based in Paris, releases a report every year on the latest international developments in money laundering and the struggle against it.

Differing definitions of money laundering

Several years ago, FATF defined a number of suggestions for the prevention of money laundering within the financial system. Money laundering seems impossible if all these recommendations are

complied with. Many countries exercise them within their own financial regulations and communiques. The power of these regulations is boosted as they become law. This is why the FATF has been trying to persuade the member countries to pass a law on the prevention of money laundering, even sometimes forcing them to do so.

But the problem does not remain there. Some countries include a number of criminal activities in the term "illegal money" while others define it as the "gain from every kind of criminal activity". Denmark and the Netherlands make the largest definition of money laundering while other FATF members such as Spain and Portugal only include the money earned from the illegal drug trade. In Switzerland, authorities include crimes requiring at least one year of imprisonment. The money earned from drug smuggling, robbery, mugging, and ransom-kidnapping is considered illegal in Italy, and the definition varies according to every member-country.

Although the definition of illegal money varies in every country, some countries have started to enlarge their definitions gradually. In 1990 the EU members accepted the inadequacy of limiting the definition of illegal money to the profits earned from the drug trade. As a result, the ministerial committee of the European Council had approved a convention on the laundering, searching, seizing and confiscating of illegal earnings in the same year. In the next year, the European Parliament passed the law on the prevention of money laundering.

Boost in notification of 'suspicious transactions'

These days, money laundering attempts in a FATF-member country require a lot of courage. In the FATF-member EU countries, every financial transaction above ECU 15,000 must be tightly controlled. Bank officials have the right to notify the police about "suspicious-looking" customers. According to the weekly Economist, only in Britain which is a member to both the EU and the FATF, was there an enormous increase in the notification of suspicious transactions after the laws on money laundering were tightened. Between 1987 and 1988, only about 1,000 transactions were noted, while this number rose to 5,000 in 1991, and to 14,000 in 1992.

According to U.S. Treasury Department data, the reports on foreign currency transactions rose from 1.3 million in 1986 to 12 million in 1996. Every transaction exceeding \$10,000 in the U.S. is investigated. In the same country, a law passed in 1994 brought tight control on all companies except those in the financial sector. When the international travel cheques were included into this practice for instance, American Express and Western Union which played a great role in money laundering, hit hard times. In Britain, authorities brought tight measures to bear on accountants, lawyers and professional counselors involved in money laundering.

After facing these strict precautions in the FATF member countries, the money launderers started to prefer countries with fewer legal and financial measures against that activity, which are usually the countries aiming to find economic prosperity through the "offshore banking" system. Offshore banking is usually preferred by the countries which are likely to have very limited economic resources, such as the Seychelles, Macau, Guernsey, the Cayman Islands, southern Cyprus, Dutch Antilles, Antigua, Barbados and Aruba.

turkish daily news

Tuesday, January 28, 1997

Turkey: The latest topic of discussion in Denmark



Danish Foreign Minister Petersen says the EU has not fulfilled its obligations toward Turkey as specified in the customs union agreement.

Danes like to talk about politics and Turkey provides them with a topic for endless discussions. After the Palestine-Israeli question and South African apartheid, Turkey is the latest case for the Danes

By Ayşe Karabat

Turkish Daily News / COPENHAGEN

Two old Danes are sitting at a cafe drinking and talking politics, just like most of the Danes. Learning that I'm Turkish they start teasing me, in English. "We'd better go down there to Turkey and sort you lot out," they said. "Teach you about the rule of law."

The Danes are proud of their institutions. They like to discuss politics, too, and Turkey provides them with a topic for endless debate. There's a Dane playing football for Fenerbahçe, there are Turkish restaurants on every corner — and even some Italian restaurants are run by Turks. There are 40,000 Turks in this country, and with the top news stories in Danish newspapers being about such things as how a thousand people shifted their accounts from one bank to another last year, Turkey seems to be the chosen topic, replacing the Arab-Israeli issue and apartheid in South Africa. Now, it's Turkey, Turkey, Turkey.

Turkey has a host of interesting things to talk about, with its scandals, its desire to be a full member of the European Union, with its Kurdish problem. There was even a Danish TV program on Susurluk. There are also some stories closer to home. Five Danish politicians were declared persona non grata in Turkey, and a Turkish Kurd who is a Danish citizen was allegedly tortured in Turkey.

Relations between Denmark and Turkey have been deteriorating since April 1995. It was at that time that Denmark allowed the opening of an ERNK office (Kurdistan National Salvation Front, the political wing of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is fighting for self rule in southeastern

for the Turkish Foreign Ministry, Denmark's decision to take Turkey to the Human Rights Commission is based on internal politics but for Petersen there are other reasons. He says he wishes it could have been otherwise

Anatolia). The following year, they allowed the Kurdish parliament-in-exile to meet there and Turkey declared five Danish politicians who participated in the meeting not welcome in Turkey. After one of the Turkish incursions in northern Iraq in March 1995, Denmark put Turkey on its black list and said that they would not sell any weapons to Turkey. Turkey responded in kind.

Many of the Turks living in Denmark complained about the PKK pressure on them. They alleged that the PKK was collecting money from them by force. Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen told the Turkish Daily News in an exclusive interview that he as well as the Danish government considers the PKK a terrorist organization.

"We sometimes have a very difficult problem in this country. That is, we have to allow legal and political activities. People who conduct legal political activities here are welcome. We will not stand in their way. For many years, the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) had an office here. It was an information bureau. The Israelis didn't like that. Then the ANC (African National Congress) had an office in Denmark. The South African government didn't like that. Now we have information offices trying to deal with Turkish and Kurdish matters. And the Turkish government does not like it either. But we have here the freedom of carrying out informational activities. But of course we do not allow illegal activities, things against Danish law. They are subversive and violent. But we try to con-

Danish Foreign Minister Petersen



I'm not at all saying that Turkey could easily solve its problems. When it comes to one point, to the use of torture in prison, we are very critical, not only of Turkey, but of all countries guilty of this. I would be the first to be glad if we solved the problems

duct a policy that gives room for legal political activities," Petersen said.

The Danish Foreign Minister was smiling during the entire interview. I was not sure if this was because it also happened to be his birthday but there was something which was surprising. When he saw that we also had a TV camera he put away the very small Danish flag that was on his desk. His office was far from ostentatious; it was just like an ordinary working room.

He criticized Turkey about human rights but he supported Turkey over the customs union with the EU. He said that Turkey's membership in the EU was not on the agenda. He said:

"Unfortunately, for several reasons — one is that we have not been able to reach an agreement in our council; and the European Parliament also has objections — I realize that we on our side have not fully lived up to these negotiations and agreements we have made. And I don't like that. I like the EU to live up to its agreements. I have been maintaining that the EU must

concern of the United Nations, but Denmark, as an EU member, had another idea:

"The problems on Cyprus have been haunting us for a very long time. For decades now we have had this problem with us. Denmark played an active role when we had U.N. peacekeeping forces there. I do not see for the time being a role for the OSCE in the Cyprus conflict. But Denmark as a state, and Denmark as a member of the EU, is very critical of the purchase of those new missiles by one of the sides in Cyprus. I'm very critical of that. I don't think that is helpful at all and it could create or contribute to dangerous tensions. So I would urge that these missiles are never installed. That will not make it any easier to solve the Cyprus conflict. This is an attitude which we will pursue in our discussions with the European Union."

Economic links also weak between the two countries

According to last year's figures, Turkey imported \$188 billion worth of goods from Denmark, and exported \$133 billion. But last year the joint business council meeting between the two countries was cancelled because Danish businessmen were reluctant to participate.

"It is true that if you have a country where businessmen feel that there is insecurity, they will stay away. But Danes certainly do not stay away from Turkey. Many tourists go there. My daughter went to Turkey this summer and enjoyed herself greatly. Hopefully, economic cooperation could be extended. I believe that trade is a factor which works in favor of political reforms and friendship," Petersen said.

The minister said that he realized just how difficult the problems facing Turkey really are.

"I'm not saying that Turkey could easily solve its problems. When it comes to one point, to the use of torture in prison, we are very critical, not only of Turkey, but of all countries guilty of this. I would be the first to be glad if we solve the problems. That would be very helpful for both of us, and for ordinary Danes, in terms of changing their views on Turkey," Petersen said.

Ordinary Danes are generally a little sceptical about Turkey's shift towards Islamist principles, but Foreign Minister Petersen's view was different.

Turkish people decide who will come to power after democratic elections," he said. "That's good enough for me."

The Turkish population in Denmark is about 40,000 and most of the greengrocer's names are Turkish. Turks in Denmark have some problems in finding jobs, but as Turkish embassy officials in Copenhagen said: "If we compare the situation with other European countries, racism is lower. But recently in Denmark there was a discussion about Turkish lessons in schools. City councils were reluctant about the continuation of the Turkish lessons.

"I think the present rules will continue. We will offer education in the child's native language and at the same time we wish also for people from Turkey living here to be familiar with Danish society. And they need to learn Danish. We make a great effort for Turks who are here to work to learn Danish... But we also think, most of us, that we should give education in native languages. Because we do see now, that we're taking young people of Turkish origin into the police force, for example, and we are making efforts to be fair. I think we will succeed in that," Petersen said.

Turkish police slam European hypocrisy on drug combat

Turkish Daily News

TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1997

Anti-Smuggling Department Chief Tuncay Yilmaz denies British Foreign Office claims that 75 percent of drugs which come to London are produced in, or pass through Turkey

**By Orya Sultan Halisdemir
and Saadet Oruç**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA/LONDON- Turkey has reacted strongly to allegations that there are connections between international drug smugglers and the Turkish state itself as well as slamming claims that the

government is not doing enough in the war against drugs.

Britain, meanwhile, kept pointing an accusing finger at Turkey, saying three-quarters of the drugs reaching Europe were either coming from Turkey or through it. Similar accusations from German and French officials have already caused angry retorts from Ankara which demanded concrete proof or apologies.

Tuncay Yilmaz, head of the police Anti-Smuggling Department, blamed the drug trade in Turkey on the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party and accused European countries of not doing enough themselves to halt the drug trade.

Speaking at a press conference on Monday, Yilmaz said the drug trade via Turkey was controlled by organized groups such as the PKK.

"Members of PKK who have been given 'refugee status' are used in drug trafficking," Yilmaz charged.

He also said that European countries who had accused Turkey of harboring drug smugglers were using the drug trade as a kind of political stick with which to beat

Turkey.

Noting that one of the most important aspects in fighting drug smuggling was first the control of the production of the chemicals, Yilmaz said Turkey has been successful in controlling the production of aesthetic acid anhydrit but that Germany had lax controls over the exportation of the chemical.

Aesthetic acid anhydrit is an essential ingredient in the production of heroin.

Referring to the production of the drug Ecstasy in Poland, Germany and the Netherlands, Yilmaz said the lack of appropriate measures by the chemical-producing countries was a serious setback in the war against drug smuggling.

He also alleged that the largest hauls of drugs in Germany were partly produced by chemical companies such as Merck and Hoechst.

Yilmaz then turned his attention to Britain, saying that British authorities did not give sufficient information to Turkish authorities regarding those caught for drug smuggling.

He also accused the British secret service of using Huseyin Baybasin, a famous drug smuggler, as an agent.

Yilmaz went on to slam the Netherlands for granting asylum and eventually citizenship to drug smugglers.

Turning to solutions, Yilmaz said individual countries should stop accusing each other and start cooperating in the war against the drug trade.

The London reaction

British Foreign Office officials said on Monday they were very concerned with the high rate of drug trafficking from Turkey to Europe.

"According to figures, 75 percent of the drugs seized in Europe is coming either from Turkey or through Turkey, which is a very high percentage and worrying," a Foreign Office official told the TDN.

He underlined that the Foreign Office had expressed its worries concerning these

high amounts to Turkish authorities in Turkey and to Turkish Embassy officials in London.

"We believe that a determined and coordinated action would provide solutions in preventing such a high rate of drug smuggling from Turkey or through Turkey," the official pointed out.

Tuncay Yilmaz, speaking to the TDN after his press conference, refuted the British claims, saying they were impossible.

"Thirty percent of the drugs are coming from the north (of Turkey), 20 percent of it from west," Yilmaz claimed. "And if you assume that the rest comes from Turkey itself, then that still means that only 50 percent is from Turkey. But I can say the amount of drugs actually passing through Turkey is 30 percent."

Tom Sackville, the Home Office junior minister was quoted by Turkish Dailies this weekend saying that some Turkish authorities might be involved in promoting

this trafficking into the Europe.

Sackville paid a two-day visit to Ankara on the Oct. 13 and met with then-Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar, Chief of Police Alaatin Yüksel as well as Tuncay Yilmaz.

Sackville expressed the displeasure for the delay of the acceptance for a draft law on "money-laundering".

According to an international decision taken in 1988, countries were expected to make the necessary arrangements in their domestic laws. Turkey finally accepted the international agreement in November 1996, though western countries still express their worries on the Turkish application of the law.

Diplomatic sources commenting on the subject told the TDN that Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller was told to take the necessary steps against drug smuggling as well as money laundering during her trips to the United States.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29.

New Riddles in Assad's Damascus

A Crackdown on Corruption or Maneuvering for the Succession?

By Douglas Jehl
New York Times Service

DAMASCUS — The Syrian capital can seem a nest of riddles, and what has befallen the Orchid restaurant may be merely where the puzzle starts.

A committee descended on the elegant French spot one day in November to shut it down, and it has remained so ever since, with a dangling door-tag signed "Corruption-fighting section; Ministry of Supply."

What most intrigues its patrons is that the restaurant is owned by a nephew of Hafez Assad, the Syrian president. People who have begun to piece together other developments have begun to wonder what is going on.

One of Mr. Assad's brothers, Jemil, has departed abruptly for Paris, where another brother, Rifaat, spent part of a long exile. Rifaat Assad, now back in Damascus and officially still a vice president, is reported by foreign diplomats and prominent Syrians to be under heavy surveillance.

At the same time, Bashar Assad, 31, the president's eldest surviving son, has been newly christened on posters that have emerged around the capital as "our hope" for Syria's future.

Together with a bomb that exploded on a Syrian bus on New Year's Eve, killing 11 people but not announced by

the Syrian media until two days later, and the fact that Mr. Assad had not been seen in public until Tuesday, the signs of maneuvering within the upper ranks of Mr. Assad's regime have created a mood of unease. "Things feel very fragile," a diplomat said.

The owner of the star-crossed restaurant was one of Rifaat Assad's sons, yet he was just the first among the relatives of top Syrian officials whose business activities have been unceremoniously reined in.

When asked, Syrian officials have said that Jemil Assad is undergoing medical treatment, that Rifaat Assad may move about as he likes and that the Orchid and other shuttered enterprises were guilty of unspecified irregularities. But the diplomats and some prominent Syrians say they believe that something else may be in the works.

With President Assad now 66 and recovering from prostate surgery, they say, he may be trying both to clean house and to clear the way for a successor. These people say that it is probably no coincidence that Bashar Assad, who was trained in Britain to be an ophthalmologist and who had apparently given no thought to a political future until an elder brother was killed in an automobile accident three years ago, has been portrayed recently in the Syrian press as something of a Mr. Clean.

"The president has had it with his brothers and their sons, and he's trying to do something about it," a prominent Syrian said, presenting a view that is widely held within the diplomatic and business community.

Jemil Assad, 64, who grew rich by extracting commissions on business activity in Tartous and Latakia, spawned so much resentment there that he has harmed the family's stature, the diplomats and prominent Syrians say.

They say that Rifaat Assad, 59, who assembled squadrons of tanks in Damascus in an attempt to overthrow his brother in 1983, is suspected of trying to renew his ties to the military.

Jemil Assad's departure for Paris late last month has not been reported in the official media here. Diplomats in Damascus said they have been able to confirm it only within the last two weeks or so.

Diplomats also said they were struck by the fact that while Mr. Assad was reported to have attended a Jan. 21 wreath-laying ceremony on the third anniversary of the death of his son Basel, the president was the only senior official present whose photograph was not published.

Syrian officials say that he was probably not pictured at his son's grave because it was a personal family moment.

Mr. Assad has a history of heart trouble and diabetes, but there is no

evidence that he is suffering from anything more serious now than the after-effects of surgery. But it has been more than 26 years since he seized power, and people have begun to wonder whether the latest moves might be related to the question of who will succeed him.

Under the Syrian Constitution, the leader of Parliament takes temporary charge upon the death of the president, to await the governing Ba'ath Party's nomination of a candidate to be presented to the Parliament and to voters for ratification. Mr. Assad has said that he does not have an opinion about who should take his place.

Bashar Assad, the second of Assad's four sons, had shown no interest in politics or in the military, the historic route to power in Syria. But immediately after his brother's death in 1994, he cut short his medical studies to return to Syria and enroll in the military staff college, from which he is to graduate in April.

The inner affairs of the government remain murky enough that the diplomats and Syrians, who all spoke on condition of anonymity, said it was impossible to judge to what extent the crackdowns might have been intended to eliminate possible rivals to the succession and to what extent they were intended to rid the

regime of a widening taint of corruption. "Hafez Assad clearly wants to be succeeded by his son," a diplomat said. "And if you ask me whether all this is about securing the future or polishing the present, I would say that it is probably both."

■ Assad Attends Meeting

President Assad held his first official meeting Tuesday since leaving the hospital three weeks ago, Agence France-Presse reported from Damascus.

Mr. Assad was briefed by Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam on his two-day visit to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, a presidential spokesman said.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1997

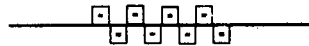
Ciller Escapes Graft Inquiry

ANKARA — The Turkish Parliament on Tuesday narrowly rejected a proposed new inquiry into Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Ciller that could have sent her to the Supreme Court on corruption charges.

The opposition proposal to investigate accusations that Mrs. Ciller used the services of the state-owned

Turban hotel and tourism company for personal purposes was defeated, 247 to 242.

The vote could have caused a rift in the coalition government led by religious Muslims if it had gone against Mrs. Ciller, the former prime minister who is now also the foreign minister. (Reuters)



Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1997

Terrorism fight paid for by drug trade, says French research group

By Nazlan Ertan

Turkish Daily News

PARIS- Drug trafficking in Turkey could not have come that far if it had not been for some "support" from the Turkish state according to a French research group, while French officials remain silent on the matter.

The Geopolitical Observatory of Drugs (Observatoire), has also carried out research on Turkey for a report to be published in April. The Observatoire's claim that drug trafficking through Turkey also had a "political dimension" follows similar claims from both London and Frankfurt, where a German magistrate claimed that Turkish government was involved protecting those trafficking in drugs.

Despite the protest and denial of Ankara, a high-level researcher of the Observatoire, who requested anonymity, said that the fight against terrorism was

also partially financed by drug trafficking. The claim, which was already been published in the 1996 report, alleges that when the Turkish security forces uncovered a drug operation and obtained the narcotics, they do not declare it but use the income to finance the fight against the PKK. This information is attributed to some "Kemalist" soldiers within in the Southeast.

Another important assumption in the Observatoire is the link between government circles, in particular former Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar, and ultra-right gangs which also have a hand in drug trafficking. The report also made a reference to the Susurluk case, saying it displayed the "complexity and the darkness" of the struggle in Anatolia.

The Observatoire said the report was based on their large network of information, which ranged from Europe to the Caucasus. A high-level official

for the Observatoire described the research group as an objective and scientific one. "We have sources in every country, also in Turkey, which range from official circles to academics. We carefully watch the information in the media and the statements of politicians. None of the allegations in the report are new, unknown, or not published," he said.

The research organization carries out research for various international organizations, as well as publishing periodical reports on its own.

The Quai D'Orsay, the seat of the French Foreign Ministry, did not comment on what they have called the evaluation of a private research group, but a spokesman said that France was "determined to fight against the international plague, which is drug smuggling, and this required the mobilization of the international arena and the cooperation of all countries."

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1997

Government officials meet with KDP over Atrush question

Denial: Foreign Ministry denies military build-up along the Turkish-Iraqi border and says there are no plans to launch an operation against the Atrush refugee camp

By Saadet Oruç

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Members of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) from the northern Iraqi town of Duhok met officials from the intelligence unit of the Turkish Foreign Ministry and the Turkish Armed Forces on Tuesday to discuss the latest developments at the Atrush refugee camp.

Kurdish sources told the TDN that the KDP were invited to the meeting, held in the Gendarmerie Headquarters in the town of Silopi, near Diyarbakir, by the Turkish Foreign Ministry.

Officials from the Ankara office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) told the TDN they had not been informed about the meeting.

The Atrush refugee camp, located 70 kilometers from the Turkish border, is home for an estimated 14,000 Turkish

Kurdish refugees.

The future of the camp under question at the moment. The UNHCR decided on Dec. 21 to withdraw from the camp but the United Nations flag still flies over the camp for "security reasons."

The Turkish government has argued that the camp is run by militants from the Kurdistan Workers' Party and for this reason wants the UNHCR to pull out completely, including pulling down the flag.

Local authorities speaking to the TDN repeated the known KDP position regarding the security of the camp. "Atrush is a recognized civilian camp, and the security of the camp is important, as well."

Military presence along the border
Meanwhile, regional sources informed the TDN on Tuesday that there has been

a build-up of Turkish troops along the Turkish-Iraqi border for nearly three weeks, sparking fears that Turkey may be preparing for a cross border raid on the Atrush camp.

Turkish Foreign Ministry and military officials, however, denied the claims of a build-up in troops or that a raid against Atrush was being planned.

"The routine military activities in the region close to the border should not be distorted," said a senior military official.

MGK discussed Atrush

Atrush was one of the subjects discussed at the Monday meeting of the National Security Council (MGK). The General Staff told the meeting that approximately 300 of the refugees at the camp had joined the PKK, much less than the 1000-1500 estimated by U.N. sources.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1997

HADEP to visit Demirel

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A delegation from the People's Democracy Party (HADEP) is to see President Süleyman Demirel on Friday to discuss possible solutions to the "Kurdish problem," according to a senior HADEP official.

Sedat Yurtaş told the TDN on Tuesday that the delegation would meet the president and that the talks formed a part of their "social mediation task." He also said the party hopes to have talks with the prime minister, the heads of political parties and trade union leaders as well. HADEP Chairman Ahmet Türk told the TDN his party was ready to discuss any kind of peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem.

GAMK / Mercredi, 29 janvier 1997

La Turquie mise en cause dans le trafic de drogue vers l'Europe

À l'issue du procès de 3 trafiquants de drogue se déroulant depuis octobre dernier devant la 17ème chambre du Tribunal de Francfort, le président de cette Cour, le juge Rolf Schwalbe, en annonçant le verdict, a notamment déclaré: "Le trafic de drogue de Turquie vers l'Allemagne et vers les autres pays européens est organisé par les familles Senoglu et Baybasin et ces familles, selon les dépositions des

témoins, sont protégées par le gouvernement turc et cela rend difficile de faire apparaître toute l'étendue de ce trafic. On affirme que ces deux familles de trafiquants ont des relations extrêmement étroites avec un ministre turc féminin". A la question de savoir qui est cette dame, le juge allemand a répondu: Tansu Çiller. La dépêche de l'agence allemande DPA datée du 21 janvier qui donne cette information indique que selon la

Cour, ce réseau a introduit au moins 100 kg d'héroïne en Allemagne et en Belgique et que l'enquête sur les ramifications du réseau se poursuivait. Les trois membres de ce réseau arrêtés à Francfort, un Turc, un Italien et un Belge, ont été respectivement condamnés à 9 ans, 7 ans et 2 mois et 4 ans et 11 mois de prison.

La mise en cause du gouvernement turc en général et de Mme. Çiller en particulier dans le trafic de drogue a été largement répercutée par les médias allemands et turcs. Une télévision allemande, NTV, a diffusé l'information dans ses bulletins avec l'image choc d'une seringue d'héroïne sur fond de drapeau turc.

Mme. Çiller a écrit à son homologue allemand, M. Kinkel, pour "protéger contre ces accusations sans fondements" et le porte-parole du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères a qualifié "d'inconvenantes et contraires aux usages diplomatiques les déclarations du juge allemand". Celui-ci a refusé de recevoir le consul général turc à Francfort mais il a confirmé au quotidien Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung les informations diffusées par DPA. De son côté, le juge M. Dox Neveling, porte parole du juge Schwalbe, a indiqué à l'AFP que l'enquête avait établi des liens entre les trafiquants de drogue et le gouvernement turc et que des éléments révélés par l'instruction ont tout à fait convaincu la Cour à ce sujet. A la question de savoir si les graves accusations lancées par la Cour n'allaient pas engendrer des réactions politiques, le juge répond "Cela se peut. Mais nous n'avons peur de rien. La justice allemande est indépendante". En Turquie, la nouvelle de la mise en cause de Mme. Çiller ne semble pas surprendre outre mesure les journaux. Dans son éditorial du 23 janvier, E. Özkök, directeur de Hurriyet, rappelle que déjà l'année dernière deux tribunaux allemands, ceux de Hannover et de Trier, avaient accusé le gouvernement turc de "soutenir les trafiquants de drogue. Cette fois-ci, la nouveauté est que le juge met en cause nommément Tansu Çiller (...) Quand on voit le lendemain sur la chaîne de télévision privée Kanal D l'étrange photo d'un extrémiste de droite, recherché pour meurtre par l'État et pour trafic de drogue par la communauté internationale, en compagnie de policiers officiels de l'État (...), quand on voit un certain Yasar

Öz, porteur d'un passeport vert (de service) fourni par l'État, négocié aux États-Unis la vente d'héroïne avec des limiers du Bureau des narcotiques, quelles explications pourrions-nous donner? (...) Désormais, le nom de notre pays figure d'une part aux côtés des États terroristes comme l'Iran, la Syrie et la Lybie, et d'autre part aux côtés des narcotiques États comme l'Équateur, le Pérou et le Guatemala. Le pire est qu'il n'y a pas un autre État impliqué à la fois dans le trafic de stupéfiants et dans la terreur". Son collègue Oktay Eksi, écrit dans le même quotidien, que "cette infamie salit le nom de tout le pays" et que "tous les porteurs de passeports turcs sont considérés par les douaniers comme des trafiquants de drogue potentiels". Il rappelle que l'Allemagne n'est pas le seul pays à pointer du doigt le gouvernement turc. "Notre journal avait, dans son numéro du 27 décembre 1996 écrit que les Pays-Bas n'avaient aucune intention d'extrader vers la Turquie Husseyin Baybasin (NDLR. L'un des gros bonnets de la mafia) (...) Selon une conviction qui n'est pas exprimée officiellement, la Turquie est un pays où le trafic de drogue est mené par l'État lui-même. C'est pourquoi ils ne vont pas faire confiance à la Turquie pour lui renvoyer Baybasin. La politique pratiquée suit quasiment le principe suivant: au lieu de laisser le PKK tirer profit du trafic de drogue, profitons-en nous-mêmes. D'autant que nous disposons de tous les moyens de l'État. Il suffirait de s'assurer que la drogue transportée d'une frontière à l'autre ne soit pas saisie. Qui pourrait nous tenir tête?". De même, les autorités néerlandaises ont fait fermer plusieurs

banques turques accusées de blanchir l'argent de la drogue.

Le Milliyet du 24 janvier annonce en gros titre "le piège des trafiquants qui se referme sur la Turquie". Il fait état de l'information du Daily Telegraph du 23 janvier indiquant que "80% de l'héroïne vendue en Grande-Bretagne provient de Turquie" et d'un rapport du Département d'État rappelant que "la plus grosse partie du trafic d'héroïne en Europe est contrôlée par les trafiquants turcs" qui exporteraient 70 % des drogues consommées en Europe. L'influent éditorialiste Cengiz Çandan affirme dans le Sabah du 25 janvier que "L'Occident assiège la Turquie sur la drogue". Selon lui si le 23 janvier la Commission des Affaires étrangères de la Chambre des représentants des États-Unis a tenu sur ce sujet une audition à huis clos avec des chefs de la CIA, du DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) et des responsables du Département d'État c'est que la situation est très grave. A qui la faute ? ajoute-t-il. "Nous n'avons pas pris au sérieux les avertissements précédents des tribunaux allemands de Trier et de Hannover sur les liens des trafiquants de drogue avec le gouvernement turc. En outre, récemment, une fuite (de source gouvernementale allemande) a conduit plusieurs publications, dont l'hebdomadaire allemand Focus, à écrire qu'un dénommé Hüseyin Duman, recherché pour trafic de matériaux nucléaires, a rencontré à Baden Baden Özer Çiller (époux de Mme. Çiller). Le message politique de Bonn était clair: l'Allemagne a mis une croix sur le nom de Çiller. Voilà pourquoi le chancelier Kohl refuse avec insistance tout rendez-vous avec Çiller".

GAMK / Mercredi, 29 janvier 1997

Des mafieux turcs impliqués dans la guerre du Karabagh

Les révélations faites par l'ancien président azerbaïdjanais Aboulfaz Eltchibey dans un entretien accordé au journal turc "Yeni Yuzel" sur la personnalité trouble du chef de

gang turc Abdullah Catli confirment la collusion de ce dernier avec les services turcs. D'après l'ex-président azerbaïdjanais, le mafieux turc retrouvé mort dans un accident de

voiture l'an dernier en compagnie d'un chef de la police turque et d'une reine de beauté, lui aurait offert son aide pour combattre les forces arméniennes dans le conflit du Haut Karabagh. "Catli voulait combattre les Arméniens sur le front azéri aux côtés des soldats azerbaïdjanais. Il m'avait été présenté par des officiers turcs comme quelqu'un de confiance,

désireux de combattre à nos côtés contre les Arméniens", indique M. Eltchibey, confirmant ainsi les informations selon lesquelles le chef de gang mêlait volontiers banditisme et nationalisme et était utilisé par les services turcs. Il avait été fait état en effet dans un premier temps de la participation à la "lutte anti-terroriste" contre les Arméniens et les Kurdes de Catli, qui était par ailleurs recherché pour avoir participé à l'attentat contre le pape Jean Paul II. Qu'il ait offert ses services à l'Azerbaïdjan en

qualité de mercenaire s'inscrit donc dans le prolongement logique de ses activités.

M. Eltchibey précise pourtant qu'il lui avait déconseillé de se rendre sur le front, le jugeant plus utile à l'arrière; l'ancien président azerbaïdjanais, qui avait tenté de mener une politique résolument pro-turque avant d'être chassé du pouvoir par M. Aliev, indique qu'il redoutait que les Arméniens se servent de Turcs capturés ou tués sur le front pour dénoncer la participation d'Ankara au conflit, "ce qui n'était pas bon pour

l'image de la Turquie et était d'ailleurs interdit par le droit international". Mais M. Eltchibey admet que Catli aurait pu ignorer ses recommandations et se rendre sur le front, comme l'avaient d'ailleurs fait les officiers qui l'avaient mis en contact avec l'aventurier turc. M. Eltchibey précise par ailleurs qu'un certain nombre d'officiers turcs de haut rang avaient entraîné des soldats azerbaïdjanais, comme le général Yashar ou le général Osman, dont il a indiqué ne pas se souvenir des noms de famille.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1997

U.S. Sees Struggle For Power In Baghdad

Saddam's Wife Under House Arrest, Senior Officer Says

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Bolstering reports of ferment in Iraq, the White House claimed Wednesday that "complicated internal struggles for power" were swirling around the regime of Saddam Hussein.

The comment from Michael McCurry, the White House spokesman, followed a briefing by a Pentagon officer, General J. H. Binford Peay, commander of the U.S. Army Central Command, who reported that Mr. Saddam's wife was under house arrest in Iraq and that Mr. Saddam's son Udai, often considered the Iraqi president's heir apparent, might lose a leg from gangrene and could be paralyzed as a result of an attempt on his life last month.

Asked about the Pentagon report, Mr. McCurry said, "There have been some

things that have happened there recently — the attack upon Hussein's son — there are obviously things that have been reported publicly that would indicate that there are some internal machinations."

Separately, Nicholas Burns, the State Department spokesman, said there was no evidence of any threatening military maneuvers by Mr. Saddam, but added, "We're watching him."

Reporters questioned Mr. Burns, at a regular State Department briefing, on why the government might want to raise the specter of Iraqi instability at this point, by "stirring the waters on Saddam," as one put it.

"I am not aware of any stirring of waters anywhere in Washington," Mr. Burns replied.

But Lawrence Korb, a former assistant defense secretary in the Reagan administration who is a senior fellow with the Brookings Institution, said there were several reasons for the administration to draw attention to Iraq.

First, he said, the new security team headed by Defense Secretary William Cohen might want to demonstrate clearly to Mr. Saddam that if he does test U.S. power, the United States will respond.

The administration might also want to avoid the sort of split with its allies in the U.S.-led coalition that emerged last year after Saddam sent troops into northern Iraq.

"They want to lay the diplomatic groundwork" for a response now, Mr. Korb said.

Finally, Mr. Korb suggested, attention to Iraq "could take the minds of the people at home off all that's going on," including assertions of irregularities in campaign fund-raising.

Mr. Burns said that while there was no evidence of any Iraqi military moves that

might pose a threat to Iraq's neighbors, "We have learned with Saddam Hussein that, when he does peek his head above the foxhole that he has dug for himself in the desert, it's always good to remind him from time to time about the reality of our relationship with him" and "to remind him of the reality of who's got the power in that part of the world."

General Peay said there were no indications that Iraq might again seek to invade Kuwait, as it did in August 1990. But he cited a high-ranking person in Baghdad as saying that Mr. Saddam was persuaded that he could recapture Kuwait in a surprise attack, and frequently pondered doing so.

The general quoted reports that Mr. Saddam, who has been the target of assassination attempts over the years, was moving about more often than usual, apparently fearful for his security.

General Peay said: "I think it's very interesting that Saddam has just put his wife under house arrest. That is a report by a good source — that his wife is under house arrest."

He gave no details on where, how or why Mr. Saddam's wife might have been restricted. But he suggested that the grenade attack last month on Udai Hussein, who is believed to have been the target of at least two earlier assassination attempts, might have heightened the president's concerns.

The general also said that Iraqi forces had been increasingly active within the areas permitted by the post-Gulf War guidelines enforced by the U.S.-led coalition.

Asked about that, Mr. McCurry said, "I am not aware of anything that would suggest any offensive designs" by Iraq.

In the Dec. 12 attempt on the president's son, assailants fired heavy machine guns and threw grenades at a car

carrying him through Baghdad.

Iraq has asserted that members of the Dawa Party, a Shiite Muslim group, carried out the attack and then took refuge in Iran. Tehran has denied any involvement.

Reports from opposition members have suggested that the attack stemmed from a business or a family dispute.

"Udai has been hit very, very hard and has one or two bullets left in his spine and is semi-paralyzed," General Peay said. "He may lose his leg from gangrene."

Iraqi security forces have arrested hundreds of people since the attack, including at least 20 senior military officers and officials, according to op-

position members.

Anthony Cordesman, a specialist in Iraqi military affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, cautioned that "one has to be very, very careful" in analyzing reports from Iraq.

But he added: "What is clear is that Saddam is having problems within his family and clan."

Mr. Saddam's sons, and particularly Udai, "are extremely unpopular, or at least seen as a threat, by the immediate coterie he has relied on," Mr. Cordesman said.

He noted, however, that Mr. Saddam has destroyed opposition in the past, and said that to suggest that he was now in an

insecure position was "a leap for which there's little immediate justification and few historical parallels."

The United States and its Gulf War allies have maintained a strong military force in the region since the Gulf War ended in a rout for Mr. Saddam's forces. More than 200 U.S. and allied warplanes are based in the area, backed by strong naval forces.

While no U.S. troops are permanently based in Kuwait, hundreds move through the sheikhdom or are based there in temporary roles as advisers. Next month, a battalion of 1,200 army troops is scheduled to conduct exercises in Kuwait.

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АМНИСТИЯ

منظمة العفو الدولية



國際
特赦
組織

URGENT ACTION

EXTERNAL

AI Index: MDE 13/06/97

29 January 1997

Further information on EXTRA 115/96 (MDE 13/26/96, 25 July 1996) and follow-ups (MDE 13/27/96, 1 August; MDE 13/39/96, 25 November; MDE 13/41/96, 30 December; MDE 13/01/97, 6 January 1997) - Death Penalty / Flogging / Torture / Unfair Trial

IRAN Sheyda Khoramzadeh Esfahani (f)

Unconfirmed reports have suggested that Sheyda Khoramzadeh Esfahani may be executed on 31 January 1997. According to Iranian newspaper reports, she was sentenced to death after conviction on charges including "organising 'corrupt gatherings' with prostitutes, alcohol, drugs, music and dance 'to establish immoral contacts with people in various political bodies'".

Amnesty International believes that her arrest is connected with the case of her husband, who was reportedly executed on 30 December 1996 or 1 January 1997. The organization opposes the death penalty in all cases on the grounds that it constitutes the ultimate cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment, and that it violates the right to life.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/express/ airmail letters in French, English or in your own language:

- urging that Sheyda Khoramzadeh not be executed;
- asking for details of the charges or sentence passed against Sheyda Khoramzadeh Esfahani;
- seeking information about the details of the trial of Sheyda Khoramzadeh, including whether she has had access to a lawyer of her choice.

Amnesty International, International Secretariat, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom

Tel: (44)(171) 413 5500 Fax: 956 1157 Telegrams: Amnesty London WC1 Telex: 28502 E-mail: uateam@amnesty.org

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1997

Security corridor for Atrush refugees to be established

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A "corridor" is to be opened to assist refugees returning from Atrush Camp in northern Iraq and escort them to a new camp in Silopi with the cooperation of the Turkish government and the local authority, the TDN learned Wednesday. Officials from the Geneva office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) will also play a part in the process, and UNHCR officials have visited Silopi, where 500 tents have been prepared for the refugees by the Turkish Red Crescent.

Spring operation

Regional sources told the TDN that the military build-up along the Turkish-Iraqi border suggested preparations for a cross-border operation. Turkish diplo-

mats and Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) members, including Faik Nerweyi of the KDP's Ankara office, attended a recent meeting in Silopi, at which ways to persuade the refugees to return to Turkey were reportedly discussed. Kurdish sources close to Turkish circles commented: "Every year at the beginning of the spring, Turkish armed forces attack the PKK bases. So the time for operations has already come." When asked about a possible operation against the region, a senior diplomat in the Turkish Foreign Ministry told the TDN, "Those who support terrorism must be ready to face the results as well." It was also learned that the operation was planned to include air raids as well as ground operations against PKK bases. In that framework a significant number of troops were located both in Silopi and along the border.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1997

US slams PKK and government over human rights abuses

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The U.S. State Department's 41-page 1996 human rights report said the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has committed widespread abuses and regularly employed terrorism against the government and civilians, mostly Kurds.

The report was too kind on the authorities in Ankara either: "The government was unable to sustain improvements made in 1995 and, as a result, its record was uneven in 1996 and deteriorated in some respects," the State Department said on Thursday.

The report noted that the government has long denied its Kurdish population's basic, cultural and linguistic rights. "The government forcibly displaced large numbers of noncombatant tortured civilians and abridged freedom of expression," said the report.

Human rights abuses not limited to the Southeast

The United States charged that "extrajudicial

killings, including deaths in detention, from the excessive use of force, in safe house raids, and mystery killings continued to occur with disturbing frequency."

The report noted that disappearances also continued and torture remained widespread but noted that prosecutions of police or security officials for killings and torture had increased somewhat.

"The incident (Susurluk accident) resurrected serious concerns about corruption and abuse of power in the security forces," said the State Department in the annual report on the Susurluk accident.

"The PKK continued to commit political and extrajudicial killings primarily in rural Southeast Anatolia," the report said. The report also noted that seven school teachers were killed in 1996 and 153 in the past 12 years.

The State Department said although Turkish officials denied that torture is systematic, government officials explained its occurrence by stating that it was closely tied to the state's fight against terrorism. "Many cases of torture, however, occur in western Turkey — outside the zone of conflict." The report also accused judicial

authorities of investigating very few of the formal complaints involving torture and prosecuting only a fraction of those involved.

Turkey's prison conditions remained poor, according to the State Department, with overcrowding and poor quality food.

On women, the report quoted the Turkish Medical Doctors Union as saying: "Women are no longer routinely subjected to virginity tests when they file complaints alleging sexual crimes." The report said spousal abuse was serious and widespread. "However, it is considered an extremely private matter... Few women go to the police."

The report indicated that all religious minority groups feared the rising Islamic extremism.

The rights of Kurds was another issue covered in the annual report. "There are no legal barriers to ethnic Kurds' participation, but Kurds who publicly or politically assert Kurdish ethnic identity risk harassment or prosecution." The report said although Kurdish tapes and magazines were being sold, they could only be used for nonpolitical communication.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1997

Ankara urged to remain in Europe; but warned on its record on human rights

Europe's five powers express understanding for Turkey's frustrations but add that 'outstanding issues' do not make it easy for Ankara's quick membership

By Nazlan Ertan
Turkish Daily News

PARIS- Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller's complaints on the status and future of the European Union and its defense arm-designate were heard sympathetically by her European counterparts, but instead of making commitments, they reminded Çiller of their public opinion's growing impatience with Turkey's slowness in implementing human rights reforms.

While the Big Five of the EU, — Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain — agreed that Turkey had a right to feel frustrated in terms of its level of ties with the European Union, they added that "outstanding issues" ranging from relations between Turkey and Greece to economic indicators did not make immediate membership possible.

But the ministers emphasized it was important to have Turkey "anchored to Europe" rather than turn elsewhere when both sides had made a great deal of progress in ties.

French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette said that the-

for EU membership but there were still certain issues to be regulated. This point was agreed

by the British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, who said Turkey had a right to be treated at least in the same manner as other candidates. The rhetoric, however, was not translated into an invitation to the Euroconference, a meeting of the Fifteen with prospective members after the Intergovernmental Conference. According to European sources who attended the meeting, Çiller spent the first half of the pentagonal meeting complaining that Turkey's status in both the EU and the Western European Union was far below expectations. She told the foreign ministers that the Turkish economy was prosperous and Turkey's experience with democracy and human rights was more comprehensive than, for example, that of Poland.

She drew attention to Turkey's role in NATO and emphasized the necessity of Turkey playing a role in the Western European Union, where it is an associate member.

De Charette, whose country holds the term presidency of the WEU, discussed the issue of security in the meeting, but focused more on Turkey's active role in NATO than its future in the WEU. "Minister de Charette outlined the importance of Turkey's active participation and dialogue with Turkey on issues such as NATO enlargement and special relations with Russia," an aide of the French minister told the TDN. "We are also looking forward to dialogue on disarmament and NATO's arms modernization." According to the same source, the European ministers

expressed understanding of Turkish frustrations but added that Turkey should also "facilitate the European countries to help Turkey in its European vocation" by making progress on human rights, on the Kurdish question, on dialogue with Greece and dissolving tensions with Greek Cyprus and on technical matters related to the economic side of the customs union, which was launched a year ago.

Çiller's explanations on the prospects for improved human rights, democratization and further measures on freedom of expression were listened to by the ministers, who expressed understanding on the peculiarities of the "Kurdish problem," but in turn reminded her that public opinion in their countries was growing increasingly impatient with the slowness of implementing fuller democracy and human rights in Turkey.

A reaction to the importance given to human rights came from Washington, as White House Spokesman Nicholas Burns said, "The United States would not favour creating any artificial or any new conditions that might prevent Turkey from playing a full role in Europe. We are in favour of full inclusion by Turkey in western institutions."

As for two points of importance to Turkey, an invitation to the Euro-conference, which aims to invite all aspiring candidates to the EU after the Intergovernmental Conference, and a date for the EU-Turkey Association Council, neither showed a breakthrough. The five simply said they hoped the Association Council would be convened during the Dutch presidency, and as for the Euro-conference, this would be done within the EU and with the agreement of all EU members. The Five repeated that their informal talks with Turkey did not give them authority to undertake any commitment for the Fifteen.

According to the diplomats, the talks passed in a positive atmosphere. A French diplomat told the TDN the aim was "to exchange ideas and learn each other's expectations." "These informal talks are not a decision making mechanism, nor were the five countries bargaining with Turkey on behalf of the Union," he said.

US puts its full weight behind Turkey's EU bid

Washington asks Europeans to take better look at Turkey and not place new conditions on its path to eventual integration with Europe

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The United States has weighed in on behalf of Turkey's bid for integration with European Union, saying it opposes efforts to put new conditions in front of Ankara that might obstruct

the path to this integration.

"It is our position that one needs to look at the full scope of our relationship with Turkey," U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns told reporters on Wednesday. "On balance, there is a strong case to be made by the United States that Turkey should be more fully integrated into Europe despite the fact

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1997

that there are problems on human rights," he said.

Burns said the State Department's annual human rights report which was released on Thursday does point to those human rights violations in Turkey.

But "the EU question is a separate question," he qualified. "The United States would not favor creating any artificial or any new conditions that might prevent Turkey from playing a full role in Europe," Burns said. "We are in favour of full inclusion by Turkey in Western institutions."

On Tuesday Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, during her meeting with senior representatives of the European Union asked them not to use only the criterion of human rights in regards for Turkey's quest to become a full member of the European union, according to Washington sources.

Albright met with Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo, whose country holds the rotating European Union presidency, and European Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan.

"There was a very brief discussion, not specific, about the question of Turkey and the EU, but (Albright) did refer to the fact that we're very pleased that the customs union is working. I think Sir Leon Brittan reported to her that the customs unions has actually worked quite well between Turkey and the EU," Burns said.

"It's an EU decision, not an American decision, as to which countries should become new members of the EU as the EU enlarges, and Secretary Albright did not attempt to give any advice to the European leaders on that" Burns said. "But (Albright) gave them a strong sense of the American view toward Turkey. And that is that Turkey is a European country; that Turkey's future is not only in southeast Europe, it's not only in south Asia or toward Asia, it is also in Europe; that we need all of us to make sure that Turkey is embedded in the major Western institutions — not only in NATO but in

stronger affiliation with the European Union," Burns emphasized. "That's our very strong sense of the importance of Turkey throughout the West, and there was a very strong sense of that in the conversation," Burns said.

Emphasizing the importance of secularism in Turkish-U.S. relations, Burns continued: "The secular democracy that Turkey has been since the early 1920s is really the foundation upon which our relationship with Turkey has been built, and it's that secular democratic tradition which we believe is very important to preserve in uniting Turkey with the West."

Burns was then asked about Foreign Minister Tansu Ciller's reported remarks that Turkey would vote against NATO expansion if it is not allowed to join the European Union.

"I have not seen a text of Foreign Minister Ciller's remarks, but I cannot believe that she's been quoted correctly, because Turkey is a member of NATO and has supported, in January 1994 at the Brussels heads-of-state decision, to enlarge NATO," Burns answered cautiously.

"There can't be any miscommunication (sic) or misunderstanding on that fundamental part. Turkey is supporting NATO enlargement, as far as we know," he said.

When asked if he would support (Greek) Cyprus' membership of the European Union, just like he supports Turkey's bid, Burns adopted a noncommittal posture.

"We wish to see a resolution of the Cyprus problem, but the decision as to whether or not the European Union takes in new members is an European Union decision," he said. "It's not for the United States to give public advice to the European Union, but we certainly will urge that ... there be a European commitment to Cyprus, as there surely, clearly is already... But I'm not talking about membership here," he concluded.

GAMK - vendredi, 31 janvier 1997

LE GOUVERNEMENT TURC POURSUIVI POUR VIOL, TORTURES ET INCENDIES DEVANT COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

Deux plaintes contre le gouvernement turc ont été examinées à la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, basée à Strasbourg, pour viol, tortures et incendies déposées par des femmes kurdes. La première plainte concerne Mme. Sukran Aydin, originaire de la ville de Derik dans la province de Mardin, aujourd'hui âgée de 20 ans, qui se plaint d'"avoir été battue, déshabillée, arrosée d'eau sous pression à la gendarmerie de Derik et violée par un gendarme, en juin 1993". La Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, avant de transmettre la plainte à la Cour, avait conclu qu'il y avait eu "violation des articles 3 (interdiction de la torture) et 6.1 (droit à la liberté) de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme" par les autorités turques. L'autre plainte déposée par quatre femmes kurdes concerne leur village de Saggoze, dans la province de Diyarbakir, "incendié et dévasté en 1993 par des gendarmes par mesure de représailles, à la suite d'une attaque contre la gendarmerie locale par les maquisards kurdes". Les arrêts de la Cour concernant ces deux affaires sont attendus d'ici trois à quatre mois.

GAMK - vendredi, 31 janvier 1997

UTILISATION DES "REPENTIS"

DANS LES ASSASSINATS POLITIQUES

Les organisations turques de défense des droits de l'homme dénoncent depuis plusieurs années l'utilisation par la police et la gendarmerie des "repentis" du PKK dans nombre d'exécutions extrajudiciaires commises dans les provinces kurdes. Les autorités concernées rejettent toujours de telles accusations. Les aveux à la presse de Kahraman Bilgiç, repentis du PKK devenu membre du gang de Yukeskova, formé de policiers et de militaires opérant à la jonction des frontières de la Turquie avec l'Iran et l'Irak, viennent de relancer cette question. Ce gang accusé d'un vaste trafic d'héroïne est également impliqué dans le meurtre de plusieurs dizaines de civils. Les victimes avaient été présentées dans les laconiques communiqués militaires les unes comme de "terroristes", les autres comme de "paysans abattus sauvagement par le PKK". Or le repentis K. Bilgiç, supposé purger dans une prison sa peine, réduite en raison des dispositions de la loi sur les repentis, servait en fait dans ce gang récemment révélé qui a fait en octobre dernier l'objet d'une enquête parlementaire. Il reconnaît avoir pris part à de nombreux "meurtres mystérieux", dont 15 ont à ce jour ont pu être éclaircis, commis par son gang. Poussé par une presse, prise enfin d'un accès de curiosité sur les années sombres et sanglantes que le pays vient de vivre, le ministre islamiste de la Justice avait, en novembre dernier, demandé à la Cour de Sûreté

de l'État de Diyarbakir, qui a compétence pour l'ensemble de la région kurde d'état d'urgence, de lui faire savoir combien de repentis sont actuellement dans les prisons de la région et où sont les autres. Cette cour a écrit à tous les directeurs de prison et les procureurs de la région de son ressort. Selon Milliyet du 22 janvier, les réponses tardent à venir. Ce journal publie cependant la photographie de la lettre du directeur de la prison de Batman indiquant que le repentis Felemez Tokan, incarcéré à Batman, a été remis le 18. 6. 1996 au commandement départemental de la gendarmerie, à la demande de celui-ci. Batman est, avec Silvan et Diyarbakir, l'une des villes formant le "triangle infernal" des meurtres mystérieux. Milliyet indique également qu'un autre repentis, Mesut Mehmetoglu, est sorti en toute illégalité de sa prison. On ne sait toujours pas combien des 71 repentis recensés et supposés être en prison le sont effectivement; des témoins affirment avoir croisé certains des plus notoires dans les palaces d'Ankara, d'Istanbul et de la côte égéenne. Après la révélation des tribulations d'Abdullah Çatli, recherché par la justice turque pour 7 meurtres et par plusieurs pays européens pour trafic de drogue, recruté et employé par la police pour ses basses opérations avec rang et passeport de "haut fonctionnaire de police", l'opinion turque ne s'étonne plus guère de ces révélations sur les exactions des gangs.

GAMK - vendredi, 31 janvier 1997

La situation des Kurdes s'améliore en Arménie

"De nombreux Kurdes ont fui l'Arménie en raison des conditions socio-économiques difficiles, mais leur exode s'est aujourd'hui arrêté, et on observe même un mouvement de retour depuis les pays de la CEI où ils s'étaient réfugiés", a indiqué dernièrement Amarike Sardar, président de l'Union des intellectuels kurdes d'Arménie. Le responsable kurde a également fait remarquer que le seul journal en langue kurde, "Rya Taza", continuait de paraître malgré ces conditions difficiles. Le gouvernement arménien a accordé 2 millions de drams de subvention au journal pour l'exercice 1997, une somme qui suffira cependant à peine pour couvrir la location de ses locaux.

LE MONDE / SAMEDI 1^{er} FÉVRIER 1997

Le cauchemar des lycéens de Manisa dans les prisons turques

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondant
Polis, proprement vêtus et souriants, ils donnent l'impression d'être des adolescents très normaux. Pourtant ces lycéens de Manisa, accusés d'être membres d'un groupe de guérilla urbaine d'extrême gauche, le DHKP-C, vivent depuis plus d'un an un cauchemar judiciaire kafkaïen : ils ont été arrêtés, apparement torturés, puis condamnés, le 16 janvier 1997, par la Cour de sûreté, à de lourdes peines de prison.

Les sourires se fanent et l'air de normalité s'évapore lorsqu'ils décrivent leurs tourments, qui n'ont rien d'ordinaire. Fulya Apaydin n'avait que dix-sept ans lorsque la police est venue la chercher, à la maison, le 26 décembre 1995, pour ce qui devait être un bref interrogatoire. En fait, les yeux bandés la plupart du temps, elle a été forcée d'entendre pendant onze jours les hurlements de ses camarades - parmi eux sa jeune sœur, Mu-nire, arrêtée au lycée le même jour qu'elle - soumis à des mauvais traitements dans la pièce située à côté de sa cellule. Son visage s'assombrit, laissant transparaitre son angoisse et ses mains couvrent ses oreilles, lorsqu'elle évoque ces sons qui « n'étaient pas humains ». Elle baisse les yeux et la voix pour dire qu'il lui a fallu des mois pour pouvoir parler à ses proches et à son avocate du harcèlement et du harcèlement sexuel qu'elle dit avoir subi.

Contrairement à Fulya qui avait été relâchée après la période initiale d'interrogatoire et qui a été acquittée, Ozgür Zeybek, un jeune garçon à l'air calme, âgé aujourd'hui de dix-sept ans, a, quant

à lui, déjà passé quatre mois et demi en prison après avoir subi des chocs électriques. Si la cour de cassation rejette son appel, il devra retourner au pénitencier pour effectuer sa peine de deux ans et demi.

D'autres, parmi les seize jeunes gens arrêtés durant les fêtes de fin d'année en 1995 - dont cinq sont

avec l'idéalisme qui caractérise leur âge, sont des jeunes gens « progressistes, démocrates, ouverts ». Plusieurs d'entre eux sont membres de l'aile de jeunesse du Parti social-démocrate, d'autres, musiciens, chantent des chansons engagées.

Arrive à Manisa un nouveau chef de la sûreté, venu tout droit

firmé le député social-démocrate Sabri Ergül.

C'est ainsi que ces jeunes, dont le cadet n'a que quatorze ans, se voient imputer les quelques incidents - mineurs - rapportés à Manisa au cours des mois précédents. L'incendie du salon d'un barbier est provoquée, d'après le dossier, par un cocktail Molotov. Le fait que l'enquête des pompiers et le témoignage du propriétaire aient conclu à un accident par négligence, dû à une bonbonne de gaz, n'est apparemment pas pris en considération. Et puis, il y a les slogans : « A bas le fascisme. Non à l'éducation payante. Vive la fraternité du peuple ». Ceux écrits sur un train, que le chef de gare dit n'avoir jamais vus, ou ceux grillés sur le mur d'une usine.

RAPPORTS MÉDICAUX TIMIDES

Les allégations de mauvais traitements ont été étayées par les témoignages de Sabri Ergül et de Pelin Erda, qui s'étaient rendus dans les locaux de la sûreté pour voir le frère de cette dernière après son arrestation. Après une longue attente au siège de la branche antiterroriste, Pelin avait été bouleversée par la vision de son frère, titubant entre deux policiers au bout d'un long corridor. « Nos regards se sont rencontrés. J'ai tout compris », explique-t-elle. Le parolier Sabri Ergül devait être confronté à un tableau encore plus choquant lorsque, entendant des cris, immédiatement couverts par une musique martiale, il avait ouvert une porte. « J'ai vu deux filles et deux garçons, entièrement dévêtus... Les filles étaient jeunes, avec des longs cheveux. l'une

d'entre elles était par terre, l'autre était debout... Autour de la fille par terre, il y avait trois ou quatre personnes en civil, autour de l'autre, deux ou trois... », a-t-il témoigné devant le procureur. Dans le corridor, un autre garçon, nu, était allongé alors que d'autres jeunes gens, les yeux bandés, attendaient sur des bancs.

Les rapports médicaux des prévenus, établis dans des conditions peu satisfaisantes, mentionnent tout au plus une ecchymose par-ci, par-là, mais les témoignages de Sabri Ergül et de Pelin Erda, qui se souviennent des doigts violacés de son frère, et de certains parents qui, lorsqu'ils ont enfin vus leurs enfants après de longs jours d'angoisse, les ont trouvés avec le corps glacé et les cheveux encore mouillés après une session sous la douche froide, ne laissent guère planer de doutes sur les mauvais traitements subis par les adolescents.

Dans son rapport paru le 16 janvier, la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme (FIDH) signale qu'en 1995, 28 adolescents de 11 à 14 ans, et 244 autres jeunes de 14 à 17 ans ont été déferés devant la Cour de sûreté.

Un procès - qui continue - a finalement été intenté contre les dix policiers de Manisa, qui n'ont cependant pas été suspendus dans l'attente du jugement. Comment ne pas s'étonner de l'empressement de la Cour de sûreté - un tribunal d'exception, semi-militaire - à condamner ces jeunes gens sans attendre les résultats de la procédure contre les policiers ?

Nicole Pope

Les Etats-Unis dénoncent les exécutions sommaires et des disparitions mystérieuses

Dans son rapport annuel sur les droits de l'homme dans le monde, le département d'Etat américain a dénoncé, jeudi 30 janvier, la torture et les exécutions sommaires « fréquentes » d'opposants politiques en Turquie. Il évoque « le décès de personnes en détention » et « les disparitions mystérieuses qui ont également continué » en 1996. La torture « demeure largement usitée. La police et les forces de sécurité maltraitent souvent les prisonniers et ont recours à la torture pendant les interrogatoires et les périodes d'isolement carcéral », écrit le département d'Etat. « La liberté d'expression est également limitée et demeure un autre problème sérieux », selon le rapport, qui affirme que 135 journalistes ont été arrêtés, dont 11 emprisonnés, l'année dernière. Sept ont été attaqués et un kidnappé. En outre, des officiels « continuent à harceler, à intimider, à inculper et à emprisonner les responsables et défenseurs des droits de l'homme ainsi que les avocats ».

toujours détenus - ont copé de peines plus lourdes en Turquie. Cinq d'entre eux ont été condamnés à douze ans et demi d'emprisonnement. Au total, les dix condamnés ont récolté soixante-seize ans de prison, les seules preuves contre eux étant des confessions qu'ils affirment avoir signé sous la torture et la pression psychologique.

Dans la petite ville de province qu'est Manisa, explique Pelin Erda, leur avocate, les tendances politiques de chacun sont connues. Fulya, Ozgür et leurs camarades,

LE PEUPLE BRETON - février / c'hwevrer 1997

Turquie : Création d'un nouveau parti pro-kurde

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 Seraffetin Elçi, ancien parlementaire d'origine kurde et ministre des Travaux publics dans les années 70. M. Elçi a déclaré, vendredi 3 janvier, au ministre 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 inté-

rêt la suite qui sera réservée à l'initiative de M. Elçi. Rappelons que six anciens parlementaires d'origine kurde, arrêtés en plein Parlement en 1994, purgent actuellement des peines de prison pour délit d'opinion, dont Leyla Zana. Son mari, Mehdi Zana, ancien maire de Diyarbakir (capitale du Kurdistan), qui a passé plus de 15 ans dans les geôles turques, purge une nouvelle peine de deux ans pour avoir témoigné devant le Parlement européen.

LE PEUPLE BRETON - février / c'hwevrer 1997

**Turquie :
Justice singulière**

La Turquie, partenaire commercial privilégié de l'Union européenne, a le sens de la justice. Le sociologue turc Ismail Besikçi, actuellement incarcéré à Bursa, est condamné à plus de deux siècles (!) de prison pour ses écrits sur les Kurdes. Par ailleurs, 11 policiers impliqués dans l'assassinat, devant plusieurs centaines de témoins en plein Istanbul, d'un journaliste du quotidien *Evrensel*, M. Goktepe, et qui avaient été "suspendus" par le ministre de l'Intérieur, viennent de bénéficier d'un décret du même ministre qui lève leur suspension. Commentaire du préfet d'Istanbul : "Ces policiers ont subi la plus lourde des sanctions disciplinaires, à savoir un gel de 12 mois dans leur tableau d'avancement". Nul doute que les chancelleries européennes sauront apprécier l'humour du Bosphore.

**Turquie :
Ankara achète
30 hélicoptères et
négocie 18 missiles
avec la France**

Les autorités turques sont en pourparlers avancés avec Thomson CSF pour l'acquisition de 18 missiles *Improved Hawk* pour un montant de 160 millions de dollars (880 MF). En outre, les négociations turco-françaises sur la vente d'hélicoptères à usage militaire sont sur le point d'aboutir. Un accord pourrait être signé entre Eurocopter et le gouvernement turc dans les prochains jours. Eurocopter vendrait dans un premier temps 30 hélicoptères Cougar qui seront assemblés en Turquie. Cette première livraison devrait être suivie d'une seconde dont l'ampleur n'est encore indiquée.

Source de ces articles sur la Turquie :
Bulletin hebdomadaire du Comité International pour la libération des députés kurdes emprisonnés en Turquie, 106 rue La Fayette, 75010 Paris. Tél. 01.45.23.11.72. Fax 01.47.70.99.04.

turkish daily news

Saturday, February 1, 1997

Main findings of US rights report on Turkey

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Turkey had serious human rights problems in 1996 and its record deteriorated in some respects, the United States said on Thursday.

Here is a sampling of the main findings of the report:

■ **Susurluk scandal:** "The incident resurrected serious concerns about corruption and the abuse of power in the security forces."

■ **Abuse by security forces:** "Some members of the security forces, particularly police "special teams," Gendarme troops, and TNP personnel, committed serious human rights abuses... Police and security forces often abused detainees and employed torture during periods of incommunicado detention and interrogation... There was an increase in the number of reports of deaths attributable to government authorities due to excessive use of force."

■ **Special teams:** "In addition to the village guards, the Gendarme and police "special teams" are viewed as those most responsible for abuses."

■ **Unsolved famous cases:** "The following cases remain unsolved: the 1992 case of Yücel Özen; the 1994 murder of HEP party official Faik Candan; and the 1993 murder of journalist Uğur Mumcu."

■ **PKK:** "Since 1984 the separatist PKK has waged a violent terrorist insurgency in southeast Turkey, directed against both security forces and civilians, almost all of them Kurds ... PKK continued to commit political and extrajudicial killings, primarily in rural southeast Anatolia... [in 1996 PKK killed] 7 schoolteachers, bringing the total number of teachers killed by the PKK over the last 12 years to 153... the PKK routinely kidnaps young men or threatens their families as part of its recruiting effort..."

■ **Torture:** "Although they deny that torture is systematic, they explain its occurrence by stating that it is closely tied to the State's fight against terrorism ... Many cases of torture, however, occur in western Turkey, outside the zone of conflict [like the alleged torturing of 14 teenagers in Manisa]."

■ **Physicians and torture:** "Law enforcement officials frequently coerce physicians, through the use of violence and intimidation, not to report evidence of torture... Sixty percent of the physicians surveyed [by the Physicians for Human Rights] believed that 'nearly everyone who is detained is tortured.'"

■ **Detention:** "There is no guarantee of immediate access to an attorney under the [Anti Terror] law for persons whose cases fall under the jurisdiction of the State Security Courts ... The Government presented more immediate access to an attorney ... By year's end, this legislation had not been passed into law."

■ **Language:** "In law and in practice, the legal system does not discriminate against minorities. However, as legal proceedings are conducted solely

in Turkish, and the quality of interpreters varies, some defendants whose mother tongue is not Turkish may be seriously disadvantaged."

■ **Displaced:** "A few nongovernmental organizations have put the number of people forcibly displaced [from their villages] as high as 2 million... On the low end, the then Interior Minister stated in July that the total number of evacuees was 330,000... The Foreign Ministry indicated that, as of October, 15,314 people or 2,019 households had returned to their villages in the southeast."

■ **Media:** "Domestic and foreign periodicals providing a broad spectrum of views and opinions are widely available ... While the overall readership of the local press is not large for a country of 60 million, the newspaper business is intensely competitive and the product often sensationalist... the media frequently criticizes government leaders and policies. Turkish media coverage of the situation on the southeast tended to be unreliable, under-reporting it in some instances and sensationalizing it in others. Government Decree 430 requires self-censorship of all news reporting from or about the southeast..."

■ **Journalists:** Individual journalists are subject to harassment and police violence. At various times 135 journalists were detained ... Eleven journalists were formally arrested."

■ **Kurds:** "The Constitution does not recognize the Kurds as a national, racial, or ethnic minority. There are no legal barriers to ethnic Kurds' participation in political and economic affairs, but Kurds who publicly or politically assert their Kurdish ethnic identity risk harassment or prosecution."

■ **Kurdish:** "Kurdish-language cassettes and publications on Kurdish subjects continued to be widely available, although suppression continued... Kurdish-language broadcasts are still illegal... Under the law on political parties ... all discussions that takes place at political meetings must be in Turkish. Kurdish may be used only in 'nonpolitical communication.'"

■ **Religion:** "Although Turkey is a secular state, religious instruction in state schools is compulsory for Muslims .. There are ... no government-salaried Alawi religious leaders, in contrast to Sunni religious leaders, and no Religious Affairs Directorate funds for to the Alawi community..."

■ **Women's rights:** "There are no restrictions in law against women or minorities voting or participating in politics. The Constitution calls for equal political rights for men and women."

■ **Women and abuse:** "Spousal abuse is serious and widespread. However, it is still considered an extremely private matter, involving societal notions of family honor. Few women go to the police ... beating is one of the most frequent forms of violence against women in the home ... Laws and ingrained societal notions make it difficult to prosecute sexual assault or rape cases. Penalties may legally be reduced if a woman was not a virgin prior

to a rape, or if a judge deems the woman to have acted provocatively.”

■ **Unions:** “Although unions are independent of the Government and political parties, they must have government permission to hold meetings or rallies and must allow police to attend conventions and record the proceedings.”

■ **10 percent rule:** “All industrial workers have the right to organize and bargain collectively [but] the law requires that, in order to become a bargaining agent, a union must represent not only 50 percent plus one of the employees at a given work site, but also 10 percent of all the workers in that particular industry. This 10 percent barrier has the

effect of favoring established unions, particularly those affiliated with Turk-Is ... The ILO has called on Turkey to rescind this 10 percent rule. Both Turk-Is and the Turkish employers' organization favor retention of the rule, however.”

■ **Children:** “Children suffered greatly from the cycle of violence in the southeast... [Child labor is a problem recognized by the Government] ... According to a study conducted by the Turk-Is Child Workers Bureau released in September, for every 100 workers, 32 were between the ages of 6 and 19 ... The study said that 56 percent of these workers were uninsured.”

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1997

The secret arms embargo on Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- United States has been applying a hidden arms embargo on Turkey by purposely not giving an export licence due to human rights violations, the State Department deputy John Shattuck confessed on Saturday.

Speaking at a conference for the foreign press after the State Department's human rights report was released, Shattuck said they had prevented arms sale to nations with thick human rights violation files, a

leading Turkish newspaper, Cumhuriyet reported on Sunday.

Shattuck said Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, Iran and Turkey were among the countries which had been prevented from buying “goods to fight crime” over the past two years.

The newspaper report also said that lobbying in Washington by Greek, Cypriot, Kurdish and Armenian groups, in cooperation, worked to prevent the purchase of Sea Hawk helicopters by Turkey.

When asked about the Turkish

minority in Western Thrace, Shattuck said denying that a Turkish minority in the region exists is not U.S. policy and said that Greece has minority problems as well.

“Protecting minorities is an important element for human rights. In this context Turkey and Greece have problems:

A minority's ability to express their language and culture and to have religious freedom is an essential element (of human rights), Shattuck said.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1997

Istanbul darkened for enlightenment

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The One Minute's Darkness for Enlightenment campaign of the Citizen's Initiative for Enlightenment started on Saturday evening all over Turkey and in Istanbul.

The campaign received considerable attention and support from various organizations, the media and public. Major television channels broadcast the campaign in their prime-time news programs on Friday and Saturday, and announced that they were going to have a one-minute siren warning throughout February to remind the public to turn off their lights.

The campaign is to highlight public concern at the recent scandals in the country which have given rise to allegations that a hidden “secret state” is in existence.

One of Turkey's most important businessmen, Sakıp Sabancı, said on TV on Friday evening that he supported the campaign and was going to turn off his mansion's lights every night at 21:00 throughout the campaign. He also stated that the lights would be off in the headquarters of Sabancı Holdings, the Twin Towers, to support the campaign.

The one-minute's lights out kicked off in Istanbul with a meeting organized by

Turkey's best-selling popular political cartoon magazine, Leman. The Citizen's Initiative for Enlightenment, various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), democratic groups, political parties, writers, artists, actors and actresses, businessmen and citizens attended the colorful meeting to celebrate the commencement of the one-month-long campaign.

A remarkable degree of participation in the campaign was observed on Friday in Istanbul, when the lights went off for one minute at 21:00 in many residential and business areas, especially around the central neighborhoods of the city.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1997

Europe and Japan Are Guaranteeing \$5 Billion in Loans, Tehran Reports

Iran's Central Bank Chief Hails Cooperation From 'Partners,' Citing Failure of U.S. Sanctions

By Alan Friedman
International Herald Tribune

DAVOS, Switzerland — Despite U.S. anti-terrorism sanctions, Iran has managed to obtain offers of more than \$5 billion in government-backed loan guarantees from Europe and Japan over the last 18 months, according to the governor of Tehran's central bank.

Mohsen Nourbakhch, Iran's central bank chief, said in an interview here that Tehran already had used \$2.7 billion of credits, much of these since the middle of last year, to help finance some 50 projects.

The new credits, he said, were being used for projects in the energy, power generation, railroad and other infrastructure sectors.

"Despite all the pressures from U.S. sanctions, we have succeeded in reopening credit lines," he said. "There was some hesitation at first, but no more."

In addition, he said that the export loan guarantee agencies of Germany, Japan, Italy, France, Spain and other countries also had helped Tehran to reschedule a total of about \$22 billion of debts. This has taken pressure off Iran, helping it to sharply reduce its loan repayment obligations in the short term.

"We have faced two major problems," Mr. Nourbakhch said, "and these were the composition of our external debt stock and getting fresh credit lines. We have succeeded in both, and all of this success was in a climate where all factors were against us."

He attributed the success to cooperation from "our European and Japanese partners, who are completely different in their attitude from the United States."

"Finally we are on the right track," Mr. Nourbakhch said. "With all the unemployment here in Europe," he added, "they need to do business with Iran, and we are ready to do business."

Mr. Nourbakhch was especially critical of the U.S. Iran-Libya Act, which was sponsored by Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Republican of New York, and signed into law by President Bill Clinton in August. But he said Tehran was nonetheless working hard to continue its program of economic reforms, to bring down inflation and to attract more foreign investment, especially for projects in the energy sector.

Washington's sanctions, which allow the U.S. to penalize foreign companies that invest more than \$40 million each year

in Iran's oil and gas industry, follow long-standing U.S. accusations of Tehran's support for international terrorism. The D'Amato legislation has been criticized in Europe as representing an attempt at extraterritorial U.S. legislation.

The European and Japanese government-backed loan guarantees that Mr. Nourbakhch said had been obtained in the last six months do not technically violate U.S. sanctions because they are in the form of government-to-government commitments rather than direct foreign investment by companies in oil and gas projects. U.S. officials in Davos declined to comment on the Iranian bank chief's assertions.

Mr. Nourbakhch conceded that U.S. pressure on its allies, especially Germany, to reduce its trade with Iran, had been a problem for his government. But he said the problem had been overcome as many companies from Germany and other European nations were now eager to do business in Iran.

"Our main purpose here is to explain our economic situation, especially in relation to sanctions," Mr. Nourbakhch said, referring to his presence at the annual World Economic Forum in Davos. "We try to assure businessmen that finally we are on the right track and despite all the U.S. pressure we are succeeding in re-opening credit lines from government insurance-backed programs."

Mr. Nourbakhch, a former finance minister who is two years into his second term running the central bank, said U.S. sanctions had caused Iranian inflation to jump to a high of 60 percent in 1995 before declining to a current rate of less than 20 percent.

Outside observers have said that Iran in recent years has gone through an economic crisis because of high inflation, a heavy foreign debt burden, and a large current account deficit. Mr. Nourbakhch said Iran's current account in 1996 had a surplus of nearly \$4 billion, compared to a deficit of more than \$6 billion in 1992.

He said that Iran's budget deficit used to be 4 percent of gross domestic product, but was now just 0.2 percent.

The Iranian central bank chief admitted that a big problem had been volatility in Tehran's exchange rate.

"In 1995 there was tremendous pressure on our currency, and it was deeply depreciated, to around 5,000 rials to the dollar. But we have fixed it at 3,000 rials to the dollar, and that has helped," Mr. Nourbakhch said. He said the fixed exchange rate had helped in the battle against inflation.

Mr. Nourbakhch indicated that he was proudest of what he claimed was Tehran's success in restructuring \$22 billion of external debt, owed mostly for export

credits from government-backed programs. In 1993, he said, 76.1 percent of this debt and arrears was short-term, meaning it would come due in 12 months. But at present, he said, the short-term portion had been reduced to just 20.7 percent of the \$22 billion of debt.

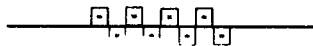
Mr. Nourbakhch said Iran was most

grateful to its trading partners, and especially Germany and Japan, each of which accounted for 20 percent of the money owed by Tehran. Loan guarantees from Italy and France represented 15 percent and 10 percent respectively of the \$22 billion debt burden, he said.

The central bank governor offered

Tehran's traditional denial of all U.S. allegations that it supports Hamas and other terrorist groups operating in the Middle East and elsewhere.

"We are not involved in any terrorism activities," he said, adding, "We think we are victims of terrorism because Washington supports opposition groups."



Turkish Daily News TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1997



Pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) Deputy Chairman Sedat Yurttaş (center) presents files on 131 "mystery murders" to Parliamentary Susurluk Commission Chairman Mehmet Elkatmış (right) on Monday. TDN Ali Fuat Ulay

Susurluk chairman angered by military absentees

HADEP officials present 131 'mystery murder' files to the commission

By Kemal Balci
TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Mehmet Elkatmış of the Welfare Party (RP), chairman of the parliamentary Susurluk Commission looking into state-mafia connections, said they would insist that Gendarmerie Commander Teoman Koman testify before the commission. He said, "It is only natural that we should ask for information from the highest authority. Are we supposed to pose questions — on the allegations about the military — to the man in the street or to an ordinary sergeant, not to Teoman Koman?"

On Monday, a pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) delegation led by Deputy Chairman Sedat Yurttaş presented to Elkatmış files on 131 "mystery murders."

Yurttaş claimed that the more than 3,000 people "killed by unidentified persons" in the Southeast until now had been victims of the "state-related gangs" being investigated by the commission. The files they prepared on 131 of these contain information provided by various sources, documents and testimonies. Witness testimony is complete in 10 of these cases, he noted.

Elkatmış said that rather than dealing with individual murders, the commission was trying to clarify the general mechanism behind them. He said, "If this mechanism is brought to light, the murders by unidentified persons will not happen from now on."

The Koman controversy

After his meeting with the HADEP delegation, Elkatmış gave the press information about the commission's work. He said that the commission had heard 30 people so far, and that it was a civic duty to give information to the commission. Stressing that they

are trying to fulfill the task assigned to them by Parliament, he said that no one should withhold relevant information from Parliament or from the people.

Elkatmış noted that Gendarmerie Commander Teoman Koman, a former National Intelligence Organization (MIT) undersecretary, had failed to comply with the commission's invitation to give testimony before the commission, offering only to reply to questions in writing. He said, "He will be invited again. If a written statement would have sufficed, we would not have invited him officially to come to the commission."

To get "written information" the commission has applied to nearly 300 official departments. Many of these have sent the relevant information. But when the commission asked the Armed Forces about "soldiers implicated in incidents," it received a letter along the lines of, "We do not have such information," Elkatmış recalled.

Elkatmış said that the commission sought information from other "highest-ranking officials" too. He said, "We are not supposed to get the information pertaining to soldiers from the man in the street or from an ordinary sergeant. The state's director general of security comes and gives information to the commission. Why should Teoman Koman not do the same thing? Why should we treat him in a privileged way? If the commission sends him another letter of invitation he must come."

Elkatmış was told, "It is being said that you want to interrogate the soldiers, that you want to take revenge." He replied, "Why should we interrogate? Revenge for what? We are fulfilling the duty assigned by Parliament. If there exist such prejudices there is nothing we can do about them. Such rumors will always exist."

He said that no official invitation had yet been sent to former President Kenan Evren. If such an invitation is sent, the former president too should come, he stressed, adding, "But this is not for me alone to decide. For such an official invitation the votes of the majority of the commission members would be needed."

Insisting that information about members of the Armed Forces who have been determined to have been involved in incidents should come from military officials, Elkatmış said, "If any person fails to show up after being invited we will write about that in our report, stressing that information has been withheld from the commission and that Parliament should find a solution to that prob-

lem.”

Elkatmış said that the commission also attached great importance to the hot money laundering issue. In that context, a bank in Cyprus has been investigated extensively. The commission has one more month until its

mandate expires. If Parliament grants it another month, it would have two months at best. Since the commission intends to hear many more witnesses, two months would not suffice, he stressed.

Europeans support Metin Göktepe's killers' trial

By Zeki Ayık

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The trial of 11 police officers accused of participating in the murder last year of journalist Metin Göktepe will resume February 6 in Afyon.

Apart from many Turkish journalists and lawyers European observers will also observe the trial. Jeremy Cobin, a British Labour MP from London's Islington district will follow the proceedings.

The Contemporary Jurists Association (ÇHD), Human Rights Association (İHD) and Metin Göktepe Commissions recently held a press con-

ference about the Göktepe case.

Kamil Tekinsürek, the chairman of the Human Rights Association's Metin Göktepe Commission, said prosecuting attorneys were not present while the 11 accused gave their statements to the Eyüp First Court.

“The judge did not ask the accused even one question, and their addresses were not recorded either,” Tekinsürek complained. He added that the court session was not even announced to the prosecuting lawyers.

Tekinsürek said they would seek to prosecute the presiding judge.

Tekinsürek also recalled that the Istanbul security chief on the date of Göktepe's murder, January 8, 1995, was Necdet Menzir, who now sits in Parliament.

The supervising security department chief, Kemal Bayrak, was subsequently appointed to another city.

He emphasized that the case was attracting the attention of foreigners because the victim was a journalist, and because of the laws broken.

He said a bus will leave for Afyon on February 5 in front of Tüyap for foreigners and others who want to observe the trial.

Turkish Daily News TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1997

Turkey accused of drug trafficking; Europe reacts

By Jan Pacal

Turkish Daily News / ISTANBUL

The anxiety of the West about Turkey's role in the anti-drugs struggle has started to show itself at the borders. Many European countries, including Germany, have started to require visas even for children, while legitimate Turkish businessmen have been subjected to the ignominy of being searched from head to foot, including the heels of their shoes, at airports. The situation, which disturbs Turkey, has happened in the past. But this time there's a difference the names of a deputy prime minister and her husband have been mentioned directly in the allegations.

Allegations against the Çillers not new

A new charge is added nearly every day to the allegations surrounding the deputy prime minister and her spouse, Özer Uçurur Çiller. For example allegations about their property and income surfaced during her term as prime minister. Since the Susurluk accident of early November last year, her name has also been mentioned as the head of a state-licensed terrorist organization — indeed, it has been claimed that she formed a personal intelligence group. Frankfurt State

Court Judge Rolf Schwalbe in his summation of a trial held before him added to the allegations by accusing the members of the Turkish government and a female minister of “protecting the drugs trade.” While these claims have increased tension between Germany and Turkey, some have raised their voices to suggest that Çiller should not be allowed to continue in her position because of the allegations.

The members of parliament who left the True Path Party (DYP) in protest at the alleged dictatorial practices of Çiller now lead the chorus of demands that she should clear the charges against her.

Democratic Turkey Party (DTP) Chairman Hüsamettin Cindoruk says that no deputy prime minister before Çiller has been at the center of so many serious allegations, which amount to her being the leader of a gang, and expresses his belief that everything will be solved in time.

Former DYP parliamentarian Hamdi Üçpınarlar, who worked with Tansu Çiller for three years, cannot say that the allegations about her are groundless.

Çiller harms Turkey

The former chairman of the Democratic Left Party's (DSP) parliamentary group, Mümtaz Soysal, says that Tansu Çiller's participation in the government dam-

ages Turkey's image and respect.

"Mrs. Çiller has to leave the chairs of power, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in particular," he said. "This is the only way to rescue Turkey from the Colombia' situation which it is in."

Soysal added that bringing Çiller down would not change everything suddenly but would be an important step on the way to change.

None of the commentators in the Turkish press can say that Çiller is innocent and the allegations false. Hürriyet writer Fatih Altaylı says: "The German judge's sole crime is to state an opinion openly which is common to almost all of the European countries but not expressed before."

A Dutch judge told me days ago: "Holland does not want to return Huseyin Baybasin to Turkey, because Turkey is not trusted and is viewed as a drug-smuggling country." He said that although it was not expressed so openly, this is Holland's official opinion."

'Canadian police have data and documentation'

Altaylı points out that the Canadian police have established that one of the phone numbers (417 04 76) found on drug smuggler David Dingwall on his arrest in Canada, belonged to the Prime Ministry Special Registrar's Office, during Tansu Çiller's term as prime minister.

"Canada had required information from the Turkish Security Department about this issue," Altaylı adds, "but the Turkish Security department did not inform the Canadian government that the number belonged to the Special Registrar's Office. Information can still be found in Canadian Police records which shows several phone conversations that Dingwall had in fluent Turkish at this number with someone called Michael. All the records of the incoming and outgoing calls of this number in Turkey were erased six months ago."

Altaylı predicted that the most important topic of Turkey's meeting with the five members of the European Union (EU) would be "drugs," and says, "In four of these participating countries, statements have been made about Özer Uçuran Çiller's involvement in drug trafficking. Can we believe that the foreign ministers of these countries will give information to Tansu Çiller about the anti-drugs struggle? Will they inform Çiller on their anti-drugs tactics? I believe they will not. They see her as a mole and likely will give misinformation and will have developed their plans accordingly." Other items on the agenda such as Turkey's EU membership and human rights in Turkey seem to have dominated the agenda as well.

Turkey accused before

Hürriyet's editor in chief, Ertuğrul Özkök, says that the decision of the German court was not new and points out that similar decisions have been made by the Hanover and Trier courts.

"The decision is not important," Özkök says. "Turkey's name was mentioned in three different German courts as a country allowing drug smuggling; this is important. Turkey's name is mentioned among the South American drug barons."

Oktay Ekşi, the chief columnist of the same newspaper, writes that they (the Germans) are not saying

the allegations are true, but we should know that a German judge would not make such allegations out of nothing.

Ekşi also says that Turkey's name has been stained due to these developments.

"The Turkish state's name has been terribly stained, especially in the last few years with the realities which have been revealed by the Susurluk scandal and with the efforts of Tansu Çiller. Their motto is 'Let us earn income from drug smuggling instead of the PKK'" he says.

Sabah columnist Hasan Cemal says: "Does Turkey deserve such allegations? You can say these allegations are the

irresponsibility of the German judge. You may condemn it as slandering. But how did the German court make this decision about the government of the Turkish Republic? Who were the witnesses? The answers of these questions should be examined in full detail."

Radikal writer Ismet Berkan, in discussing a recent visit by two American drug-smuggling experts says:

"The American experts asked an interesting question: 'Is there a chain of command?' I told them that the basic theory since the Susurluk accident has been that everything happened through such a chain. The whole theory is based on this probability.

"The second question after this explanation was: 'Is Tansu Çiller at the head of this chain?' I could not say that she was not, although I had no evidence. I had to say: 'This is the allegation, but it has not been proved.'

"At this time the allegations about Çiller and her family do not need to be supported by evidence or proved to be untrue. They are already widely believed by decision-making authorities in the West. Çiller and her circle claim it is a 'conspiracy' — a conspiracy of some big holding companies, opposition leader Mesut Yılmaz and journalists jealous of Çiller and her family. Let us assume the conspiracy allegations are true for a second; if the inspirers of the conspiracy have such power that they are able to create such an image, why should not they simply bring Çiller down?"

Turkey in a difficult situation internationally

The findings of the Paris-based Geopolitical Narcotics Monitor put Turkey in a more difficult situation after the statements made in Germany. The Monitor offers an advisory service for institutions such as the EU, the European Council and the United Nations.

The statements of an authority at the Observatory about the "high-ranking protection" of drug smugglers in

Turkey caused even more chaos.

The authority did not want his name to be revealed for security reasons, but he said 70 percent of the drugs which are consumed in Europe come through Turkey and alleged that this would not be possible without political protection. Turkey has been put in a situation that is even more difficult to get out of after these allegations. The comments of the concerned

countries on the recent developments have been damming.

Britain: The junior minister at the British Home Office, Tom Sackville, said: "There are worrying allegations and evidence about the involvement of the Turkish authorities in drug smuggling. Eighty percent of the drugs which enter England come through Turkey. The smugglers have access to the intelligence that the Turkish authorities are given, and therefore anti-drug operations are not affective."

Holland: The Dutch Parliament accuses Turkey of drug smuggling in a report they prepared on the issue. Holland makes interesting comments in the report; "Organized crime is closely connected to officials. The circles of organized crime, state services and businessmen have formed an inseparable knot." USA: The US Congress started to investigate the connection between the drug smugglers and the politicians in Turkey after the Susurluk scandal which revealed a mafia-police-politician triangle.

Greece: They are calling for sanctions against Turkey due to the allegations of drug smuggling. The Greek authorities explained that they had seized 957 kilograms of drugs being smuggled into Europe from Turkey, with a street value of about \$164 million, and had arrested 360 people.

'The ports have been opened for drugs'

A hot debate continues in Turkey while such allegations continue at full speed abroad.

The most important debate is on the privatization of the ports. The 14 seaports which are operated by the

Turkish State Maritime Company are viewed as dangerous due to their strategic importance. The Union of Dockworkers (Liman-İş) Istanbul branch leader, Muzaffer Akpınar, states that the seaports could become transit doors for all kinds of smuggling and corruption in the case of their being sold to the private sector, and added that the winner of the bid for Tekirdağ Seaport, Hayyam Garipoğlu, was a convicted smuggler.

Akpınar said that the late President, Turgut Özal, when he was still prime minister, had started the discussion on the privatization of loss-making public enterprises, but it was decided later to sell all of them, both unprofitable and profitable.

He also said that the seaports are enterprises engaged in trade and in earning foreign currency and there were other factors playing a role in the sale of seaports which do not suffer from losses.

"The privatization of the seaports is not right — not only because they are profitable, but also because of their strategic importance. The great leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, emphasized the latter when he declared, 'Entering and leaving all seaports is banned' before the big onslaught at the beginning of the Independence War. But unfortunately the administrators of the country do not share the same opinion today. They confirm his statement 'You will have internal and external enemies' by their activities. The seaports will be a transit point for every type of smuggling and corruption if they are sold. Interestingly the winners of the seaport biddings confirm this possibility."

turkish daily news

Tuesday, February 4, 1997

Turkey-Europe relations overdose on heroin:

Is Tansu Çiller the Godmother?

By Gül Demir
Turkish Daily News / ISTANBUL

Turkey's image has recently become the subject of intense debate in the European media and in the reports and statements of various government and nongovernmental organizations. These are international reflections on the activities of officially-backed criminal gangs, the existence of which can no longer be denied since the Susurluk accident led to the partial revelation of murky relations between the Turkish state apparatus and ultranationalist mafiosos.

Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller's "heroes" are spreading Turkey's "fame" around the world thanks to their overstuffed

criminal files — unresolved murders, money laundering, extortion, kidnapping, illegal gambling, coup-stirring in neighboring countries, sabotage, incitement to war and so on.

The Turkish Republic's flag waves on German television screens — background decor on which a heroin syringe has been superimposed. The needle hit a swollen vein when a German State Court judge pointed to a high-level (female) Turkish minister as the "godmother" of drug smugglers. And so Tansu Çiller is transformed in the eyes of the citizens of Europe's biggest country from "mother" to "godmother" of her country's citizens, and as the "boss," the minister who protects drug smugglers. Özer Uçuran Çiller never left his wife alone in her appearances before the German media during her last busy visit to Germany. A photo purporting to show Mr. Çiller with Turkey's biggest media boss and people

accused of being involved in smuggling nuclear materials appears in newspapers and on television screens. In Holland the financial dealings carried out by offices belonging to some of Turkey's biggest banks are suspended on the suspicion of "laundering drug money." Turkey's name is mentioned often along with those of countries like Colombia considered to be the home of the world's leading drug dealers.

So what do Turkish authorities do about this? They behave like parents who suspect that their children might be into drugs, but since there is no concrete evidence, they would prefer not to think about it. The real disaster hasn't knocked on their own door yet. Even when they are confronted with reality, some try to play down the scale of the event; they rationalize to seek ways out of the situation, stressing what hasn't been said rather than confront reality.

"Çiller's name is not mentioned in the German court's decision," they say or, "The judge did not mean to say that, but meant to say this," or, "Look at this: even the prosecutor was surprised by the statement of the judge." People conveniently forget that Turkey has been known as a highway for drugs traveling from east to west for a number of years.

Some of them stage a farce, issuing ultimatums and demanding apologies, trying to keep their heads above the sewer water in which they are swimming.

Some circles would like the recent past to be forgotten, as if Çiller were not this country's Minister of Foreign Affairs, as if she had not been the Prime Minister for several years, as if the activities carried out by gangs such as the unresolved murders and newspaper bombings did not contradict her public statements as prime minister, as if she hadn't offered Mehmet Ağar a seat in Parliament and then appointed him to be Minister of Justice and later Interior Minister; the same Ağar who stands accused of providing gang members with facilities enabling them to commit crimes and escape consequences.

As if it were not Çiller who personally declared a gang chief killed in the Susurluk traffic accident a "hero." In Turkey now these same circles are now maneuvering to prevent Çiller's name from entering international criminal files.

Other circles fallaciously and foolishly resort to demagoguery in their attempts to cover up the whole affair. "But the state of the Republic of Turkey should not be accused of what Mrs. Çiller has been doing," they plead.

In reality, however, the recent chain of events in Germany, France and Britain, three countries which can be said to primarily represent Western Europe, portrays today's Turkey as if it had been photographed from a different angle. The evaluations appear in the decisions of the German state courts and in the German media; in the reports of the Geopolitical Narcotics Monitor (Observatoire Geopolitique des Drogues) in France, which prepares reports on drug trafficking; in the statements of the junior minister in the British Home Office, Tom Sackville; and in the reasoning behind Holland's suspending the activities of the Turkish banks' branches there:

★ 70-80 percent of the drugs on the European market come through Turkey.

★ Drug trafficking has political connections in

Turkey and the drug smugglers are under high level official protection from the state and politicians.

★ Some top figures in the security forces and government authorities are involved in the drug-smuggling business.

★ Criminals wanted by Interpol, far from being caught, are protected and provided with diplomatic passports and documents in Turkey which enables them to continue their activities.

★ The information supplied by Turkish security units about the international drugs trade is not reliable.

★ Drug trafficking information supplied by Western security forces to their Turkish counterparts is leaked to the smugglers and results in the failure of anti-drug operations.

The news articles then reach the conclusion that Turkey is one of the centers of international heroin traffic, and has become the Colombia of Europe. The opinion of some observers that the ongoing war in Turkey against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) is partially financed by the money earned through the drugs trade has been gaining more advocates, and certainly some funds come from that source. And this differs from previous government accusations that the PKK has been financing its activities via the drug trade.

All these developments indicate an upcoming disaster in Turco-European relations through an overdose on drugs. Turkey has not been able to avoid intense and incessant criticism over its attitude towards democratization and human rights and now it faces the more serious allegation of international drug trafficking.

Western Europe has begun signaling that the attitude which they normally take against Colombia is on the agenda for Turkey if Turkey cannot and eradicate all the dirt thrown up by the gangs in which some state officials have been involved. To give one of the least of the possible sanctions, Tansu Çiller could be refused a visa to travel to European countries although she is said to hold a US passport.

[One of the harsher personal penalties might be an investigation by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service into her annual tax returns in that country. After all, Al Capone, to name just one of America's better known criminals, got nailed on tax evasion charges.]

If some think they can resort to classic methods and accuse Europe of weakening Turco-European relations through empty demagogic statements such as "They have fallen into the PKK trap," or "They have become a tool of PKK propaganda," or "They use the PKK's language," we would like to remind them of the following:

"Ladies and gentlemen, why are you frothing at the mouth over the latest moves by European authorities? They are doing exactly what President Süleyman Demirel told everyone to do in referring to the Susurluk accident: 'This cannot be covered up. Continue your investigations as far as they lead you.' Demirel himself seems not to be following his own advice, but the Europeans, far from being over-dosed, seem determined to follow Turkey's "fairy godmother" as far as possible.

Those who do not want real democracy are at work

First they tried to create a Turkish-Kurdish conflict to maintain their hold on the country. They tried the Alewite-Sunni card. Now they are trying to polarize us as religious minded people and secularists...

In the period before the 1980 coup, certain circles who did not want a democratic solution to the problems of the country fueled the right-wing and left-wing rift and created a civil warlike situation in the country so that they could step in and run Turkey according to their desires.

They were partially successful as they did not only dissolve the Parliament but they managed to close down all political parties and dismantle the political system. They legislated their own repressive laws and thus put Turkey in a complete mess. Today we are still suffering from what they did as we face political obstructions and confusion.

So the political leaders who suffered most from all this, instead of correcting the past mistakes and rebuilding the democratic system on strong grounds, failed to live up to popular expectations and the restrictive and repressive



Editorial

İlhan Çevik

under such a system they cannot survive in Turkey.

But now a new game is being played. They have realized that whatever they do, they cannot halt the growing influence of the people in Turkey who are rather sensitive to Islam. So they have created this polarization between the so-called Islamists and the secularists.

Every time people who feel more sensitive to Islam (like church goers in the West) try to do something, it is considered a major challenge to the secularist system and threats are issued. The so-called secularists have even felt a military coup could do the trick... "What are you waiting for? Will you act only after the green flag of Islam replaces the star and the crescent?" they reportedly ask the military.

But the armed forces realize that a military takeover should not be on the cards. So now the conservative establishment which is behind the Susurluk scandal, where mobsters were used to kill the adversaries of the system, have now launched a campaign to promote a civilian coup using some labor leaders, a major holding company, some politicians and even some high-level state officials... An ugly scenario, isn't it?

These people do not realize that one day the masses who helped to raise Süleyman Demirel out of the ashes of the coup, despite the incredible pressures from the military in the 1980s, will once again raise their heads and bring true democracy to this country.

system was kept intact. Süleyman Demirel, when he was prime minister, did try some superficial steps but they were too little and ineffective.

Meanwhile, the forces who tried to dominate the country and always maintained the repressive status quo were in full action. They tried to fuel the rift between the Kurds and the Turks in our country in order to maintain their crooked system. They even tried to create conflicts between Sunnis and Alewis to spread confusion and rule.

Their aim is clear. They do not want Turkey to emerge from its current semi-democratic state and become a full democracy. They know that

En Iran, le retour à la rigueur financière a stoppé les réformes économiques

Peu d'observateurs croyaient en la capacité de l'Iran de faire face à la crise des paiements extérieurs qui l'a affecté en 1993. A l'époque, le montant des arriérés de paiement atteignait 11 milliards de dollars, une situation provoquée notamment par une trop forte croissance des importations après la guerre avec l'Irak.

Face à cette crise, une stratégie brutale fut adoptée :

— Le gouvernement iranien a d'abord réussi à imposer l'idée de négociations bilatérales à l'ensemble des créanciers concernés. Ces discussions ont abouti à un réchelonement de la dette extérieure iranienne. L'échéancier annoncé prévoyait des remboursements importants jusqu'en l'an 2000 ;

CONTRÔLE DES IMPORTATIONS

— Le gouvernement a mis en place, afin de dégager des excédents courants, une politique de réduction drastique des importations. Celles-ci ont été ramenées de 19 milliards de dollars en 1993 à 12,6 milliards environ en 1994 et 1995. En 1996, les importations se seraient légèrement redressées, tout en restant inférieures (de 20 %) à leur niveau de 1993.

Grâce à ces mesures et à la bonne tenue du prix du pétrole, les arriérés de paiement ont été ramenés à 200 millions de dollars en 1996. D'autre part, le montant des réserves en devises de la banque centrale atteindrait, en 1996, près de 8 milliards de dollars, soit une progression de 5 milliards par rapport à 1993.

dépendant des importations en biens d'équipement. De surcroît, les difficultés de l'industrie (publique à 70 %) ne se sont pas traduites par des disparitions d'entreprises, du fait d'allocations automatiques et sans condition de crédits par le système bancaire. La croissance de la masse monétaire a donc été élevée sur la période 1994-1995 (+33,2 % en moyenne annuelle).

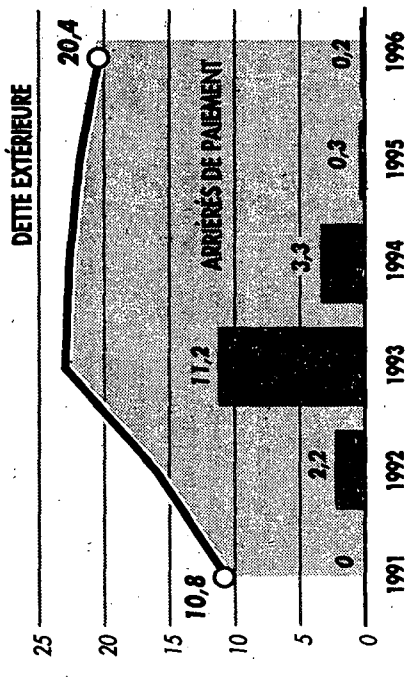
Ces deux facteurs, tassement de l'offre et forte croissance de la masse monétaire, ont conduit à une accélération de l'inflation : 42,3 % en moyenne annuelle sur la période 1994-1995. Selon la banque centrale de l'Iran, le rythme de hausse des prix se serait atténué en 1996, mais resterait élevé : +27 % en septembre 1996, en glissement annuel.

Parallèlement, la crise des paiements extérieurs a conduit à un arrêt quasi total du programme de libéralisation économique appliqué depuis 1989 ; auquel s'est ajoutée la très grave crise du marché des changes de mai 1995. Cette crise, liée à la compression des importations, a entraîné un abandon de la politique d'unification des taux de change, pierre angulaire des réformes, et un retour à un système de change à taux multiples.

La gestion centralisée du commerce extérieur a été renforcée afin de contrôler les importations. Et la montée de l'inflation a conduit au maintien des subventions sur les produits de première nécessité comme le pain.

Un des facteurs déterminants pour l'économie iranienne sera l'évolution des relations avec les

▼ Le redressement des comptes extérieurs en milliards de dollars



Source : FMI, Banque centrale d'Iran

Etats-Unis. Or un certain nombre d'éléments laissent penser que Washington s'interroge sur la validité de la stratégie d'affrontement systématique choisie vis-à-vis de Téhéran. En effet, l'Iran a réussi, semble-t-il, à faire face aux mouvements d'embargo qui l'ont affecté. Depuis l'arrêt des achats américains de pétrole de l'été 1995, les Iraniens ont accru leurs ventes d'hydrocarbures aux Chinois, Coréens, Britanniques et Français.

L'INCONNUE AMÉRICAINE

Enfin, et surtout, les Etats-Unis souhaitent développer leur présence économique en Asie centrale, du fait des immenses réserves pétrolières et gazières de cette région. Or ils ne peuvent ignorer la situation stratégique de l'Iran en Asie centrale, renfor-

cée par le fait que ce pays, qui dispose des plus grandes réserves de gaz naturel du monde après la Russie, est amené à coopérer dans le secteur gazier avec ses voisins de l'ex-URSS.

Les relations économiques entre Paris et Téhéran se sont améliorées récemment. La France a été, en 1995, le troisième fournisseur de l'Iran avec 5 % du marché après le Japon (5,9 %) et l'Allemagne (14,7 %). Les entreprises françaises ont donc une carte à jouer sur ce marché. Mais il faut faire vite car, dans un pays où les habitants (et les dirigeants) sont toujours fascinés par le modèle américain, le retour du Grand Satan fera mal.

Thierry Coville
Economiste (COE)

Jan/Feb1997

CENTRE to CENTRE

Newsletter of the Writers in Prison Committee of International PEN



Drawing by Turkish writer, **Recep Marasli**, who was held between July 1994 and November 1995 on charges under the Anti-Terror Law. He is currently free awaiting trial. He has several other charges pending against him for "disseminating separatist propaganda". He was previously imprisoned on political charges from 1982 to 1991.

Jan/Feb1997

CENTRE to CENTRE

Newsletter of the Writers in Prison Committee of International PEN

ACTION FILE: TURKEY:

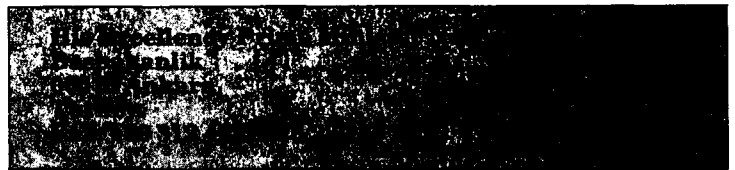
On 19 November 1996, journalist Mutebar Yildirim was sentenced to ten months' imprisonment and fined TL 43,000. Yildirim, who now works for the newspaper *Demokrasi* and is Secretary of the Progressive Journalists' Association, was arrested in connection with an article she had written entitled "To Streets, To Action, To A General Strike". The article was published on 22 December 1994 in the newspaper *Ozger Ulke*, which has since been closed down.

The subject of her article is a Trade Union demonstration calling for a general strike, which she describes in positive terms. She quotes from slogans on placards, one of which is the title of her piece, and refers to the popular support the demonstration received. At no point does Yildirim's article promote violence. The article questions official statements which suggest that the

demonstrators had little public support, and concludes that the only means to effect change is through strike action. Such action is prohibited under Turkish Labour Law.

Mutebar Yildirim is being held at Bayrampasa Special Prison.

Appeals expressing concern about the charges against Mutebar Yildirim should be sent to:



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1997

U.S. Rejects Report Of Plan to Hit Iraq

Reuters

WASHINGTON — The United States said Tuesday that there was no reason for heightened concern about possible

military action against Iraq after a German newspaper reported that Washington might launch a cruise missile strike.

"The United States always reserves the right to use its military force to defend its national interest anywhere in the world," said the State Department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, "but I see no reason to heighten your concern in any way pertaining to the situation in the Middle East."

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung said United Nations inspectors had found that Iraq continued to develop missiles in

violation of UN resolutions. It added that the United States was studying a possible missile strike against Iraq.

A Defense Department spokesman, Kenneth Bacon, also responding to the report, said that Washington supported an analysis by the chief UN inspector, Rolf Ekeus, that Iraq was hiding an operational Scud missile force of 18 to 25 missiles.

"This is against the sanctions" brought against Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War, Mr. Bacon said. "Obviously I can't describe what our future actions would be, but we have shown time and time again that we are prepared to protect U.S. forces. We are prepared to protect our interests in the Gulf."

Mr. Bacon declined to say whether Iraq might be trying to rebuild its missile forces. But another defense official said Washington believed that Iraq was hiding previously built weapons rather than "building new inventory."

The German article, being published Wednesday, said that the United States could make a decision this week on whether to launch a Tomahawk missile strike at Iraq. It gave as the basis for its report "American security sources."

The United States has launched three Tomahawk strikes against Iraq since the war ended.

The newspaper said that UN inspectors who were in Iraq from Jan. 5 to Jan. 23 found evidence, according to American sources, that Iraq was continuing to develop missiles with a range of around 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers).

It said that the inspectors had been "massively obstructed" and that Mr. Ekeus had written to Prime Minister Tariq Aziz of Iraq on Jan. 13 telling him that Baghdad was contravening UN resolutions and that its move would have consequences.



Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1997

JSF criticizes police violence against Turkish journalists

By Metin Demirsar

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Some 154 Turkish journalists were subjected to police brutality in 1996, including Metin Göktepe, who was beaten to death in Istanbul, according to a report released here Tuesday.

The report of the Paris-based Journalists Without Frontiers [JSF] said 69 journalists were beaten and harassed while covering news stories, 53 were forcibly detained, 31 tortured and one, Göktepe, was murdered while in police custody.

Presenting the document at a news conference, Jean Chicizola, the JSF representative for Europe and the former Soviet Union, said the victims were from a wide range of news media, including mainstream publications and television channels.

Chicizola urged Turkey's Islamist-led government to bring to justice the unidentified man who punched a television reporter, Işın Gürel, while covering a demonstration on Monday in protest

of the "Jerusalem Night" rally of Sunday night in the Ankara suburb of Sincan which turned into a pro-sharia rally. Gürel was hospitalized with head injuries.

The JSF report said torture used against Turkish journalists included physical blows, electrical shock, burning of the body, sexual harassment and assault.

It said victims were also forced to watch films on executions and deprived of food and water in detention.

Göktepe, a reporter with the leftist newspaper Evrensel, was detained on January 8 of last year while covering a funeral of two inmates killed in a prison uprising, and bludgeoned to death by a group of policemen.

Eleven policemen are on trial in Afyon, a city in western Turkey for his murder.

The trial, the next hearing of which is to be held Thursday 6 February, has become a rallying point for western-style political and press reforms and democratic rights in Turkey.

DKP chairman acquitted again

Ankara-Turkish Daily News

■ Democratic Mass Party (DKP) chairman and former civil works minister Şerafettin Elçi was cleared of charges of separatism by the Istanbul State Security Court (DGM) on Tuesday, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Elçi's attorney Ali Hadi Emre pointed out that the defendant had been acquitted of the same charges before and asked that he be acquitted again, to which the presiding judge agreed. Elçi had

been tried earlier because of a speech he made during the dinner given by the Foundation of Kurdish Peoples and Liberties. He was sentenced to a two-year prison term.

The Supreme Appeals Court overturned that decision due to an amendment to the Anti-terrorism Law and sent the case back to the DGM to be heard once again. The prosecutor had asked for a prison term of one to three years and fine of TL 100-300 million.

NATO Secretary-General Solana to visit Turkey

Ankara will tell Solana the extension of NATO should be related to the enlargement of the EU and the Western European Union

Turkish Daily News
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1997

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana is scheduled to arrive in Ankara on Wednesday where the topics of the enlargement of NATO, the European Union, and the Western European Union are expected to dominate talks.

The issue of Turkish-Greek relations is also likely to be high on the agenda when Solana meets President Süleyman Demirel, Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller, Defense Minister Turhan Tayan, and Chief of General Staff İsmail Hakkı Karadayı. During the talks, the Turkish government is set to argue that the enlargement of NATO should be related to the enlargement of the European Union and its designated defense arm, the Western European Union (WEU). A senior diplomat from the Foreign Ministry indicated Turkey had not spelt out that it would veto any extension of NATO (over the EU decision not to accelerate membership of Turkey to the union) but said the EU must give a reasonable response to Turkey's desire to be a full member. "During the talks with Solana, Turkey will not challenge but we will point out our position very clearly," the Foreign Ministry official said.

Last November, Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller threatened to block the use of NATO equipment for the WEU after Greek objections to Ankara's participation in WEU activities. Turkey is an associate member of the WEU.

On the subject of Turkish-Greek relations, the govern-



NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana

ment is expected to tell Solana it is prepared to discuss the problems over the Greek Cypriot decision to buy S-300 missiles from Russia, but NATO is not the appropriate place for such a discussion. Last spring, Solana suggested the setting up of a "hot line" connecting Ankara, Athens and Brussels for use in emergencies and it is expected that Solana will again put forward this proposal. A NATO summit is scheduled for July where the issues of enlargement and the refocusing of NATO will be discussed. Before arriving in Ankara, Solana visited Moscow and Washington. He will later travel to Central Asia.

Tempers boil over fanatic attack

Tanks roll through Ankara suburb as opposition gets ready to topple government

Turkish Daily News
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1997

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The attack by a fanatic Muslim on a female TV reporter in the Islamist-governed suburb of Sincan, Ankara, heightened political tensions on Tuesday, triggering a "show of force" by an armored unit "on exercise."

The opposition prepared a censure motion in an attempt to bring down the Islamist-conservative coalition led by Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan.

But Erbakan dismissed the speculations of army unrest and opposition agitation as a "cannibal dance," denying any crisis within the coalition.

Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller, leader of RP's coalition partner, the True Path Party (DYP), on Tuesday held an unscheduled meeting with President Süleyman Demirel and later summoned her party aides for a closed meeting. After the meeting a DYP minister

gave strong indications that they had no intentions of withdrawing from the government. State Minister Nevzat Ercan said there were deliberate attempts to sabotage the government and warned against undermining the country's stability.

Çiller declined to reveal the content of her talks with the president. She later conferred with her husband, but was again reticent to divulge any details of the meeting, other than to say it was an unscheduled weekly meeting.

Demirel was widely reported last week to have been briefed by military leaders about the growing reaction within the officer

corps. The reports of the visit by the Chief of General Staff, İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, last Thursday triggered rumors of an impending coup. Turkey's secularist minded officer-corps maintain a powerful presence behind the political scene, having intervened three times over the past four decades.

The unannounced drive past of over 30 tanks, armored personnel carriers and jeeps through the main street of Sincan early on Tuesday, lent credence to persistent reports of simmering tempers within the armed forces over a recent series of assertive moves by the politicians and local officials of the Islamist Welfare party (RP).

The incident that threatened to tip the scales was Monday's attack on Işın Gürel, a reporter for Interstar TV, by a former bodyguard of Sincan Mayor Bekir Yıldız. Yıldız had angered the secularist establishment by holding an "Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Day" ceremony



ALERT- A Turkish soldier stands guard near the tanks and armored vehicles paraded through the main street of Sincan, a routine training mission according to an army spokesman. Reuters

over the weekend at which Iranian Ambassador Muhammad Reza Bagheri allegedly praised Turkey's march toward an Islam-based state. Mayor Yildiz was removed from his post upon an order by Interior Minister Meral Aksener on Tuesday.

The remarks earned the diplomat a formal protest from the Foreign Ministry and stiff reaction from the media and left-wing opposition leaders who called for his expulsion. Bagheri dismissed the accusations blaming, in turn, a hostile press.

However, Ankara's reaction fell short of declaring the Iranian envoy "persona non grata," the fate of Bagheri's predecessor. Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel said such a reaction would be akin to "putting the cart before the horse."

Embarrassed government officials, including mainstream Welfare Party politicians, apologized to the beaten reporter while arrest warrants were issued for the attacker and an accomplice. State and government leaders, including President Demirel and

Foreign Minister Çiller, condemned the attack while the Press Council and the Journalists Association blamed the RP for "encouraging" the fanatics. Opposition parties and

nongovernmental organizations vented their anger at the RP and claimed Necmettin Erbakan himself had paved the way for the attack on Gürel by calling journalists "windbags."

Veteran leftist politician Bülent Ecevit, who has been championing an opposition alliance to bring down the government, on Tuesday said his Democratic Left Party (DSP) would put forward a censure motion against the government. The censure motion entails a vote of confidence which analysts say the government can ill afford, especially in view of the growing differences between the Islamists and the secularist DYP. Although Çiller still depends on the Islamists for protection against corruption probes pursued by the opposition, a growing rebellion has been reported among her party's parliamentary wing to her uncharacteristic docility. In calling for the coalition's ousting,

Ecevit dismissed claims that the Islamist-dominated government was without alternatives. Ecevit said it was imperative for the very existence of the democratic, secular regime to get rid of the Islamist-dominated WelfarePath coalition.

The DSP chairman said his party would be ready to enter a new government if its conditions in regards to economic and social policy were met. Ecevit said holding an early election was always an option if a new government could not be formed.

But Deniz Baykal, a rival leftist leader, said the social democrats should first unite, and thereby form a core for the opposition, before steps were taken to unseat the government. The Republican People's Party (CHP) leader also blasted Iran for meddling in Turkey's internal affairs, accusing Tehran of trying to export its (fundamentalist) regime to Turkey. He also accused the government of being eager to import a state based on Islamic Shariah law.

Le Monde / Mercredi 5 février 1997

La séquestration d'un écrivain iranien compromet les relations entre Bonn et Téhéran

BONN

de notre correspondant

Septembre 1992. Quatre opposants kurdes au régime iranien sont tués par balles alors qu'ils dînent au restaurant Mykonos de Berlin. Janvier 1997. Le procès des assassins présumés touche à sa fin, et tout indique que la justice allemande confirmera l'accusation formulée en novembre 1996 par le procureur fédéral, selon laquelle les plus hauts dirigeants du régime islamique de Téhéran ont commandité l'assassinat. Ce probable verdict devrait jeter une lumière crue sur les pratiques en cours à Téhéran et placer

dans un embarras considérable les autorités de Bonn, qui ont toujours eu la volonté de maintenir un « dialogue critique » avec Téhéran.

Plus que jamais, ledit dialogue est aujourd'hui remis en cause. La mystérieuse disparition à Téhéran d'un écrivain iranien préoccupe grandement les dirigeants de Bonn. Dans le but vraisemblable d'influencer le cours de la justice berlinoise, les dirigeants du régime islamique séquestrent un écrivain connu pour son indépendance d'esprit. Faraj Sarkouhi, quarante-neuf ans, rédacteur en chef du mensuel *Adineh* (Vendredi), une revue littéraire tirée à environ 30 000 exemplaires, a disparu le 3 novembre 1996 après avoir été la cible de tentatives d'intimidation.

Réapparu en public après 47 jours de détention, il se trouverait à nouveau aujourd'hui entre les mains des services secrets iraniens, qui tentent de le faire passer pour un espion au profit de l'Allemagne et de la France. Ses proches sont sans nouvelles de lui depuis une semaine, et indiquent que son frère a également disparu. Déjà emprisonné durant plusieurs années à l'époque du shah, ce critique litté-

raire a été l'un des inspirateurs principaux d'une « pétition des 134 » [le nombre des ses signataires], qui, en octobre 1994, réclamait la levée de la censure et à une plus grande liberté d'expression en Iran.

TORTURE

Alors qu'il s'appêtait, le 3 novembre 1996, à prendre un avion à Téhéran pour Hambourg, afin de rejoindre sa femme et ses deux enfants, M. Sarkouhi est retenu à Téhéran, probablement par des agents de la Vavak, les services secrets du régime. Reporters sans frontières, dans son dernier bulletin, décrit la suite : « Le 20 décembre 1996, Faraj Sarkouhi tient une conférence de presse à l'aéroport de Téhéran. Il explique, dans ce qui apparaît clairement comme une mise en scène, qu'il est allé en Allemagne sans contacter sa femme, puis s'est rendu au Turkménistan. Lorsqu'un journaliste lui demande de montrer son passeport avec le tampon des autorités allemandes, M. Sarkouhi lui répond qu'il l'a laissé au Turkménistan, dans l'attente d'un visa pour le Canada. »

Dans une lettre à sa femme, au-

thentifiée par cette dernière et dont le texte vient d'être publié par la presse allemande, M. Sarkouhi affirme avoir été forcé d'avouer, sous la torture, qu'il était un espion au profit de l'Allemagne. Dans ce document, daté du 3 janvier, il affirme que les responsables du ministère de l'information l'ont « emmené en prison et ont commencé les interrogatoires et les tortures (...). Ils m'ont indiqué que mon arrivée en Allemagne avait été enregistrée à l'aéroport de Hambourg, et qu'ils allaient m'exécuter. » Puis ils ont enregistré un entretien « dans lequel je devais indiquer que j'avais entretenu des contacts de type "renseignements" avec l'attaché culturel de l'ambassade d'Allemagne et celui de l'ambassade de France. »

Pourquoi cette mise en scène ? Un agent du régime de Téhéran a pris l'avion le 3 novembre pour Hambourg à la place de M. Sarkouhi, mais il n'a pas pu entrer en Allemagne. Bonn étudie la photocopie du passeport supposé de M. Sarkouhi, qui porte un tampon des services d'immigration allemands dont tout indique qu'il s'agit d'un faux.

Lucas Delattre

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

Irak-Kurdes : M. Talabani accuse l'Irak d'"actes terroristes" au Kurdistan

LE CAIRE, 5 fév (AFP) - Le chef de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), l'une des deux principales factions kurdes irakiennes, Jalal Talabani, a accusé les services secrets irakiens d'"actes terroristes" dans le nord de l'Irak.

"Nous ne sommes pas responsables des actions terroristes, qui sont l'oeuvre des services secrets de Saddam Hussein en toute connaissance du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK)", rival de l'UPK, a-t-il déclaré dans une interview au quotidien gouvernemental égyptien Al-Ahram publiée mercredi.

"Malgré le cessez-le-feu dans le nord de l'Irak depuis octobre, la situation ne s'est pas améliorée afin d'aboutir à une paix globale dans la région", a ajouté M. Talabani dans cette interview réalisée à Londres.

Un porte-parole du PDK avait accusé l'UPK d'avoir exécuté des "actes de terrorisme" dans le nord de l'Irak, dans des déclarations publiées

samedi dernier par le quotidien arabe Al-Hayat.

Le porte-parole avait évoqué la découverte d'une voiture remplie de 150 kg d'explosifs près du quartier général du chef du PDK Massoud Barzani à Salaheddine et affirmé que des personnes impliquées avaient témoigné l'avoir placée là sur ordre de l'UPK.

M. Talabani a en outre accusé M. Barzani de refuser l'organisation de nouvelles élections au Kurdistan, en violation des termes de l'accord de cessez-le-feu négocié à Ankara sous les auspices des États-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne.

Le chef de l'UPK a également renouvelé ses dénégations quant à une présence militaire, en hommes ou équipements, de l'Iran au Kurdistan.

hkb/lch/tp

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

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Koweït-Irak : Les accords militaires du Koweït jugés insuffisants par un journal

KOWEÏT, 5 fév (AFP) - Les accords militaires passés par le Koweït avec des pays occidentaux sont insuffisants pour garantir sa sécurité face à l'Irak, a estimé mercredi un journal koweïtien.

"Ces accords sont identiques aux contrats d'assurance qui ne sont appliqués qu'après les événements, ils ne sont pas à la hauteur des aspirations de la nation", a affirmé le quotidien indépendant Al-Qabas.

"Le Koweït vit dans un climat marqué par les cris au loup", a-t-il ajouté, dans une allusion aux déclarations faisant état de menaces irakiennes contre l'émirat, démenties aussitôt par Bagdad.

Koweït, a ajouté le journal, "devrait obtenir un minimum de garantie contre une nouvelle invasion et une répétition de la tragédie de l'occupation".

Un haut responsable militaire américain avait estimé le 29 janvier que l'Irak pourrait à nouveau envahir le Koweït avec une seule division si les forces américaines étaient absentes.

Le 1er février, le ministre koweïtien de l'Information, cheikh Saoud Nasser Al-Sabah, avait affirmé que 150.000 à 180.000 soldats irakiens étaient prêts à marcher sur le Koweït.

Après la libération du Koweït de l'occupation irakienne (août 1990-février 1991), l'émirat avait passé des accords de défense avec

plusieurs pays, dont les Etats-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne et la France.

mch/mh

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

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

USA-Irak : Critiques virulentes d'un journal irakien contre les Etats-Unis

BAGDAD, 6 fév (AFP) - Un journal officiel irakien a vivement critiqué jeudi les Etats-Unis qu'il accuse de se livrer à une "campagne de mensonges" contre l'Irak, tout en appelant Washington à amorcer le dialogue avec Bagdad.

"Il est inconcevable qu'un pays, qui a pour ambition de diriger le monde, tombe si bas, en se livrant à une campagne de mensonges" contre l'Irak, a écrit le quotidien As-Saoura, organe du parti Baas au pouvoir.

Le journal se réfère, sans les mentionner, à une série de déclarations américaines sur l'Irak, dont la dernière diffusée par le Pentagone accusant l'Irak de dissimuler sur son territoire jusqu'à 25 missiles balistiques en violation des résolutions de l'ONU.

"Comment l'administration américaine peut-elle être aussi ignorante et stupide pour se livrer à ce jeu de mensonges", a poursuivi le journal, affirmant que Washington doit "tirer les leçons de l'échec de sa politique à l'égard de l'Irak et adopter une politique constructive basée sur le dialogue".

Des responsables américains avaient fait état de luttes de pouvoir à Bagdad et annoncé également fin janvier que Saddam Hussein pourrait à nouveau envahir le Koweït.

Bien que la Maison Blanche ait minimisé une telle éventualité, le Koweït, voisin de l'Irak, s'était déclaré "profondément inquiet" et annoncé qu'il prendrait des "mesures préventives".

Le porte-parole du Pentagone Kenneth Bacon avait affirmé mardi que l'Irak possède "une capacité opérationnelle de 18 à 25 missiles SCUD, et certains ont été dissimulés". Il a prévenu que les Etats-Unis étaient prêts à défendre leurs forces dans la région.

Bagdad avait lié les déclarations américaines à la mise en place d'un nouveau cabinet du président Bill Clinton, investi le 20 janvier pour un nouveau mandat de quatre ans.

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The rumbling of the tanks - a warning?

The image that the tanks created at home and abroad was that the military is fed up with the Islamist advances in Turkey and is preparing a coup. However, an investigation by the Turkish Daily News showed that this is not so.

The rumbling of the tanks in the streets of the township of Sincan, just a few kilometers from Turkey's capital, after a mini show of force by a handful of fundamentalists is being downplayed by some circles as insignificant and a coincidence... This is not so.

The military had explained that the tanks were on their way to a routine exercise mission and that they had to pass through Sincan. A military statement said the tanks pass through Sincan frequently on such missions... Yet, no one explained how Turkish TV cameras and photographers were invited to the scene of the tanks in the township to spread the news and the images to the whole world. So we do not see the tanks passing through a township as such an innocent act.

What made the incident noteworthy of course, was the fact that it occurred just after a group of people tried to put on a fundamentalist show at the "Jerusalem Day" commemoration ceremonies in Sincan.

The image that the tanks created at home and abroad was that the military is fed up with the Islamist advances in Turkey and is preparing a



Editorial

İlhan Çevik

warned well in advance about his death. When the man grew old, he lost his hair, he lost his teeth and was frequently ill. Then the angel came to take his life and he objected. "You did not give me any warning," he said, and the angel replied "look at yourself. You lost your hair, your teeth and you have been frequently ill for the past few years. I think I gave you ample warning..." So the military is sounding a warning for everyone to take note. Yet, we feel the warning should not have been in the form of a very harmful show of sending tanks to a township. Who decided on sending the tanks through Sincan remains a mystery. Yet, we feel it was wrong because while it may have given some messages to the fundamentalists in Turkey, it has created a very mistaken image of our country as a land dominated by the military. Images of tanks in the streets of a Turkish township were in all Western newspapers and TV news... Foreign investors do not like such an environment and even the talk of a coup may well delay many very useful investment plans for our country. Hurting Turkey's vital economic interests like this hardly serves any cause... Besides all this, it has also alienated the pro-Islamists in our country (who have nothing to do with fundamentalism) who are trying to reconcile their differences with the existing system...

Turkey is a semi-democracy and has to improve. But eliminating even the existing democratic system should never be contemplated. On the contrary even the military should strive to build a better and more functional democratic system in our country.

coup. However, an investigation by the Turkish Daily News showed that this is not so.

The military does not want to step in and feels the civilians have to solve this problem through the parliamentary democratic system. They realize a coup would be very harmful to Turkey yet they also feel they have to appease the growing concerns of the lower ranking officers who feel their commanders are not doing enough to halt the Islamist advances in Turkey. Thus they hold well publicized meetings.

Those who are also trying to underplay the military "warnings" are mistaken. You don't have to issue military memorandums to voice your dissatisfaction. You show them by sending tanks, holding top level meetings and then leaking news... A military commander recently told us a story about a man who had made an agreement with the angel of death that he would be

'Right-wing pushers' report in Dutch Parliament

ZFKI AYIK

Istanbul - Turkish Daily News

■ It has become a well known reality that Turkey functions as a bridge for the drug trade to Europe. Therefore, Turkey's name is often mentioned in the drug reports which have been published by European countries and America.

It has been stated that some criminal organizations, which have political extensions, are involved in the drug business along with the mafia. Such allegations can be found in the report of the Committee for the Investigation of Foreign Origin Criminal Organizations, released by the Dutch Parliament.

The report states that a group of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) members, who are alleged to be protected by the Turkish government, are involved in the drug trafficking and use the drug money to finance the MHP's propaganda. The report states that the Dutch Security Forces have proved that since 1972 the MHP has been

involved in drug trafficking. The report states "The Grey Wolves is one of the activities of the ex-Colonel Türkeş (The leader of MHP)."

The report gives wide information about the Grey Wolves, the symbol of the nationalist youth. It is stated that the Grey Wolves are organized among the Turkish workers in Western Europe in order to cover up the mafia businesses with a national appearance. The report says, "The revenues of this crime organization, which particularly came from the drug trafficking in the 1970s and the 1980s, were used to finance politic activities." The report includes statements which also make claims about the other political parties in Turkey besides the MHP; it is alleged that "The mafia group who were financing the drug smuggling were in contact with all the political parties, in particular the extremist right parties."

The names, such as Alaattin Çakıcı, who is called "Chief" by the nationalists in Turkey, Drej Ali

and Oflu are often mentioned in the report. The report gives details about the organization of the Drug Trade by the MHP and nationalists in Holland: "The classical mafiosos supported the Grey Wolves, and the Grey Wolves have participated in the mafia in exchange. For example, Oflu and Drej Ali have been in MHP's Istanbul organization for years. Alaattin Çakıcı was using a diplomatic passport which was given by the Turkish Government to him. Çakıcı continuously said that he was performing a duty, for which the Turkish nation appointed him. The Grey Wolves have big numbers of supporters among the Turkish youth in the Netherlands. The Grey Wolves are involved in drugs and arms dealing and forcibly collecting money from many people."

After the explanation of the committee's report, police raids against Turkish nationals have increased in Holland and many western European countries which have resulted in the detention of 80 Turks in the Netherlands alone.

Turkish Daily News
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1997

Trial for journalist Göktepe's murder continues in Afyon

SAADET ORUÇ

Afyon- Turkish Daily News

■ The trial for journalist Metin Göktepe's murder on Jan. 8, 1996 near Istanbul's Eyüp Sports Hall, continued in Afyon on Thursday. The first hearing of the trial was held in Aydın on Oct. 10, 1997.

More than 3,000 people attended the hearing during which more than 100 attorneys represented the Göktepe family. During the trial, the atmosphere was tense in the courtroom as plaintiffs' and defendants' attorneys traded harsh words. Meanwhile, defendants'

attorneys objected to the participation of two attorneys from an international lawyers association assisting the plaintiffs. Defendants' attorneys did not answer journalists' questions, claiming that the media was sensationalizing the case and using the Göktepe family. Meanwhile, Ender Aktosun, known because of his famous former client Abdullah Çatlı, who died in the now-infamous Susurluk car crash, was among those in the courtroom attending the trial. Aktosun told TDN that the Musa Anter and Uğur Mumcu murders were com-

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mitted by countergeurillas, whereas Göktepe's murder was a result of independent actions by the police. "Junior police could have killed Göktepe in the name of nationalism," said Aktosun. Jean Chichizola, from the international lawyers association, told the TDN that in Turkey such murders could happen anytime to other journalists.

A group of ten people from Germany, attorneys from France, human rights' defenders, lawyers, Republican People's Party (CHP) Secretary General Adnan Keskin, İzmir deputy Sabri Ergül, Istanbul deputy Algan Hacaloğlu, and a representative from the parliamentary commission investigating the case, Hakan Tartan, were among those attending the trial. Adnan Keskin, speaking to journalists at his party's Afyon branch, said, "A crucial trial for Turkey's future is now taking place in Afyon." He said that CHP representatives would follow the trial through to its conclusion.

Le Monde / vendredi 7 février 1997

Tension en Turquie entre l'armée et le gouvernement

Les militaires ont fait déployer des chars près d'Ankara pour intimider une municipalité islamiste

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

On les savait mécontents depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir des islamistes du Parti de la prospérité (RP), mais la tension entre l'armée et le gouvernement a finalement explosé au grand jour. Une vingtaine de chars et une quinzaine de véhicules de transport de troupes ont défilé, mardi 4 février, dans les rues de Sincan, une municipalité proche d'Ankara où le maire islamiste avait ouvertement défié les principes de la Turquie laïque en organisant, vendredi 31 janvier, une « nuit de Jérusalem » au cours de laquelle de jeunes acteurs, déguisés en militants du groupe palestinien Haimas, simulaient le lancer de pierres contre les troupes israéliennes.

Le discours enflammé du maire, Bekir Yıldız, qui a, depuis, été destitué, et celui de l'ambassadeur iranien, Mohammad Reza Bagheri, qui avait déclaré qu'« Allah punirait ceux qui signent des accords avec l'Amérique ou Israël », avaient outré la population laïque et provoqué quelques ondes de choc dans les cercles politiques à Ankara.

Ces développements interviennent durant le mois du ramadan, qui est souvent une période de tension sociale en Turquie : la fer-

veur religieuse des musulmans pratiquants y est à son comble, irritant les défenseurs de la laïcité qui se sentent assiégés par l'omniprésence des symboles religieux. Cette année, cette tension a été encore exacerbée par la présence au pouvoir, pour la première fois, d'un premier ministre islamiste, Necmettin Erbakan, qui, abandonnant apparemment tout effort de compromis, a choisi le mois du jeûne musulman pour remettre sur le tapis, avec un enthousiasme renouvelé, des promesses électorales jugées inacceptables par la Turquie institutionnelle et une large partie de la population.

M. Erbakan a annoncé la construction de mosquées sur la grande place Taksim, à Istanbul, et dans le district de Cankaya, à Ankara. Il a déclaré que son gouvernement insisterait sur la levée de l'interdiction du port du foulard pour les fonctionnaires et dans les universités. Ces propositions ont embarrassé ses partenaires du Parti de la juste voie (DYP). Plusieurs ministres et députés ont annoncé qu'ils refuseraient d'appuyer ces mesures - qui ne figurent pas dans le protocole signé entre les deux partis - si elles étaient soumises à l'approbation du gouvernement.

Le président Suleyman Demirel, à qui le chef de l'état-major avait rendu visite, avait exprimé, vendredi 31 janvier, sa détermination à ne pas permettre à la Turquie de dévier du droit chemin. « La Turquie ne peut pas revenir en arrière ; elle ne peut qu'avancer », avait-il déclaré, ajoutant qu'il se portait garant du maintien de la laïcité en Turquie.

Alors que les chars de l'armée prenaient position dans les rues de Sincan, mardi, d'autres institutions de l'Etat se mobilisaient pour punir le radicalisme de son maire islamiste. Le ministre de l'intérieur, Meral Aksener, a annoncé que Bekir Yıldız avait été relevé de ses fonctions, et le procureur de la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat a demandé son arrestation. Ce dernier ordre n'avait pas été exécuté mercredi, le maire étant apparemment introuvable.

Le premier ministre avait, jusqu'à présent, choisi d'ignorer les messages indirects qui lui avaient été transmis, rejetant la responsabilité de la crise sur les médias qui, affirme-t-il, exagèrent l'importance des récents incidents. De son attitude, dans les jours qui viennent, dépendra vraisemblablement la survie de son gouvernement. Les militaires sont apparemment déterminés à ne pas faire de concessions et M. Erbakan sera forcé de faire marche arrière sur certains points qui touchent de trop près aux principes républicains. L'armée exige également le départ de l'ambassadeur iranien, qui est un ami personnel du premier ministre.

Le président
Suleyman Demirel

a déclaré qu'il se portait garant du maintien de la laïcité dans le pays

Cette crise relance les spéculations sur la possibilité d'une intervention indirecte des militaires qui, selon certains analystes, pourraient faire pression sur les politiques pour provoquer l'effondrement de la coalition. Tansu Ciller, le ministre des affaires étrangères, après avoir consulté le président, a insisté sur la nécessité de faire la distinction entre les incidents provocateurs de Sincan et les actes du gouvernement, signalant ainsi qu'elle n'avait pas l'intention de quitter la coalition pour l'instant.

Compte tenu de la distribution des sièges au sein de l'Assemblée nationale et des rivalités tenaces entre partis, les alternatives sont limitées. Le fait que les représentants de la gauche sociale-démocrate - le Parti républicain du peuple (CHP) de Deniz Baykal et le Parti démocratique de gauche (DSP) de Bülent Ecevit - aient tous les deux annoncé, mais séparément, leur intention d'introduire une motion de censure contre le gouvernement pour « sauver le pays » est symptomatique des divisions politiques qui persistent malgré l'urgence de la situation.

Dans quelques jours, le ramadan prendra fin et les Turcs - laïcs et islamistes - reprendront le débat sur la nature de leur Etat.

Nicole Pope

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Irak-ONU : Des experts de l'ONU préparent la distribution des vivres aux Irakiens

BAGDAD, 6 fév (AFP) - Des experts de l'ONU examinent les modalités de distribution aux Irakiens de vivres et de médicaments, devant commencer en mars ou avril, aux termes de la résolution dite "pétrole contre nourriture", a-t-on indiqué jeudi de source proche de l'ONU.

"Les préparatifs sont en cours et nous souhaitons commencer les opérations de ravitaillement en mars, mais celles-ci peuvent être retardées jusqu'à début avril", a précisé cette source à l'AFP.

Trois des 151 experts de l'ONU devant préparer et superviser la

distribution de produits alimentaires à la population irakienne, sont arrivés cette semaine en Irak et sont en contact avec les autorités, selon la même source.

"Des représentants du coordinateur des activités humanitaires de l'ONU et des responsables irakiens tentent de fixer la date du début de la distribution des vivres", a-t-on précisé.

L'accord "pétrole contre nourriture", entré en vigueur le 11 décembre, autorise l'Irak à vendre pour 2 milliards de dollars de brut par semestre afin d'acheter des vivres et des médicaments avec moins des deux-tiers de cette somme, le reste allant à l'ONU.

Les opérations de ravitaillement dans le centre et le sud de l'Irak seront effectuées par les Irakiens sous la supervision de l'ONU, alors que la distribution dans le Kurdistan (Souleymanieh, Dohuk et Erbil) sera supervisée par le Programme alimentaire mondial (PAM).

"Nous attendons toujours des sommes importantes pour acheter des camions, des ordinateurs et embaucher des interprètes, avant de commencer les opérations de ravitaillement", a-t-on poursuivi.

L'ONU avait approuvé en janvier les deux premiers contrats de vivres, concernant des cargaisons de blé australien pour une valeur de 50 millions de dollars et de riz thaïlandais pour 21 M USD.

Le Comité des sanctions de l'ONU devrait approuver bientôt d'autres contrats concernant des produits de première nécessité, notamment avec le Vietnam, la Jordanie, la France, la Tunisie et la Grande-Bretagne.

La population irakienne a grandement souffert de l'embargo imposé après l'invasion du Koweït par les troupes irakiens d'août 1990 à février 1991.

Le ministre irakien de la Santé, Oumid Medhat Moubarak, avait affirmé fin décembre que les "fonds destinés à l'achat de médicaments ne dépassent pas 210 M USD, ce qui constitue une goutte dans l'océan, compte tenu de nos besoins".

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ONU-Irak-Koweït : 9 pays demandent 32 milliards de dollars pour dégâts causés à l'environnement

GENEVE, 7 fév (AFP) - Le Koweït, les Etats-Unis et sept autres pays ont déposé des requêtes aux Nations unies, réclamant un total de 32

milliards de dollars à l'Irak pour les dégâts à l'environnement causés par la guerre du Golfe, a déclaré vendredi un porte-parole de l'ONU.

Les gouvernements avaient jusqu'au 1er février pour enregistrer leurs demandes d'indemnisation sur l'environnement auprès de la Commission de compensation des Nations unies.

Le Koweït, principale victime de l'invasion irakienne en 1990 et de la guerre qui s'en est suivie, a réclamé à lui seul 16 milliards, a précisé le porte-parole Thérèse Gastaut.

L'Irak a incendié en 1991 plus de 700 puits de pétrole lors de son retrait devant la coalition dirigée par les Etats-Unis et provoqué une marée noire dans le Golfe en déversant des barils de pétrole.

Les autres plaignants sont les Etats-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne, l'Australie, les Pays-Bas, l'Arabie saoudite, l'Allemagne, l'Iran et la Turquie.

La Commission d'indemnisation a été formée en 1991 pour indemniser les particuliers, les sociétés et les pays qui ont souffert de l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak.

Faute d'argent, elle n'a pu dédommager jusqu'à présent que 4.000 personnes prioritaires qui ont reçu au total 13,5 millions de dollars.

L'application de la résolution 986 "pétrole contre nourriture" va lui permettre d'indemniser prochainement d'autres particuliers. L'accord conclu entre l'Irak et l'ONU prévoit qu'un tiers des ventes limitées de pétrole irakien ira à la commission, soit 100 millions de dollars par mois.

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Irak-OCI-pèlerinage : Pèlerinage: l'Irak demande l'aide de l'OCI pour débloquer des fonds

BAGDAD, 7 fév (AFP) - L'Irak a demandé vendredi à l'Organisation de la conférence islamique (OCI) de l'aider à obtenir le déblocage de 50 millions de dollars de ses avoirs gelés à l'étranger pour financer le pèlerinage de fidèles irakiens à La Mecque, a rapporté l'agence officielle INA.

Le chef de la diplomatie irakienne Mohammad Saïd al-Sahhaf a adressé un message au secrétaire général de l'OCI, Ezzeddine Laraki, lui demandant de "fournir des efforts efficaces" pour obtenir le déblocage de la part du comité des sanctions de l'ONU, qui accorde des

déroptions à l'embargo multiforme frappant l'Irak depuis 1990.

M. Sahhaf avait adressé mardi un message au secrétaire général de l'ONU Kofi Annan, demandant également l'autorisation de liaisons aériennes entre Bagdad et La Mecque (ouest de l'Arabie saoudite) afin de transporter les pèlerins en avril prochain.

Dans son message, M. Sahhaf précise que l'Irak réclame le déblocage d'une partie de ses avoirs gelés dans des pays arabes, citant en particulier l'Arabie saoudite, Bahrein et les Emirats arabes unis, afin d'assurer les devises nécessaires au pèlerinage des Irakiens et à l'impression d'exemplaires du Coran, selon INA.

C'est la troisième fois que l'Irak réclame le déblocage d'une partie de ses avoirs bloqués dans les pays arabes qui détiennent, selon Bagdad, près de 1,5 milliard USD de fonds irakiens.

Dans son message à l'OCI, M. Sahhaf accuse Washington et Londres d'avoir empêché le comité des sanctions de satisfaire à ses précédentes demandes.

Le pèlerinage à La Mecque fait partie des cinq obligations fondamentales de l'islam pour tout croyant qui a les moyens de l'accomplir.

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OTAN-UE-Turquie : Malaise à l'OTAN face à des menaces turques de plus en plus pressantes

BRUXELLES, 7 fév (AFP) - La menace de la Turquie de bloquer l'élargissement de l'OTAN à l'Europe de l'Est, réaffirmée avec vigueur jeudi par le président turc Suleyman Demirel, suscite un malaise croissant chez les diplomates alliés qui ne savent pas trop comment tuer le ver dans le fruit.

"Si on prend trop au sérieux cette menace, on risque d'aggraver le problème, mais dans le même temps, on ne peut pas l'ignorer", a résumé vendredi un diplomate, se faisant l'écho d'un sentiment partagé par beaucoup de ses collègues au siège de l'Alliance.

Le président turc a déclaré jeudi que la Turquie mettrait son veto à l'élargissement de l'OTAN si elle n'est pas incluse dans le projet d'expansion de l'Union européenne, à la porte de laquelle elle frappe

depuis longtemps.

Officiellement, tant le secrétaire général de l'OTAN Javier Solana que l'Administration américaine refusent de croire que la Turquie mettra sa menace à exécution.

"Je ne crois pas que la Turquie opposera son veto à quoi que ce soit. La décision d'élargir l'Otan a été prise par les 16 membres de l'Alliance", a dit M. Solana à l'occasion d'une visite officielle à Ankara, en se montrant confiant sur le succès du sommet de Madrid.

Lors de ce sommet prévu début juillet, les alliés doivent inviter formellement les premiers pays d'Europe de l'Est à adhérer à l'Alliance. Pologne, République tchèque et Hongrie font figure de favoris, des discussions restant en cours pour la Roumanie et la Slovaquie.

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Chypre-ONU-Turquie : L'ONU déplore l'intransigeance des deux parties chypriotes

ISTANBUL, 7 fév (AFP) - L'envoyé spécial de l'ONU pour Chypre Han Sung-joo a déploré vendredi à Istanbul la réticence des Chypriotes grecs et turcs à faire des concessions pour aboutir à un règlement du problème de l'île.

"Chaque côté dit 'je ne ferai pas de concessions' et campe sur cette position", a déclaré M. Han à la presse à l'issue d'un entretien avec des responsables du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères.

"Le fossé (entre les deux camps) est encore large et nous aimerions le voir quelque peu comblé", a-t-il ajouté.

"Il faut que chaque camp réalise qu'il ne pourra obtenir 100% de ce qu'il veut", a-t-il dit.

M. Han est arrivé jeudi à Istanbul pour voir les dirigeants turcs après avoir eu plusieurs séries d'entretiens séparés à Chypre avec le président chypriote-grec Glafkos Clerides et le chef de la communauté chypriote-turque Rauf Denktaş.

M. Han a prédit qu'il n'y aurait aucune rencontre entre les deux leaders chypriotes dans un proche avenir, leurs positions "n'étant pas

suffisamment positives pour donner l'impression qu'une fois commencés, les pourparlers aboutiraient à un succès.

La tension était montée le mois dernier sur l'île divisée après l'annonce par le gouvernement chypriote-grec de l'achat de missiles sol-air à longue portée S-300 à la Russie.

La Turquie, estimant que ces missiles mettraient en danger les Chypriotes-turcs et sa propre aviation, avait menacé de prendre des mesures, y compris militaires, contre le déploiement de ces missiles.

Les Chypriotes-turcs ont fait état jeudi d'un échange de tirs la nuit précédente entre Chypriotes-grecs et soldats turcs dans la zone-tampon près du poste frontalier turc d'Akicinlar (Louroudjina), lors duquel un Chypriote-grec aurait été blessé.

Le porte-parole des forces de l'ONU à Chypre a confirmé l'incident sans préciser s'il avait fait des victimes. La Grèce et les Chypriotes-grecs ont démenti l'information.

Chypre est divisée en deux parties, grecque au sud, turque au nord, depuis l'intervention de l'armée d'Ankara dans le nord en 1974, suite à un coup d'Etat nationaliste à Nicosie qui visait à rattacher l'île à la Grèce.

Les efforts de l'ONU pour trouver une solution au problème chypriote ont jusqu'ici échoué, les derniers pourparlers intercommunautaires ayant été interrompus en 1994.

Les Chypriotes-turcs ont fondé en 1983 la République turque de Chypre du nord mais elle n'est reconnue que par Ankara. La Turquie maintient quelque 30.000 troupes dans le nord de l'île.

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Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1997

Kurdish groups in northern Iraq plan prisoner exchange

UN to completely pull out of Atrush. KDP says it will help those who don't want to return to Turkey

SAADET ORUÇ

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

■ The exchange of prisoners between Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) is planned for the holiday following Ramadan, sources attending the Supervisory Peace Monitoring Group talks told the Turkish Daily News Friday. Sources referring to a statement made by the PUK Polit Buro said that the PUK has expressed its readiness to release prisoners, but with the condition "that the KDP did the same." KDP's representative in Ankara, Safeen Dizayee, declared that such a development would serve the confidence-building measures now in place. The 6th peace monitoring talk was held in Ankara on Thursday, with the participation of British, Turkish, and U.S. officials as well as representatives of the KDP, PUK and the Turkmen Front. Shazad Saib, PUK's representative in Ankara, said that they were ready for such steps, but he also accused the KDP of violating the ceasefire at various times.

UN deadline also scheduled for Ramadan holiday
The United Nations High

Commission of Refugees (UNHCR) declared that the flag was to be withdrawn from Atrush camp after the Ramadan holiday, the Turkish Daily News learned Friday. Asked about such WHICH reports, UNHCR officials in Ankara said during a briefing that intensive talks were going on in northern Iraq between Turkish officials, KDP authorities, UNHCR as well as representatives of the refugees. It was also reported that the KDP was to provide settlement to some of the refugees in KDP-controlled areas on a case by case basis. When questioned about the Atrush camp, Dizayee stated that they were ready to assist the refugees who want to "return voluntarily." If not, according to Dizayee, the KDP will accept them to settle down in their region without living under the auspices of a "camp."

Turkmens are worried

Although the circumstances of the Turkmen minority in northern Iraq is an important part of Turkish diplomacy, the Turkmen

in Ankara are restless, Ismet Koçak, a representative of the Turkmen Front in Ankara told the Turkish Daily News Friday. Koçak said the Foreigners Division of the Police Headquarters asked an Iraqi Turkmen family to leave Turkey in a fortnight's time, he said in complaint.

He said this family included an elderly woman named Aysen Ali Mustafa and her son Ruaya Aydın Abdullah who were relatives of Aydın Abdullah, an army officer who was killed from torture in Iraq. Koçak said that the Iraqi Turkmen have great difficulty acquiring Turkish citizenship because Turkey does not want them to have it.

He gave an example of a young woman, Suat İmsel, who was seeking citizenship due to severe repression in Iraq. She was turned down and told that she needed to: "First get the document from your former country showing that you have given up your former citizenship." According to Koçak, this demand meant "Go, commit suicide."

US: Turkey can't turn back on NATO expansion

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1997

VOA: Turkey's EU membership unlikely

UĞUR AKINCI

Washington-Turkish Daily News

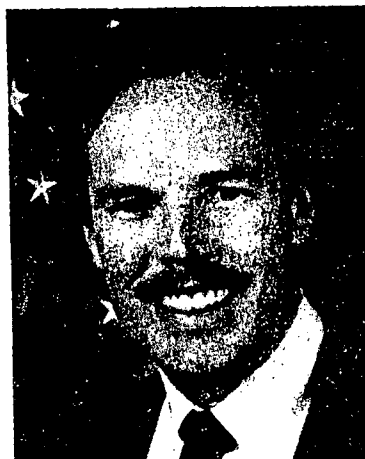
■ The Administration senior officials continued to press on with their firm line on NATO expansion despite news from Ankara Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan raised the possibility of a Turkish veto during his meeting with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana. The same possibility was raised by Foreign Minister and Deputy Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller during her visit to Rome last week.

"NATO expansion Will go forward... There is no turning back," is how Assistant

Secretary of State and spokesman Nicholas Burns stressed the point on Thursday. He said the decision was made way back in January 1994, in Brussels heads-of-states meeting to which Turkey participated and voted as a full member.

"NATO made a firm, irrevocable decision in December to hold a summit in Madrid in July and to identify then the countries with which we will negotiate membership. The Turkish Government supported that decision. And, as far as we know, the Turkish Government still does," Burns said.

"That is the united will of NATO led by the United States. Our position on this issue will not change."



US State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns indicates that NATO decision on expansion is irrevocable.

Observers argue that Turkey brought up the "NATO card" to guarantee Turkey's acceptance into the

European Union as a full member ahead of Greek Cyprus. Turkey, a member of the European Customs Union, has been an associate member of EU since 1963. The Clinton Administration maintains that EU and NATO expansion are two entirely separate processes and have nothing to do with one another. Turkey, on the other hand, disagrees with such an interpretation for lack of any other effective leverage to engineer entrance into the EU.

EU membership

The United States, a critical force behind Turkey's entrance into the Customs Union, still supports Turkey becoming a full member of EU.; Burns verified that policy once again on Thursday.

"Now, concerning Turkey and the EU, there's been a lot of talk, we know, in Europe about Turkey lately. We believe that the European Union should be open to Turkey — open to future membership, open to future association. Turkey is a European country which needs to be embedded in European institutions — not just NATO but also in affiliation with the European Union. We said that repeatedly, and I think it's important to reiterate that today," Burns said.

"But it is not appropriate to draw a link between the two and say that NATO expansion is going to be stopped because of some problem between Turkey and the European Union," he reminded.

Advice to EU

"Our policy advice to the European Union, recently stated by the Secretary of State to Sir Leon Brittan and Foreign Minister Van Mierlo, is that the European Union should have a close association with Turkey," Burns repeated. "They have a Customs Union. We believe they should be open to further closer association, including eventual [full] membership; and that's our position."

1994 decision

To drive the point home, and in answer to a TDN question, Burns said that Turkey's agreeing to NATO expansion was nothing new.

"Actually, the decision was made in January 1994 by the NATO heads of state in Brussels. It's been reaffirmed at every NATO ministerial since, but most importantly at the Brussels ministerial just six weeks ago. There's no turning back. NATO is going forward toward enlargement."

No linkage

As a response to another question, Burns stated once again that "I'm not aware of any linkage at all between EU expansion and NATO expansion. Obviously, the two phenomena are

occurring, but I'm not aware of any linkage drawn by either organization. I do expect Turkey to continue to come up in the radar screen when the United States talks to European Union officials."

VOA

Voice of America (VOA), the official radio broadcast of the American government, aired a report on the issue which focused on the possibility of a NATO-expansion-veto as raised by Erbakan and Çiller. VOA also claimed that Washington was "deeply worried" with questions raised by Turkey.

"Mrs. Çiller said that NATO expansion and European Union expansion were, in her words, "interlinked," and that only if Turkey were admitted into the European Union would it allow other countries into NATO," VOA said.

"Some Western diplomats say Washington, in particular, is deeply worried by Ankara's decision to link NATO expansion to expansion of the E.U. at a time when the defense alliance is preparing to admit new members from the former Soviet bloc. Although few observers believe Turkey will carry out its threat, some argue that Ankara's stance could slow down the process of enlargement," the VOA continued.

Little chance

VOA report said there is "little chance" that Turkey might be admitted to E.U. as a full member due to its record on human rights, economic problems and large population.

"According to some senior European diplomats, have prompted Washington to step up pressure on E.U. governments to allow Turkey into the group. But the diplomats say there are few signs that the European Union will admit Turkey in the near future.

Concerns over alleged human rights abuses, the fragility of the Turkish economy and its large population, E.U. officials say, make it unlikely that Turkey will be accepted in the near future," VOA said. "The ongoing dispute between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus is also a major obstacle to Turkey's accession, the officials add," is how VOA concluded its report.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1997

US 'aid' to Turkey kept same in 1998

Administration asks \$175 mil for FMF and \$50 mil for ESF for Turkey

FMF "subsidy" amount to Greece shoots up by 298% for FY98 while it decreases for Turkey

BY UĞUR AKINCI

Washington- Turkish Daily News

■ The agenda item that once upon a time defined the tenor of U.S.-Turkish relations, i.e. that misnomer, "foreign aid," has retained its current status as a footnote to that relation in the new U.S. International Affairs Budget (Function 150) announced in Washington on Thursday. The amounts

submitted by the Clinton Administration to the Congress for fiscal year 1998 (FY98) are pretty much the same as those that the Administration asked for FY97.

Numbers

For 1998, the Clinton Administration asked for \$175 million in FMF (Foreign Military Financing) loans; \$50 million in ESF (Economic Support Fund) grants; and a truly symbolic \$1.5 million in IMET (International Military Education and Training) grant.

Seven-to-ten

The arbitrary 7-to-10 ratio between U.S. military aid to Greece and Turkey, respectively, that was established by the U.S. Congress in the aftermath of the 1974 Turkish intervention in Cyprus, has been observed in FMF for 1998 just like in the years before. Greece was asked \$122.5 mil FMF for FY98 — same as FY97. There is no ESF asked for Greece “probably because it already received billions in the last decade from the European Union as a full member,” according a TDN source. Turkey is not a full member of the EU.

What's a “subsidy”?

The 7-to-10 ratio, however was again not retained in the loan subsidies that the Administration extends to the commercial banks who actually end up financing the FMF loans in question.

According to a Capitol Hill practice usually disregarded by the observers of Turkish-U.S. relations, the U.S. federal government never pays the full FMF amounts out of the funds provided by the American taxpayers. What the U.S. taxpayers actually end up footing is an amount usually varying from one-tenth to one-fifth of the total amount originally requested by the Administration, i.e. the “subsidy.” The rest is provided by the U.S. private banks and/or the appropriate financial institutions. The interest rates at which FMF loans are provided were used to be below-the-market “concessionary” rates in the early 90s. Nowadays, however, the rate seems to be even above the ongoing market rates which explains the Turkish officials' allergy to the term “aid.”

Greek subsidy shoots up

So when we look at the actual FMF “subsidy” amounts accorded to Turkey and Greece, we see great variation in the last three years. These amounts were \$34.91 million to \$24.44 million in FY96; \$36.77 million to \$3.23 million in FY97; and \$33.15 million to \$12.85 million for FY98, respectively.

That is, while the Administration proposes to REDUCE the actual amount it wants to pay to Turkey as FMF out of federal funds by \$3.62 million, it wants to INCREASE the same comparable amount to Greece by \$9.62 million — which repre-

sents a whopping 298% increase for Greece.

However, in all fairness, one should also point out that the Greek FMF subsidy took an equally surprising dive between FY66 and FY97 when it plummeted by 86percent from \$24.44 million to its current \$3.23 million.

Turkey received \$34.91 million as FMF subsidy in FY96 and \$36.77 million in FY97.

Greek Cyprus

Greek Cyprus got one of the best deals from the Administration this year, especially when compared to the amounts asked for Turkey — a country which is 100-times more populous than Greek Cyprus.

For FY98, Administration asked congress to give \$15 million to Greek Cyprus as ESF grant — same amounts earmarked in FY96 and FY97.

If the assistance countries received were in direct proportion to their population, the Administration either should have asked only \$500,000 for Greek Cyprus, or should have asked \$1.5 billion in ESF for Turkey.

Last year the same

gross imbalance was again the rule. Turkey ended up getting \$22 million ESF for FY97, compared to \$15 million for Greek Cyprus given for “intercommunal projects” — as though there were any. Washington does not recognize Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) as a legitimate state. Last year, the Administration request of \$50 million was slashed down to \$22 million after one flaming speech after another on the House floor by the anti-Turkish caucus, led by John Porter (R) of Illinois, regarding Turkey's embargo on Armenia and the Ottoman Turkey's role in “Armenian Genocide.”

Northern Iraq

One interesting budget item was the elimination of all funds for “Northern Iraq Peace Monitor Force” despite the fact that an estimated \$1.5 million was earmarked for FY97.

Was that because the U.S. did not believe there would be a force in 1998 in northern Iraq monitoring the volatile peace between warring Kurdish factions or that Washington decided to wash its hands free of financial responsibility, TDN asked a State Department senior official.

The official said the \$1.5 million in 1997 was “one-time funding,” that the U.S. believed in the force and an “alternative funding” will be found. “I wouldn't rule out the possibility that

we'll look at it again," he said.

Overall

The State Department's total International Affairs Budget for FY98 is \$19.451 billion, little up from \$18.227 billion appropriated for FY97. The amount represents only 1 percent of the total U.S. budget and is equal to one-twenty-fifth of what the Americans spend each year on gambling, according to the State Department.

But a recent survey conducted by University of Maryland showed that the average American thinks international affairs funds add up to 18 percent of the federal budget and request more to be allocated for Medicare. The real amounts appropriated for Medicare turns out to be 25 times more than what the Congress spends on the State Department.

The process

The real amounts appropriated will be decided after the Administration's requests are debated in the appropriate subcommit-

tee and committees of the Congress, voted by the full House and Senate. If there is a difference between the House and Senate versions of the bill — which is almost

always the case — then the amounts are debate once again at the Conference Committee. The resultant compromise is then sent to the President who signs it into law.

During these floor debates Turkey is usually subjected to a barrage of criticism by anti-Turkish members of the Congress who use the assistance issue as an open platform to lambaste what they regard as Turkey's shortcomings on a wide range of policy issues, including human rights, embargo on Armenia, situation in Cyprus, and alike. The lengthy give-and-take process that starts in

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1997

UN: Iraqi oil flowing smoothly

Beside transit fees, Ankara is hoping that the deal will pave the way for the complete lifting of the sanctions and enable the resumption of its once-busy economic relations with Baghdad

New York- Turkish Daily News

■ The Iraqi oil is flowing smoothly within the framework of "food-for-oil" program as allowed by UN Res. 986, UN spokesperson said on Thursday. But unauthorized trafficking in humanitarian goods through the Iraqi ports reportedly continues to be a problem.

The bulk of the \$2 billion's worth of crude Iraq is allowed to sell for six months to buy food and medicine for its population reeling under the U.N. trade sanctions imposed after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait, passes through 986-kilometer twin pipelines to the Turkish Mediterranean terminal of Yumurtalik.

Beside transit fees, Ankara is hoping that the deal would pave the way for the complete lifting of the sanctions and enable the resumption of its

once-busy economic relations with Baghdad.

The Coordinator of the Multinational Interception Force (MIF), Vice-Admiral Thomas B. Fargo, has said that while the monitoring of the outflow of oil had been running smoothly, the challenge for the MIF, designed to prevent prohibited items from entering or leaving Iraq, would be the inflow of approved shipments of humanitarian goods to the port of Umm Qasr.

Addressing the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, Vice-Admiral Fargo expressed major concern over what he termed as an emerging pattern of sanctions violations by a number of ships which were smuggling gas and oil from Iraq. He added that these violations were taking place inside Iranian territorial waters, thus, skirting the MIF operations. Vice-Admiral Fargo said continued resolve from the international community was necessary to end such practices.

The MIF, one of the largest maritime sanctions monitoring and verification efforts in history, is operating in the Persian Gulf on the strength of Security Council resolution 665 (1990) and under national command. Vessels from 15 countries, serving on rotation, has so far participated in the force.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1997

European Commission and European Parliament at odds over Turkey

The European Parliament has accused the European Commission of distorting parliamentary decisions on assistance to Turkey

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

■ The European Commission and the European Parliament are at odds over financial assistance for Turkey to be provided from the Mediterranean Fund (MEDA), the Anatolia news agency reported.

The debate between the Commission and Parliament, rather than focusing on specific organizations to receive aid, has developed into arguments on general principles, including human rights issues. The parliamentary Budget Committee has reportedly called for a meeting with

European Commission Chairman Jacques Santer to "discuss disagreements over general principles and clarify the issues."

A meeting between the Budget Committee and Commission officials, headed by German Christian Democrat Parliamentarian Diemut Theato, attempted to solve some of the differences.

Theato claimed the European Commission had tried to speed up Turkey's financial assistance project, alleging that as a result the Commission had not paid sufficient attention to European Parliament decisions.

Members of the budget committee pointed out that last September they had decided to distribute the MEDA fund to nonpolitical organizations involved with human rights and democracy issues. The parliamentarians claimed the Commission had interpreted organizations to receive financial assistance using a different agenda.

Even though there was goodwill between the Commission and Parliament on the matter of aid for Turkey, these differences of opinion had created a problem.

The standoff between Parliament and the Commission was affecting the reputation of both bodies, added Theato, warning that if the Commission made any agreements concerning Turkey before a meeting had taken place with Santer the tension would increase.

Trust between Parliament and the Commission had been damaged, said the parliamentarians, warning that the 1997 budget could be blocked if the differences were not satisfactorily resolved. For this reason an urgent solution was needed.

Commission representatives in turn said that projects for Turkey giving priority to women's issues, health, education and local organizations were their main aim.

Armenian lobby seeks to block US aid to Turkey

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

■ Anti-Turkish lobbies in the U.S. Congress are stepping up efforts to hurt Turkey, with the Armenian lobby trying to get aid stopped and the Greek-Greek Cypriot lobby trying to block the sale of helicopters to the Turkish military, the Anatolia news agency reported.

In a letter dated Feb. 7, 1997 the never-changing names of the Congress' Armenian lobby — Frank Pallone, Joseph Kennedy, Christopher Smith and John Porter — asked President Bill Clinton to put U.S. aid to Turkey on hold.

The letter claimed that Ankara did not permit the transport of aid by land to "weak" Armenia.

"Although Turkish officials, including Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, had flashed the green light say-

ing that land transport through Turkey would start, the border gate is still closed," read the letter. The letter stated that Azerbaijan also blockaded Armenia.

The letter said alternative routes for the country's fuel, food and emergency equipment were "too much of a burden," which has led to an increasing sickness rate in the country. Pallone, Smith, Kennedy and Porter asked President Clinton "to block aid to Turkey as long as Ankara maintained its attitude." The letter did not include the fact that Armenia still occupies one fourth of Azerbaijan and that more than one million Azerbaijanis are refugees in their own country. Moreover, the fact that humanitarian aid to Azerbaijan was illegal under U.S. law was not mentioned in the letter.

Another anti-Turkish lobbyist, Robert Andrews, a member of the Greek-Greek Cypriot lobby in Congress, has proposed a draft bill to block military credits and economic aid to Turkey unless it takes steps on the Cyprus issue. The same lobby had written a letter to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright about the four Sea Hawk helicopters Turkey was planning to purchase. Benjamin Gilman, president of the House International Relations Committee, and known for his close ties with the lobby, said the helicopters should not be given to Turkey because of the recent missile crisis in Cyprus.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1997

Gamk / samedi - dimanche, 8-9 février 1997

LE PATRONAT TURC DÉNONCE "L'HÉGÉMONIE DES GANGS ET DES CONFRÉRIES" ET PROPOSE "UN PROJET DE DÉMOCRATISATION"

Selon son président, le patronat turc a "honte de ce qui se passe chaque jour dans le pays". Il a "honte de l'hégémonie des gangs et des confréries". Et pour sortir le pays de cet engrenage destructeur, le rapprocher de ses partenaires occidentaux le patronat (TUSIAD) propose un vaste "projet de démocratisation" que son président Halis Komili, a, le 20 janvier, solennellement remis au président de l'Assemblée nationale, Mustafa Kalemli, ainsi qu'au général Karadayi, chef



d'état-major général des armées. Dans sa conférence de presse du 21 janvier à laquelle les médias turcs consacrent une large place (1,5 p. dans le quotidien Milliyet),

M. Komili ne mâche pas ses mots sur la gravité de la situation, sur "le manque de confiance de tous les secteurs de la société dans le système actuel" et appelle à la mobilisation de tous pour engager rapidement les réformes indispensables pour "une démocratie à l'européenne". Rappelant que "l'économie de marché ne peut se développer sans la stabilité politique" que "la politique ne doit pas être considérée comme l'apanage de certains milieux mais l'affaire de tous". M. Komili a souligné que le pays avait besoin d'un "véritable régime civil". "Actuellement le Conseil de Sécurité nationale (organe

non élu à dominante militaire) est élevé au rang du conseil des ministres. C'est une situation qu'on ne rencontre que dans des pays comme la Corée du Sud et l'Algérie alors que dans les pays démocratiques comme la France, l'Italie et les États-Unis ce genre de conseils ne sont formés que de techniciens" a-t-il ajouté. Un régime civil, cela notamment veut dire que l'état-major des armées doit être placé sous l'autorité du ministère de la défense, et non plus sous celle, théorique, du Premier ministre a poursuivi M. Komili pour résumer les grandes lignes des réformes proposées par le patronat. Parmi les mesures les plus significatives du patronat: abolition des articles 26 et 28 de la Constitution sur "les langues interdites" afin de permettre aux citoyens kurdes le libre usage de leur langue dans tous les domaines de la vie; liberté pour les Kurdes de donner à leurs enfants des noms de leur choix et d'utiliser, à la place des appellations turques imposées, les noms kurdes de leurs villes, villages et de lieux géographiques; abolition de l'article 8 de la loi anti-terreur et refonte des articles 158, 159, 311 et 312 du Code pénal afin d'assurer une véritable liberté d'expression; refonte de la loi électorale et de la loi sur les partis et les associations de façon à assurer effectivement la liberté d'association et une représentations équitables des citoyens; refonte de l'actuelle loi sur les prérogatives de la police héritée de la

période du parti unique (1924-1945) afin de garantir le droit à la vie et l'intégrité physique des citoyens. Enfin, le patronat estimant que le concept même d'une "idéologie officielle de l'État" est incompatible avec une véritable démocratie pluraliste qui doit être fondée sur la neutralité de l'État vis-à-vis de toute idéologie et de toute religion, demande la suppression du 5ème paragraphe du Préambule de la Constitution qui institue "le nationalisme d'Ataturk, les valeurs historiques et morales de la turquicité" en une idéologie officielle qui ne saurait en aucune manière être remise en cause. L'article 14 de la Constitution qui restreint gravement la liberté d'expression "afin d'empêcher un mauvais usage des libertés" doit également être abolie, souligne le "projet de démocratisation" du patronat qui, par ailleurs, demande une décentralisation des structures de l'État.

La démarche du patronat turc est saluée par la plupart des commentateurs comme "une action de salut public" bienvenue. Le président du Parlement s'est engagé à soumettre ces idées aux délibérations des députés. Cependant, l'état-major des armées a fait savoir que "ce projet est étranger aux réalités du pays", tandis que certains éditorialistes proches de l'armée raillent "ces patrons qui se mettent à la mode des intellectuels libéraux coupés des réalités du pays pour se faire bien voir de l'Europe".

DANS LA PRESSE

Gamk / samedi - dimanche, 8-9 février 1997

Le livre de l'historien B. Lewis sort en France

Il nie le génocide arménien !

Génocide ? Connais pas ! La traduction française de *L'histoire du Moyen Orient*, de Bernard Lewis, qui vient de sortir chez Albin Michel, risque de réveiller douloureusement bien des mémoires. L'entreprise, à première vue, était pourtant séduisante. L'éminent orientaliste américain - une autorité mondiale - se propose ni plus ni moins de retracer, en près de 500 pages, «2000 ans

d'Histoire». Mais, sans doute parce qu'une fresque ne peut s'embarasser de détails, c'est en deux pages qu'il expédie la tragédie arménienne de 1915. Or, si certains mots font mal, d'autres, par leur absence, font plus mal encore. On cherchera vainement dans ces deux pages un terme, un seul, le plus important: génocide.

Pour Bernard Lewis, la cause principale de la tragédie tient à la situation militaire catastrophique de l'empire ottoman, alors en guerre contre les Alliés - notamment les Russes. Selon lui, c'est face à l'agitation entretenue par des «bandes armées» que «le gouvernement décida de déporter la population arménienne d'Anatolie, selon une pratique hélas familière dans la région depuis les temps bibliques». Si Bernard Lewis consent à reconnaître les «effroyables épreuves» subies, et l'ampleur des massacres, c'est pour en imputer l'essentiel à la faim, à la maladie, à «des villageois et des nomades». Et pour excuser le gouvernement ottoman, qui ne disposait pas, ose-t-il écrire, de moyens suffisants pour «escorter» les déportés et «semble avoir essayé de contenir de tels excès».

RÉVISIONNISME: LE MOT EST LÂCHÉ!

Le professeur Alfred Grosser trouve «monstrueux, énorme, l'idée qu'il n'y ait eu aucune volonté de tuer. C'est effrayant. On dispose pourtant d'une foule de témoignages sur l'intervention des autorités dans un sens massacreur. Nier l'intention, c'est nier qu'il y ait eu génocide. C'est du révisionnisme», estime l'historien, qui a préfacé l'an dernier la traduction de *l'Histoire du génocide arménien*, de Vahakn Dadrian (Stock).

Révisionnisme, le mot est lâché. Déjà, à l'initiative du Forum des associations arméniennes, Bernard Lewis avait été condamné pour faute par le tribunal de grande instance de Paris, en juin 1995, après avoir estimé que le terme de génocide évoquait simplement «la version arménienne de cette histoire». L'affaire avait fait grand bruit. Le président du Forum, Kegham Kevonian, estime l'ouvrage de Bernard Lewis «scandaleuse et intolérable». Pour lui «la faute professionnelle commise par un historien devient une sorte de crime: quand on sait et qu'on ne dit pas, c'est que l'on ne veut pas». Tous les éléments d'une nouvelle «affaire Lewis» semblent réunis.

JEAN-PIERRE DENIS

(La Vie, 16 janvier 1997)

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

USA-Chypre-Turquie : Missiles russes commandés par Chypre : Clinton manifeste son "inquiétude"

WASHINGTON, 8 fév (AFP) - Le président américain Bill Clinton a exprimé vendredi son "inquiétude" à propos du projet du gouvernement chypriote d'acheter des missiles anti-aériens à la Russie et des "menaces" turques de frappes militaires que cela a provoqué.

Dans une lettre aux deux chambres du Congrès, dont le contenu a été rendu public par la Maison Blanche, M. Clinton indique que les Etats-Unis "ont fait connaître avec force leur inquiétude aux deux gouvernements".

Le gouvernement chypriote grec du président Glafcos Clerides a commandé à la Russie 20 missiles anti-aériens SA-300 qui devraient être livrés dans les 18 mois.

Cette décision a provoqué une réaction immédiate et très vive d'Ankara. La Turquie, qui occupe le tiers nord de Chypre depuis 1974, a ainsi menacé le gouvernement chypriote grec de frappes militaires

contre le sud de l'île en cas de déploiement des missiles.

M. Clinton souligne dans sa lettre "(son) inquiétude concernant la récente décision du gouvernement de Chypre d'acheter des missiles antiaériens et les menaces de frappes militaires de la part d'Ankara qui en ont découlé".

CHZ/et/ab eaf.m

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Allemagne-Turquie-OTAN : Elargissement de l'OTAN: Bonn appelle Ankara à "bien réfléchir"

BONN, 8 fév (AFP) - Le ministre allemand des Affaires étrangères Klaus Kinkel a appelé la Turquie à "bien réfléchir" avant de bloquer l'élargissement de l'OTAN.

Le gouvernement turc doit "bien réfléchir à son attitude au sujet de l'élargissement de l'OTAN à l'est", a déclaré M. Kinkel dans une interview à l'hebdomadaire dominical Welt am Sonntag.

Le président turc Suleyman Demirel avait déclaré jeudi que la Turquie mettrait son veto à l'élargissement de l'OTAN si elle n'était pas incluse dans le projet d'expansion de l'Union européenne (UE).

"C'est également vrai pour la Turquie: l'élargissement de l'Union européenne et l'ouverture de l'OTAN à de nouveaux membres représentent des processus sensibles et complexes qui certes, progressent parallèlement, mais suivent des règles différentes", a noté le chef de la diplomatie allemande dans cette interview largement rapportée au style indirect.

M. Kinkel a de nouveau souligné que la Turquie était un partenaire essentiel de l'OTAN et, de plus, "un pont important" entre l'Europe, le monde islamique et l'Asie. Il en va donc des intérêts de chacun d'intensifier les relations entre l'UE et la Turquie, a souligné M. Kinkel, appelant ainsi à "faire entrer en vigueur rapidement le protocole financier qui accompagne l'union douanière de l'UE et de la Turquie".

La Turquie, a-t-il insisté, a besoin d'une "perspective européenne solide".

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Turquie-oléoduc : Réparation de l'oléoduc irako-turc saboté en territoire turc

ANKARA, 8 fév (AFP) - La partie de l'oléoduc irako-turc qui avait été sabotée en janvier par des rebelles kurdes du PKK près de Midyat dans la province de Mardin (sud-est), a été réparée, a rapporté samedi l'agence Anatolie.

Près de 50.000 dollars ont été dépensés pour les travaux de réparation entrepris à l'issue d'un incendie allumé le 23 janvier, selon les autorités, par des maquisards du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), a indiqué l'agence.

L'incendie avait causé la perte de quelque 30.000 barils de brut irakien, provoquant également des dégâts matériels estimés à 800.000 dollars sur l'ouvrage.

Le pétrole brûlé était bloqué dans les conduites depuis que le pipeline a été fermé conformément à l'embargo multiforme imposé à l'Irak en août 1990 par l'ONU après l'occupation du Koweït par les troupes de Bagdad.

Le second oléoduc irako-turc, qui longe parallèlement le premier oléoduc abîmé, avait été remis en service, après six ans de fermeture, à la mi-décembre dans le cadre de la résolution de l'ONU "pétrole contre nourriture". Celle-ci autorise l'Irak à vendre du brut équivalent à deux milliards de dollars par semestre pour acheter des vivres et médicaments.

Ce double oléoduc relie les champs pétrolifères de Kirkouk (nord de l'Irak) au terminal pétrolier turc de Ceyhan-Yumurtalik sur la Méditerranée.

La Turquie a importé plus de 500.000 tonnes de brut irakien, acheminé par cet oléoduc, dans le cadre de l'accord turco-irakien signé en décembre à Bagdad pour l'achat de 1,8 million de tonnes de pétrole jusqu'à juin 1997. Le gouvernement turc a déposé 89 millions de dollars sur le compte bancaire de l'Irak auprès de l'ONU pour cet achat, selon Anatolie.

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Turquie-Suède : L'écrivain Yasar Kemal rentre en Turquie après un séjour en Suède

ANKARA, 9 fév (AFP) - L'écrivain turc d'origine kurde Yasar Kemal est rentré samedi soir en Turquie après un séjour de près de trois mois en Suède qui avait provoqué des rumeurs selon lesquelles il avait demandé l'asile politique au gouvernement suédois.

"Je serai la dernière personne à quitter la Turquie" a déclaré Yasar Kemal à son arrivée à l'aéroport d'Istanbul, démentant de nouveau l'intention qui lui avait été prêtée de quitter la Turquie.

Rentré en compagnie de son épouse Mathilde, de nationalité belge, il a expliqué qu'il avait achevé lors de son séjour en Suède la préface de son livre intitulé "La légende de Dede Korkut", du nom du poète légendaire des Turcs d'Oghouz, qui devait être publié en France.

"J'avais envisagé de rester (à Stockholm) jusqu'en mai mais j'ai bien travaillé et décidé de rentrer plus tôt", a-t-il ajouté. "A cet âge, il est trop de rester trois mois loin du pays", a dit l'écrivain, âgé de 74 ans.

Yasar Kemal, considéré comme le plus grand écrivain turc vivant, avait été condamné le 7 mars dernier à une peine d'un an et huit mois de prison avec sursis pour "incitation à la haine" par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Istanbul.

La justice lui reprochait d'avoir publié un article dans un livre intitulé "La liberté d'opinion et la Turquie", dans lequel il critiquait l'Etat turc pour sa politique vis-à-vis des Kurdes de Turquie.

L'auteur de "Mémed Le Mince" était arrivé le 16 novembre à Stockholm pour travailler sur ses nouveaux projets de romans et il avait lui-même démenti les rumeurs sur sa défection, ajoutant qu'il retournerait en Turquie.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1997

Turkish Aide Seeks to Revise Islamist Image in the U.S.

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

ANKARA — Perhaps no figure better symbolizes the modernization of Turkey's Muslim-oriented Welfare Party than a ruffled provincial named Abdullah Gul.

Until a few years ago, the party was dominated by dour Islamists whose greatest concerns were building more mosques and encouraging women to cover their hair. Mr. Gul was an obscure engineer from the Anatolian town of Kayseri and associate professor at Istanbul University.

But in 1991 he attracted the attention of the Welfare Party's leader, Necmettin Erbakan. Mr. Erbakan was trying to inject new blood into the party and arranged for Mr. Gul to run for a parliamentary seat from Kayseri. He won and was quickly welcomed into Mr. Erbakan's inner circle.

When Mr. Erbakan became prime minister last year, Mr. Gul emerged as his chief adviser on foreign affairs. Many diplomats in Ankara now consider him Turkey's foreign minister in all but name.

Officially the foreign minister is Tansu Ciller, head of the rival True Path Party, which is in an uneasy coalition with Welfare. That Mr. Erbakan has chosen to send Mr. Gul, rather than Mrs. Ciller, to Washington later this month reflects the new power constellation.

In his years in opposition, Mr. Erbakan made dozens of speeches bitterly condemning the West. Now that he is in power, he has stepped back from that militancy.

In an interview, Mr. Gul said he would take a reassuring message to Washington.

"Our relationship with the United States is closer than our relationship with Europe," he

said. "We want to maintain it and strengthen it."

He lamented that his party's Islamic orientation had led some Westerners to form a "wrong image" of its intentions. But he defended Turkey's right to improve relations with neighboring countries even though several are ruled by governments that are highly unpopular in Washington.

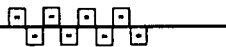
"Iran and Iraq and Syria are going to be our neighbors forever," he said. "Should we create problems with them or should we try to establish peace in the region? The best thing is to establish relationships of confidence. When we do this, are we really changing our fundamental structural relations with the West? No. Myself, I feel more comfortable in America and Europe.

When I have three days of vacation, I don't want to spend them in a hotel in Libya."

Foreign diplomats in Ankara say that although the 46-year-old Mr. Gul works hard, he is painfully inexperienced and has not yet shown a grasp of strategic global issues.

It was Mr. Gul's idea that Mr. Erbakan's first foreign trip as prime minister should include stops in Iran and Libya. The trip was a political disaster for Mr. Erbakan, who was subjected to a vitriolic tirade from the Libyan leader, Colonel Moammar Gadhafi.

During his eight days in Washington beginning Feb. 18, Mr. Gul will certainly face insistent questioning from members of Congress and others about Turkey's human-rights record and the treatment of its Kurdish minority. He said that while Turkey remained "an incomplete democracy" with "some problems" in human rights, it was unfair to judge the country only on that basis.



Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1997

European Commission of Human Rights assesses evidence in Ankara

ORYA SULTAN HALISDEMİR

London- Turkish Daily News

■ As many are awaiting the judgement of the European Court of Human Rights on two cases heard in the last month brought against Turkey, the European Commission of Human Rights heard oral evidence in Ankara from Feb. 3-8 in four other cases against Turkey that had been declared admissible by the Commission.

The four cases, namely, *Ertak v. Turkey*, *Kılıç v. Turkey*, *Kaya v. Turkey*, *Dulas v. Turkey*, who separately accuse Turkey of allegations of enforced disappearance, extra-judicial killings and village destruction.

According to the London-based Kurdish Human Rights Project, the delegation from the commission heard the testimony of applicants as well as other witnesses, including villagers, public prosecutors, officers of the gendarmerie and police officers.

In the Ertak case, the government denies the allegations put forward that Ertak's son had disappeared after he was taken into custody in Şırnak.

In the Kılıç case, the applicant complains of the killing of his brother, a journalist, near Sanliurfa in February 1993. The government denies any state involvement in the killing.

The Kaya case involves allegations of the disappearance and killing of Dr. Hasan Kaya in February 1993. The other case now before the commission, the Dulas case, complains that members of security forces destroyed the plaintiff's home and property. The Turkish government denied the allegation and provided a different account of events.

The Commission will now prepare a report on these cases and send them to the Committee of Ministers which then may be referred to the European Court of Human Rights.

Meanwhile, the Commission agreed to assess yet another case involving Turkey, regarding an alleged destruction of another village.

Journalists' oppression continues

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

■ The start of 1997 has seen no reduction in the number of attacks on journalists compared to the beginning of last year according to the January report of the Turkish Journalists Union (TGS).

The TGS commission which monitors press rights said two journalists were victims of armed attacks while two others were beaten by police and party officials. The report said 18 journalists had been detained by police and two had been arrested, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The report said the offices of various newspaper and magazine offices were raided 12 times by police and that one magazine office had been set on fire by persons unknown.

Six editions of newspapers and eight published books were confiscated, and four newspapers and magazines were closed down completely in January.

The report noted that the Supreme Board of Radio and Television had banned four television and radio stations from broadcasting for a certain period of time, and had censored one news program before being broadcast.

As of January, 99 journalists were in jail and 23 journalists are still awaiting trial. Nine journalists had been sacked during the month the report said.

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

'Unsolved murder' files boom at DGMs

■ The chief prosecutors of the State Security Courts (DGM) in Turkey have a total of 13,665 files concerning "unsolved murders," according to data taken from the General Directorate of Criminal Records and Statistics covering the period up to the end of 1995, the Anatolia news agency reported. The Diyarbakir DGM Chief Prosecutor's Office takes the lead with 11,699 files, while Konya has the fewest, with 22 files.

Files related to unsolved murders comprise 56.4 percent of the total workload of the DGM chief prosecutors. A total of 2,401 files were submitted to the prosecutors' offices between Jan. 1, 1995 and Dec. 31, 1995.

The DGM offices in Malatya, Erzincan, Izmir and Istanbul are among those with most files related to unsolved murders. In 1995, 255 cases of this type were solved.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1997

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

Turquie-Kurdes-Irak : 43 rebelles du PKK tués lors de raids aériens turcs dans le nord irakien

ANKARA, 12 fév (AFP) - Quarante-trois maquisards du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués en janvier lors de trois raids de l'aviation turque sur des camps rebelles situés dans le nord de l'Irak, a rapporté mercredi l'agence Anatolie.

Ces opérations aériennes ont été menées après détection de groupes de rebelles kurdes qui s'apprêtaient à attaquer des objectifs en territoire turc, a indiqué l'agence.

Des avions de combat F-16 et F-4 décollant de la base aériennes de Diyarbakir (sud-est) et de Malatya (est) ont bombardé des camps dans les régions de Metina, faisant 23 morts parmi les militants armés du PKK, et de Zap, en tuant 20 autres, selon la même source.

Le PKK utilise le nord de l'Irak, région montagneuse, comme base arrière, et l'armée turque organise fréquemment des incursions en Irak du nord à la poursuite de maquisards kurdes.

Le PKK mène une rébellion contre Ankara depuis 1984 pour créer un Etat kurde indépendant dans le sud-est de la Turquie. Cette rébellion et les opérations de représailles de l'armée d'Ankara ont fait près de 23.000 morts, civils, rebelles kurdes et membres des forces de sécurité.

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Turquie-Défense : Eurocopter prêt à signer un contrat de 400 millions de dollars avec la Turquie

ANKARA, 12 fév (AFP) - Le groupe franco-allemand Eurocopter s'apprête à signer avec la Turquie un accord de près de 400 millions de dollars pour la co-production en Turquie de 30 hélicoptères Cougar AS-532, a-t-on appris mercredi de source gouvernementale turque.

"Les autorités turques et des responsables d'Eurocopter devraient signer l'accord demain" à Ankara, a indiqué cette source à l'AFP.

Aux termes de ce contrat, la production se fera à Ankara dans les usines de la compagnie Tusas Aerospace Industries (TAI) qui

co-produit également des chasseurs F-16 aux termes d'un accord avec la firme américaine Lockheed Martin.

Les 30 Cougars AS-532, qui seront fabriqués conjointement en Turquie, comprendront 20 modèles de combat (search-and-rescue) pour l'armée de l'Air turque et 10 modèles utilitaires pour l'armée de Terre.

Un accord de principe sur les grandes lignes de ce contrat avait été conclu en juin 1995 entre le président Jacques Chirac et l'ancien premier ministre turc Tansu Ciller. A l'époque, le projet prévoyait la vente directe de 30 hélicoptères manufacturés dans les usines d'Eurocopter.

Mais après la chute du gouvernement Ciller à la suite des élections législatives de décembre 1995, le projet a été modifié et les deux parties se sont mises d'accord pour une production en Turquie.

Aux termes d'un précédent accord conclu en octobre 1992, la Turquie avait acheté 20 hélicoptères Cougar AS-532 à Eurocopter pour 253 millions de dollars, dont les dernières livraisons ont été effectuées en mai 1996.

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QUOTIDIEN ARMÉNIEN

MERCREDI, 12 FÉVRIER 1997
17^{ÈME} ANNÉE, N° 3182

TURQUIE-PRESSE

LE MINISTRE DE LA JUSTICE PROMET DE "NETTOYER LE PAYS DES MÉDIAS QUI DÉNIGRENT"

Lesprit critique dont les médias turcs font preuve au cours des derniers mois n'est pas apprécié par le gouvernement. Tandis que Mme. Çiller dénonce "les patrons de presse qui noircissent les réalités du pays" son collègue islamiste, Sevket Kazan, ministre de la Justice a réitéré, le 3 février à Konya, la volonté de son gouvernement de "nettoyer les médias". "Nous nettoierons ces médias qui dénigrent et noircissent le pays" a-t-il déclaré dans son discours de clôture du 3ème festival culturel et artistique de ramadan. "Les partenaires de la coalition feront preuve de tout leur courage pour mener à bien cette action



de nettoyage. Nous réalisons ce nettoyage afin d'assurer la suprématie de la vérité" a-t-il ajouté. Les grands médias turcs ont, pendant longtemps, notamment sous le gouvernement Çiller (juillet 1993-février 1996), bénéficié de très importants soutiens financiers de la part de l'État, sous la forme de subventions, de crédits avantageux, ..etc. La fin de cet "âge d'or" et l'arrivée au pouvoir du parti islamiste ont conduit certains de ces journaux et télévisions de tendance laïque à adopter une attitude critique vis-à-vis du pouvoir et à dénoncer les divers scandales de des gangs, de la mafia, etc., phénomènes qui étaient, pour une

large part, connue et évoquée pendant des années par les organisations des droits de l'homme et par une poignée de députés kurdes ou de courageux journalistes d'opposition, dont certains ont dû payer de leur vie ou de leur liberté leur recherche obstinée de la vérité. Aujourd'hui, indisposée par les critiques des médias, la coalition gouvernementale veut les mettre au pas au nom de la "Vérité", celle du pouvoir et des médias islamistes et ultra-nationalistes qui lui sont toujours dévoués.

**Haro sur les "émissions
et publications séparatistes"...**
Considéré comme le "super gou-

vernement" de la Turquie, le Conseil de sécurité nationale, à dominante militaire, s'était réuni le 27 janvier à Ankara sous la présidence de M. Demirel. D'après le communiqué rendu public à l'issue de cette réunion qui a duré près de cinq heures, trois sujets ont été débattus: les conséquences de la mise en cause du gouvernement turc par plusieurs pays européens (Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne, France et Pays-Bas), dans le trafic de drogue; la situation à Chypre et les mesures à prendre pour interdire l'accès au territoire turc des "publications et émissions destructives et séparatistes". Sur le premier sujet, le CSN a entendu un rapport du directeur de la Sûreté générale vantant "la lutte exemplaire de ses services contre la drogue" qui auraient au cours des deux dernières années saisi le tiers de l'ensemble de l'héroïne saisie par les polices européennes. Ensuite, le CSN a adopté des "mesures fermes" concernant Chypre qui seront appliquées quel que soit le gouvernement, car "la question chypriote relève de la politique nationale de la Turquie". Enfin, le Conseil après avoir entendu les rapports du ministre des télécommunications sur "les mesures légales, administratives et techniques à prendre contre

toute émission électromagnétique, y compris des émissions de radio et de télévision, destructives, séparatistes et illégales diffusées à partir de la Turquie ou de l'extérieur". Le CSN demande la modification à bref délai de la loi 3984 sur la radiodiffusion afin d'autoriser le Conseil supérieur de radiotélévision à "fermer les radios et les télévisions diffusant des émissions à caractère séparatiste et destructif". En ce qui concerne les radiotélévisions émettant de l'extérieur de la Turquie, la Direction générale des communications sans fil est chargée de les brouiller afin de les rendre inaccessibles aux habitants de la Turquie. Sous ces généralités, le régime turc vise d'une part les télévisions privées turques qui de temps à autre organisent des débats sur la question kurde ou sur "la situation dans le Sud-Est" d'autre part MED-TV, chaîne de télévision kurde émettant par satellite à partir de l'Europe et qui est regardée par nombre de Kurdes.

... Et sur les journalistes

Au cours d'une conférence de presse, tenue mardi 4 février à Istanbul, Reporters Sans Frontières affirme que "154 journalistes membres de la presse

d'opposition ont été victimes des violences policières en 1996 dont un, Metin Goktepe, a été battu à mort". "31 journalistes ont été torturés en détention, 53 interpellés avec brutalité et 69 agressés, menacés ou harcelés par la police" ajoute encore le rapport. La torture en détention est exercée comme "moyen d'intimidation" à l'encontre des journalistes pro-kurdes et d'une presse considérée par le gouvernement comme "hostile". Le procès des policiers accusés du meurtre du journaliste Metin Goktepe, initialement intenté à Istanbul, lieu du meurtre, s'était ouvert une première fois le 18 octobre dernier à Aydin, à 600 km à l'ouest d'Istanbul, officiellement pour des raisons de sécurité. Ce procès devait se poursuivre le 6 février et cette fois dans la ville d'Afyon à 300 km d'Istanbul. S'exprimant au nom de Reporters sans frontières, M. Jean Chichizola a déclaré que son organisme était "inquiet du fait que le lieu du procès a été changé deux fois, de ville en ville", et "du fait qu'un an après son ouverture, il n'en sera qu'à sa deuxième audience" le 6 février et que "Reporters sans frontières veut croire à un procès équitable, impartial et rapide".

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1997

U.S. Warns Russians on Arming Iran

By Robin Wright
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration has issued a diplomatic warning to Moscow about Russian assistance to Iran's missile program — aid that potentially could threaten U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, several Gulf allies and Israel, senior administration officials say.

Intelligence reports indicate that Russia recently transferred to Iran technology on the Russian SS-4 missile, which has a range almost three times greater than any missile now in Iran's arsenal.

The warning was issued during talks last week between Vice President Al Gore and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The transfer basically involves detailed instructions on how to construct the weapon's delivery system, U.S. sources said. Israeli officials said the transfer also included some parts for an SS-4 missile.

The SS-4, with a range of 2,000 kilometers (1,250 miles), carries a standard warhead that is equivalent to 1.5 tons of TNT. The Soviet Union, however, once loaded the missile with a 1-megaton nuclear warhead.

Mr. Chernomyrdin denied that Moscow had authorized transfer of the giant missile, administration officials said.

Administration officials are speculating about whether the technology could have been transferred to Iran from cash-strapped former Soviet weapons producers or complexes.

'How it happened' is still a gray

area," a senior administration source said. "One possibility is that it was beyond the control of government."

A Middle East source said, "The Russian government may not support such an export but they don't do enough to stop it." He added, "They are not monitoring what is leaving their country."

Iran's acquisition of the SS-4 is being interpreted as a new indication that Tehran is actively seeking a nuclear capability, according to administration sources and regional experts.

"A missile of that size and accuracy could only be lethal or used effectively with a nuclear weapon or a biological weapon of near nuclear lethality," said Anthony Cordesman, co-director of the Middle East program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1997

U.S. Admiral Accuses Iran Of Helping Iraq Smuggle Oil

The Associated Press

MANAMA, Bahrain — Skirting Iran's Gulf coast, tankers are smuggling tens of thousands of tons of fuel oil out of Iraq in violation of United Nations sanctions, a U.S. admiral has charged.

The embargo breakers and their Iranian protectors have had two confrontations with the U.S. Navy in the last two weeks, he said. In one unpublicized incident, an unidentified tugboat rammed a U.S. frigate.

"Our indications are that this is a rather sophisticated effort, centrally controlled within Iran," Vice Admiral Thomas Fargo, commander of the U.S. 5th Fleet, said Tuesday at his headquarters in Bahrain.

The "Iran connection" alleged by the admiral is one visible sign of cooperation between the two former enemies in trying to foil American efforts to enforce UN trade sanctions on Iraq.

The main motive is money.

Iraq, desperate to circumvent the embargo, will sell the oil cheap, and a 2,000-ton (980-kilogram) shipment of oil can net \$150,000, Admiral Fargo estimated.

Crews of intercepted vessels tell investigators that Iranian authorities are taking a cut of the profits.

"A protection fee is paid to the Iranians that guarantees them safe passage through territorial waters," the admiral charged.

He said that an Iranian Revolutionary Guard maritime station at the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab waterway that separates Iran and Iraq appeared to be the "gatekeeper" for the illicit shipments.

On Wednesday, however, the National Iranian Oil Company denied that it was helping Iraq smuggle oil, the Iran News reported.

The state-owned company said Iran had not provided Iraq with any facility to smuggle oil in violation of sanctions, the English-language newspaper reported.

"Iran has never ignored the UN embargo on Iraq in the past nor will it do so in the future," it said.

Even businessmen in a country allied with the United States profit from the oil smuggling, Admiral Fargo charged. He said that some smuggled diesel oil eventually is unloaded in the United Arab Emirates.



Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1997



New Cougar helicopters are to boost Turkey's general purpose helicopter fleet capability.

\$500m deal today with Eurocopter for Cougars

Sea Hawks on track: \$150 million agreement for four Sikorsky-made Sea Hawks is also expected to be signed this week

METEHAN DEMİR
Ankara - Turkish Daily News

■ Turkey's controversial \$500-million deal with Eurocopter to produce the second batch of 30 Cougar helicopters in a joint production project with around 30 percent local input is to be signed today in Ankara between the French firm

and the Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM).

The long-awaited Cougar deal that sparked a row among some defense circles over their allegedly low mission performance will increase the number of such helicopters to 50. The joint production of the 30 Cougars will be carried out at the same Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI) plant which successfully produces Turkey's F-16 fighter jets, near Ankara. During some parts of the project, various Turkish firms such as Aselsan will take part in the production. Under the deal, Turkey will also benefit from some special offset programs as part of the package.

The second batch of Cougars — the advanced version of the Cougar Mk I — will incorporate the advanced features of both the Mk I and Mk II series and the original model of the Cougar Mk I will not be produced. The second batch of Cougars will be an advanced version of the Cougar that will be built in Turkey for the first time.

A defense source said that the cockpit will be taken from the Cougar Mk II model. Out of 30 choppers, 20 will be delivered to the Turkish Air Force (TuAF) for Search and Rescue (SAR) missions.

Sea Hawks and ambiguity

Meanwhile, the \$150-million agreement for four Sea Hawks is also expected to be signed this week. The Sea Hawks will be armed with Hellfire missiles, equipped with radar, dipping sonar and other high-tech electronic sensors and will provide anti-submarine and anti-ship defense and surveillance. The helicopter — in use by the U.S. navy — can operate off the new Meko 200 TN frigates which Turkey already possesses. Referring to the efforts by the anti-Turkish lobbies and some congressmen in Washington to prevent the sale of the Sea Hawks, U.S. defense sources in Ankara said that Sikorsky is lobbying the congressmen in Washington, describing the anti-Turkish lobby efforts and the initiatives to prevent the sale of Sea Hawks as meaningless because Turkey can also obtain such helicopters from Europe or Russia. A U.S. defense source told the TDN that Sikorsky is still trying to convince Congress and spending a

lot of money for special promotion campaigns for Turkey.

Sikorsky officials both in Turkey and in the U.S. say that they are trying to clear up misunderstandings and bias in the U.S. about Turkey.

TDN Washington representative Uğur Akıncı has written that on January 29 the chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Benjamin Gilman, sent a letter to Secretary Madeleine Albright asking her not to approve Turkey's Sea Hawk order. Gilman promised Albright plenty of opposition on the Hill if she did so. But it turns out the order has not even reached the State Department yet from across the Potomac, i.e. the Pentagon.

Turkey's general purpose helicopters

Turkey already has 20 Cougar Mk I. The \$253-million contract was signed in 1993 with Eurocopter for direct procurement of those 20 AS-532 Cougar medium transport helicopters. Cougar Mk I's and Sikorsky-made Black Hawks are general purpose (GP) choppers used for different purposes, such as cargo and VIP transportation and for medical and some other light lifting purposes.

Cougar Mk I's were purchased for \$12.5 million per aircraft while Black Hawks were purchased in 1992 for \$8.2 million per aircraft, according to SSM information released in its 10-year anniversary booklet.

Eurocopter is a joint venture between Aerospatiale and Daimler-Benz Aerospace AG that makes Tiger combat helicopters and Cougar tactical helicopters,

Cougars can deploy 25 to 40 personnel at once, depending on the configuration. It can fly at 283 km per hour at an altitude of 7,200 feet, and its maximum range is 1,100 km.

In 1992 Sikorsky was awarded a contract by the SSM for the co-production of 105 helicopters. The first 45 direct sale Black Hawks were delivered. The second part of that contract was not implemented while contracts went to France.

There were some reports that the Çiller administration in 1993 made the decision for the additional 30 Cougar choppers from the French company in order to increase Turkey's chance in customs union voting by drawing the French vote.

• Libération - jeudi, 13 février 1997 • Libération - jeudi, 13 février 1997

Plus cher vaut la vie de Rushdie

Une fondation iranienne augmente la prime pour tuer l'écrivain.

Une nouvelle fois, l'Iran règle ses comptes sur le dos de Salman Rushdie. Alors que le gouvernement iranien réaffirme régulièrement qu'il n'enverra jamais de commandos pour faire exécuter la sentence de mort qui frappe l'écrivain depuis le 14 février

1989, une puissante fondation religieuse d'Etat a augmenté hier le montant de la récompense pour son assassinat. A présent, les tueurs recevront 500 000 dollars de plus, ce qui porte le montant de la prime à 2,5 millions de dollars. Dans une interview au quotidien *Jomhouriyeh Islami*, l'ayatollah

Hassan Sane'i, qui préside la fondation du 15 Khordad, a ajouté que celle-ci paierait les intérêts cumulés depuis la date à laquelle la prime a été fixée; une précision étonnante dans la mesure où, théoriquement, l'Islam interdit la rémunération de l'épargne assimilée à de l'usure.

C'est la seconde fois que la récompense est augmentée; la prime initiale avait été fixée à un million de dollars. «La fatwa de l'imam Khomeiny est un décret divin et tous les musulmans sont tenus de chercher à l'exécuter», a déclaré le religieux. Ce devoir «n'est pas réservé à une personne ou

«La fatwa de l'imam Khomeiny est un décret divin et tous les musulmans sont tenus de chercher à l'exécuter.»
L'ayatollah Hassan Sane'i



RENAUD MONFOURNY

Salman Rushdie a dénoncé le «dialogue critique», estimant que les Européens n'ont obtenu aucun progrès de la part de l'Iran.

une nationalité déterminée, mais incombe à tous les musulmans (...), a-t-il ajouté. La prime sera versée à toute personne qui exécute la fatwa «qu'elle soit musulmane ou non, même aux gardes du corps de Rushdie» s'ils décident d'assassiner l'écrivain.

Immédiatement, le président iranien Ali Akbar Hachemi-Rafsandjani s'est démarqué de cette décision au cours d'une conférence de presse. Selon lui, la fondation du 15 Khordab (le 15 avril dans le calendrier iranien, date d'une rébellion contre le Chah dirigée par l'ayatollah Khomeiny en 1963) est «non gouvernementale» et n'a «aucun lien avec la politique officielle du gouvernement». Il demeure que cette fondation est

liée au pouvoir: à sa tête, l'ayatollah Sane'i est d'ailleurs le représentant personnel du Guide de la révolution, l'ayatollah Ali Khamenei, la plus haute personnalité politique et religieuse iranienne. Ce dernier, qui a notamment vocation d'arbitrer les différends entre les différentes factions, ne s'est pas exprimé sur ce sujet.

En fait, derrière la surenchère de la fondation, se devine l'offensive des factions les plus radicales contre le camp dit des pragmatiques, notamment dans la perspective de la prochaine élection présidentielle qui se déroulera en juin. «L'objectif est de mettre Rafsandjani et ses partisans au pied du mur», souligne un journaliste iranien. S'il s'oppose aux ultras, il risque

d'être accusé de trahir l'héritage de l'imam Khomeiny qui, lui-même, peu avant sa mort, prononça la fatwa dont c'est le huitième anniversaire. S'il ne réagit pas, il se trouve en porte-à-faux vis-à-vis des pays européens, partisans du «dialogue critique» avec l'Iran. Ce «dialogue critique», défendu avec ardeur par la France et un peu moins par l'Allemagne depuis l'affaire Sarkouhi (voir ci-contre), évite d'isoler l'Iran – ce que les Etats-Unis voudraient obtenir de l'Union européenne. Le gouvernement iranien y est très attaché puisqu'il permet des relations régulières avec les Etats européens et des échanges de délégations politiques à un niveau subalterne. Pour Paris, ce «dialogue cri-

tique a permis de sauver la tête de Rushdie», selon l'expression d'un diplomate; toutefois, jamais l'UE, en dépit de nombreuses tractations, n'a pu obtenir des dirigeants iraniens une lettre officielle dans laquelle ils s'engageraient à ne pas

mettre en œuvre l'exécution de la fatwa, Téhéran faisant valoir qu'un décret religieux a un caractère irrévocable. L'écrivain britannique a d'ailleurs plusieurs fois dénoncé le «dialogue critique», estimant que les Européens n'ont obtenu aucun progrès de la part de l'Iran. Hier, la présidente du Comité international de défense de l'écrivain, Frances D'Souza, a

qualifié d'«obscène» l'augmentation de la récompense. Soulignant que la fondation du 15 Khordad était une «organisation d'Etat», elle a ajouté: «D'un côté, vous avez des hauts membres du gouvernement qui

disent: «Nous ne tuerons pas Salman Rushdie», et, en même temps, un autre bras du gouvernement, qui est l'organisation d'Etat 15 Khordad, annonce une augmentation de son budget

pour le tuer.» Dans la même interview, l'ayatollah Sane'i s'est déclaré «sûr que cette mission sera exécutée en temps opportun» et que Rushdie sera «tué et expédié en enfer».

Hier, le journal *The Guardian* faisait état d'une intensification des mesures de sécurité autour de l'écrivain, après avoir découvert des projets récents pour mettre à exécution la fatwa ●

J.-P.P.

• Libération - jeudi, 13 février 1997 • Libération - jeudi, 13 février 1997

«Torture, prison et mort m'attendent...»

Comment l'Iran utilise l'écrivain Sarkouhi pour faire pression sur Bonn.

La lettre est plus qu'un testament, elle semble venir d'outre-tombé. Manuscrite, datée du 14 janvier et longue de 14 pages, elle est parvenue secrètement en Europe. «Je ne sais combien de temps il me reste. A chaque instant, je m'attends à ce qu'on m'arrête à nouveau ou à ce que je sois incidemment assassiné ou ma mort déguisée en suicide. Torture, prison et mort m'attendent», écrit Faradj Sarkouhi, 49 ans, éditorialiste et critique littéraire à l'hebdomadaire *Adineh*. Il se dit au cœur d'une machination préparée par les services secrets du régime. Leur objectif: faire pression sur Bonn pour obtenir que les plus hautes autorités iraniennes ne soient pas citées lorsque la justice allemande rendra son verdict dans l'affaire du Mykonos, ce restaurant de Berlin où, à l'instigation de Téhéran, furent assassinés, en septembre 1992, trois dirigeants kurdes iraniens et un autre opposant.

Appareil terroriste. Le 23 août 1995, le Parquet fédéral allemand avait créé la surprise en déclarant étudier la possibilité d'ouvrir une instruction contre Ali Khamenei et Ali Akbar Hachémi-Rafsandjani, respectivement Guide et président de la République islamique. Pour les juges, ils sont les commanditaires du quadruple assassinat, dont les auteurs présumés sont actuellement jugés à Berlin. Ils ajoutent que les deux dirigeants supervisent un appareil terroriste qui a coûté la vie à une soixantaine d'opposants en Europe. En Iran, c'est la colère. Le clergé de Qom menace de lancer contre «les procureurs-mercenaires allemands» une fatwa comparable à celle condamnant à mort Salman Rushdie. «L'insulte entre dans la même catégorie que les Versets sataniques», déclare le texte des oulémas. «Les ultras du régime ont été profondément blessés dans leur honneur et dans leur idéologie. Il leur est intolérable qu'un tri-



Faradj Sarkouhi, 49 ans.

bunal étranger puisse mettre en cause le Guide, institution fondatrice de la République islamique, créée par l'imam Khomeiny», analyse une journaliste iranienne. A cette époque, Sarkouhi est arrêté une première fois pour deux jours. Le 3 novembre, il est une seconde fois à l'aéroport de Téhéran alors qu'il s'apprette à se rendre en Allemagne où réside sa femme et ses deux enfants. Cette fois, il disparaît pendant quarante-sept jours. Les autorités nient qu'il est détenu. Pourquoi?

Dans sa lettre, que sa femme et son frère ont authentifiée, l'écrivain fournit une explication: les services secrets iraniens veulent faire porter à Bonn la responsabilité de sa disparition. Aussi, font-ils partir à sa place un «faux Sarkouhi», doté d'un passeport falsifié, afin de faire croire qu'il a effectivement quitté le sol iranien. «Je n'étais pas officiellement un prisonnier, j'étais un disparu qui n'avait laissé aucune trace. (...) Les contraintes physiques et psychiques m'ont brisé. Je fus démoli», écrit-il. Mais, à cause de ses proches qui refusent de

croire à sa disparition de son plein gré, la machination échoue. Et Bonn a fait savoir que les documents fournis par l'Iran pour démontrer que l'écrivain s'était rendu en Allemagne étaient vraisemblablement des faux.

Supplices. Pendant sa détention «dans un cachot secret», Sarkouhi affirme avoir été contraint à des aveux télévisés, notamment d'avoir eu des relations d'espionnage avec un diplomate allemand et un autre français: «Ils me battaient pour que je me comporte de la façon la plus naturelle devant la caméra (...). Je ne cherche pas à me disculper, mais, sous les contraintes morales et physiques, je suis arrivé au bout de mes forces. On m'a anéanti. J'avais tout simplement envie qu'on en finisse le plus rapidement et qu'ils me tuent (...) pour être délivré de mes supplices et de la folie», poursuit-il. Et d'ajouter: «J'ai passé huit ans dans les geôles du Chah mais tout ce que j'ai enduré pendant ces huit ans ne vaut même pas cinq minutes de ces quarante-sept jours de supplices qu'on m'a infligés dans les prisons du régime (...). On m'a dit que j'allais rester quelque temps dans une cellule isolée et, après des aveux devant la caméra, que l'on allait me tuer, enterrer mon cadavre incognito ou bien le jeter quelque part en Allemagne.»

Si l'écrivain a été choisi par la Savama, qui a succédé à la Savak (la police politique du temps du Chah), c'est parce que sa femme et ses enfants demeurent en Allemagne.

«J'avais tout simplement envie qu'on en finisse et qu'ils me tuent (...) pour être délivré de mes supplices et de la folie.»
Faradj Sarkouhi

C'est aussi parce qu'il est un des écrivains et journalistes signataires de «l'appel des 134», qui demande la fin de la censure en Iran. Enfin, il essaye de mettre sur pied une Association consultative des écrivains iraniens, ce qui énrage les ultras du régime. En le faisant disparaître, en lui extorquant ensuite des aveux d'espionnage au profit de l'Allemagne, Sarkouhi estime que ses géoliers avaient un triple objectif: impliquer les Allemands et leur arracher des concessions dans l'affaire du Mykonos, faire croire à la population que Bonn se livrait à des ingérences en Iran, enfin, discréditer et effrayer ceux des intellectuels iraniens qui ne peu-

vent se résoudre au silence.

Porté disparu. Le 20 décembre, Sarkouhi est libéré mais demeure sous surveillance policière. Ses geôliers l'ont fait réapparaître à l'aéroport de Téhéran et, aux journalistes qui l'interrogent, il fait croire qu'il revient du Turkménistan. Dans sa lettre, il reconnaît avoir été encore forcé de mentir. Il prévoit aussi qu'il sera de nouveau arrêté. Le 27 janvier, il est à nouveau porté disparu, mais, cette fois, les autorités iraniennes reconnaissent le détenir.

L'affaire a aggravé l'état des relations entre Téhéran et Bonn. «L'arrestation et la mise en jugement de criminels tels que Sarkouhi relève des affaires intérieures de l'Iran et tout ingérence étrangère est inacceptable», a déclaré le porte-parole du ministère des Affaires étrangères. «Promouvoir et respecter les droits de l'homme élémentaires constituent un souci légitime de la communauté internationale», a répliqué Martin Erdmann, son homologue allemand, qui n'a pas exclu «un lien» entre l'affaire Sarkouhi et le procès des tueurs du Mykonos. Mais, au sein même

du régime, l'action des services secrets iraniens ne fait pas l'unanimité. «Même si les Affaires étrangères couvrent, elles sont très mécontentes de la détérioration des rapports avec l'Allemagne; et l'ambassadeur iranien à Bonn a même demandé la libération de Sarkouhi», indique une source iranienne. Hier, le président iranien en personne, après s'être «étonné» de l'importance donnée par Bonn à cette affaire, a reconnu qu'elle était «ambiguë» et «pas claire»... ●

JEAN-PIERRE PERRIN

Solidaire - 12 février 1997

Le régime turc torture des enfants

Brandir un calicot peut coûter douze années de prison

HILDE MEESTERS

Cette histoire commence quelques semaines après la journée de protestation pour une démocratisation de l'enseignement, qui se tient chaque année le 6 novembre. Le 26 novembre 1995, la police antiterroriste arrête seize jeunes de l'école secondaire de Manisa, petite ville de l'ouest de la Turquie. Comme d'habitude, l'arrestation est fondée sur la loi antiterroriste de 1991. L'article 8 de cette loi stipule: «Sont interdits la propagande écrite ou orale, les meetings et les manifestations, quels que soient les objectifs ou les idées, qui tendent à détruire l'unité indivisible du territoire et du peuple. Celui qui enfreint cette loi est passible d'une peine de prison de deux à cinq ans et d'une amende sévère.» Sur base de cet article, celui qui distribue un tract, déploie un calicot, vend un journal de gauche, peut être arrêté et incarcéré pendant trente jours sans contact avec un avocat, sa famille ou ses amis. Durant cette période, le détenu subit presque systématiquement la torture.

Les étudiants de Manisa ont été soumis à des tortures graves pendant douze jours. Plusieurs médecins l'ont confirmé officiellement et quelques élèves reçoivent toujours des soins. Épuisés après douze jours de torture, ils ont signé une

déclaration dans laquelle ils avouent des actes qu'ils n'ont jamais commis. L'opinion publique a vivement réagi et les étudiants ont désigné formellement dix policiers comme étant leurs tortionnaires. Le procès a commencé le 12 mars 1996 devant le tribunal de la Sûreté de l'Etat. Cette juridiction créée au lendemain du coup d'Etat militaire de 1980 traite toutes les affaires 'politiques'. Parmi les trois juges, il y a toujours au moins un militaire.

Des électrochocs dans mon vagin et sur mes seins

Pendant le procès, Ayse Mine Balkanlı (19 ans) déclare que la police l'a soumise à des tortures physiques et psychiques. «Des policiers pénétraient dans ma cellule et me posaient toutes sortes de questions. Lorsque j'ai refusé de répondre, ils ont commencé à me frapper le visage. Ils m'ont arraché les vêtements et m'ont jetée sur le sol et arrosée d'eau froide, après quoi ils m'ont pratiqué des électrochocs dans le vagin et sur les seins. Ne supportant plus les souffrances, j'ai signé la déclaration qu'ils avaient préparée. A travers un trou dans la porte de ma cellule, j'ai pu

voir comment mes amis étaient torturés. On les a également arrosés d'eau froide et ils étaient nus. Pour qu'on n'entende pas leurs cris, les policiers passaient l'hymne national de l'Empire ottoman à plein volume.»

Un étudiant observe que pendant sa captivité, il n'a vu un médecin qu'à trois reprises: «Quand nous devons nous rendre chez le médecin, nous étions toujours accompagnés de policiers. Lorsque le médecin me demandait si je souffrais de fractures, j'étais obligé de dire non.»

Le cadet des étudiants, qui a à peine 15 ans, déclare au procès: «Immédiatement après mon arrestation, dans la voiture, ils ont commencé à me torturer. Les policiers parlaient sans cesse d'un attentat à la bombe contre un magasin. Ils me demandaient quand j'avais jeté la bombe. Je leur disais que je n'avais rien à voir dans cet incident, mais plus je niais, plus ils me torturaient. Cela a duré 11 jours.»

Cinq jeunes écopent de 12 ans de prison

Le verdict est tombé le 16 janvier dernier: dix jeunes sont condamnés à des peines de prison globalisant 76 ans et 3 mois. Cinq d'entre

eux ont été condamnés chacun à 12,5 ans de prison. La seule preuve qui ait pu être apportée sont les slogans sur les murs: «Vive l'amitié entre les peuples» et «Nous voulons un enseignement gratuit». Mais l'auteur de ces slogans 'subversifs' n'a pas été identifié.

Nous reprenons ci-dessous un échantillon des accusations officielles ainsi que les preuves matérielles ou plutôt leur absence.

1. Jet d'un cocktail Molotov dans un salon de coiffure. Le propriétaire et les pompiers ont déclaré que le feu a commencé dans le poêle à gaz.
2. Slogans sur les murs. Les avocats ont exigé qu'il soit clairement établi si c'étaient effectivement les jeunes qui avaient écrit les slogans sur les murs. Le tribunal a rejeté leur demande.
3. Slogans sur un train. Le chef de gare a déclaré qu'il n'y a pas eu de slogans.
4. Distribution de tracts. Aucun témoin n'a confirmé que des tracts ont effectivement été distribués.
5. Constitution de bande armée. Aucune arme n'a été trouvée, ni sur les jeunes, ni à leur domicile.
6. Appartenance au DHKP-C. Pas la moindre preuve n'a été apportée devant le tribunal.

1. Cumhuriyet, 26 décembre 1996.

Solidaire - 12 février 1997

Un millier de prisonniers politiques de moins de 18 ans

'Avocats pour le Peuple': les enfants sont en prison, les tortionnaires en liberté

HILDE MEESTERS

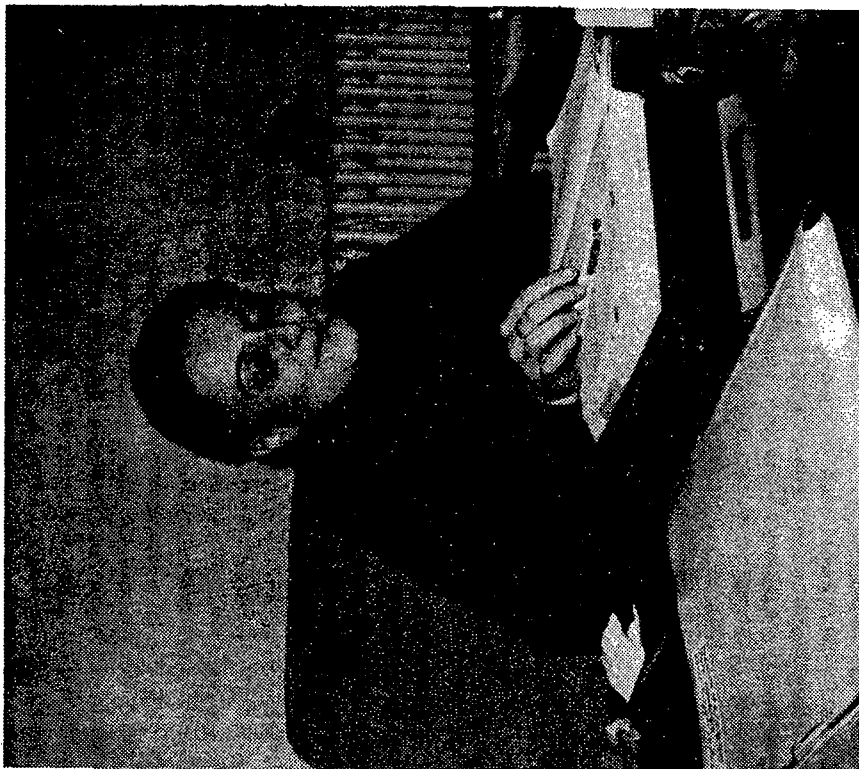
Maître Filiz Bozuoglu est avocate. Elle est membre du groupe démocratique 'Bureau d'avocats pour le Peuple'. Le verdict dans le procès Manisa l'a indignée:

«En Turquie, les enfants inculpés d' 'activités politiques' sont traités comme des adultes. Ils sont écroués avec les autres détenus politiques dans l'une des soixante prisons spéciales. Normalement, les enfants doivent toujours être assistés d'un avocat lors des interrogatoires. Mais dans la pratique ce n'est presque jamais le cas. C'est soit la police, soit le procureur qui décide de l'incarcération. Mais même ce dernier place le plus souvent l'enfant en détention 'administrative', sans avocat. Le procureur sait pourtant qu'il livre ainsi un enfant aux tortionnaires. Nos avocats ont souvent exigé d'être présents lors de l'interrogatoire d'enfants, mais on le leur refuse systématiquement. Dans le cas du procès Manisa, il est prouvé que les jeunes ont été torturés. Il existe des rapports médicaux,

des traces physiques et psychiques. Une loi en Turquie stipule que les déclarations faites sous la torture ne constituent pas une preuve. Mais le tribunal de la Sûreté de l'Etat accepte toujours ce genre de déclarations. Sur base de déclarations extorquées sous la torture, des peines de vingt années de prison ont été prononcées.

L'organisation des droits de l'homme IHD publiera prochainement un nouveau rapport. Mais

je peux confirmer que sur les 20.000 prisonniers politiques de Turquie, au moins mille sont des jeunes de moins de dix-huit ans. Les flics qui ont torturé les enfants devront comparaître devant la Cour pénale. Mais comme d'habitude ils seront acquittés. Aucun d'eux n'a jamais été condamné. Pendant le procès Manisa, les flics étaient simplement assis dans la salle. Les enfants les ont désignés du doigt.»



Maître Filiz Bozuoglu, avocate.

«Mon fils n'est pas un voleur Excusez-moi»

Après le verdict du tribunal, la mère d'Emrah Sait Erda, condamné à douze ans et demi de prison, a pris la parole: «Je présente mes excuses devant l'Etat et son dirigeant, le président Demirel, de ne pas avoir éduqué mon enfant comme ils le souhaitent. En effet, mon fils n'est pas

devenu manager à l'exportation (un poste servant de couverture à des activités criminelles), ni quelqu'un qui commet des assassinats au service de l'Etat, ni un voleur, ni un membre d'une bande maffieuse. Je n'aurais jamais voulu éduquer un tel enfant. Pardonnez-moi!»



JEUDI, 13 FEVRIER 1997
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ARMENIE-KURDES

La "République kurde de Latchine" réapparaît dans la presse turque

Le centre de presse du gouvernement du Haut Karabagh a opposé un démenti ferme aux informations publiées dernièrement par le quotidien turc "Jumhuriyet" faisant état de la collusion entre le PKK et les autorités arméniennes. Des allégations résonnant comme une antienne, depuis le début du conflit du Karabagh, dans les media et les cercles gouvernementaux turcs, qui avaient pourtant mis un bémol ces derniers temps à ce refrain et se félicitaient même de la bonne volonté manifestée par Erévan dans la "lutte contre le terrorisme kurde". Mais si Stépanakert a pris la peine de démentir l'information selon laquelle le PKK et les Arméniens seraient en train de créer une "République kurde de Latchine" dans cette portion de territoire enclavé entre l'Arménie et le Haut Karabagh, sous contrôle arménien depuis 1993, c'est qu'elle prétend se fonder sur un rapport émanant du ministère de la défense et des services français sur les "activités de l'organisation terroriste PKK" diffusé en juin 1996 selon le journal turc. Soulignant le soutien dont est supposé bénéficier le PKK sur le territoire de l'ex-URSS, ce dernier indique que la coopération politique et militaire est évidente entre les Arméniens et le PKK, la région de

Latchine, autrefois peuplée de Kurdes, constituant la base géographique et politique de cette alliance.

L'argument n'a en fait rien de nouveau : dès lors qu'ils avaient pris le contrôle de cette région d'une importance stratégique majeure, dans la mesure où elle met en contact l'Arménie et le Haut Karabagh via la route reliant Goris et Stépanakert, le fameux "corridor de Latchine", les Arméniens ont été accusés de vouloir redonner vie à cette entité kurde qui avait connu une éphémère autonomie dans les années 20, sous le nom de "Kurdistan rouge", avant que la population kurde ne soit soumise à une politique d'assimilation forcée de Bakou à laquelle elle était d'autant plus vulnérable que de confession musulmane, quoique sunnite. Mais même si de tels projets ont pu être envisagés à Stépanakert, où l'on a décrit l'hypothèse d'une renaissance d'un Kurdistan dans la région de Latchine, et de Kelbadjar plus au nord, zone tampon avec l'Arménie, comme un scénario possible justifiant juridiquement la présence arménienne tout en divisant l'Azerbaïdjan, ils relèvent plus de la littérature, voire de la propagande, que d'une réelle politique; depuis l'exode des populations azéries et kurdes à la suite des violents

combats dont elles ont été le théâtre, ces régions constituent désormais un véritable "no man's land", à l'exception de rares oasis de repeuplement arménien. Frappées du sceau du "secret défense", ces régions ne donnent, pour l'instant du moins, aucun signe qui puisse faire penser à la création d'une quelconque entité kurde; d'autant que la population kurde indigène, d'ailleurs largement assimilée et peu politisée, n'a jamais semblé très sensible aux appels à l'indépendance de certains de ses responsables, et ne manifeste aucune disposition à rentrer chez elle, du moins pour s'ériger en entité autonome.

Vu de Bakou et d'Ankara, il faudrait se méfier de l'eau qui dort; le secret qui entoure la région de Latchine serait dû au fait qu'elle servirait de base arrière et de camp d'entraînement au PKK pour ses opérations sur le territoire turc, dont la déstabilisation sert au mieux les intérêts arméniens, l'objectif étant à plus long terme la création d'une "République kurde de Latchine" inféodée aux Arméniens. Pour le centre de presse de Stépanakert, les informations répandues par "Jumhuriyet" sont à ranger dans la politique systématique de désinformation et d'intoxication menée par la Turquie depuis 1991-92 concernant les liens présumés entre les Arméniens et le PKK, et plus généralement, avec la nébuleuse terroriste. A Erévan, on n'a pas jugé utile de commenter des informations "dénudées de tout fondement".

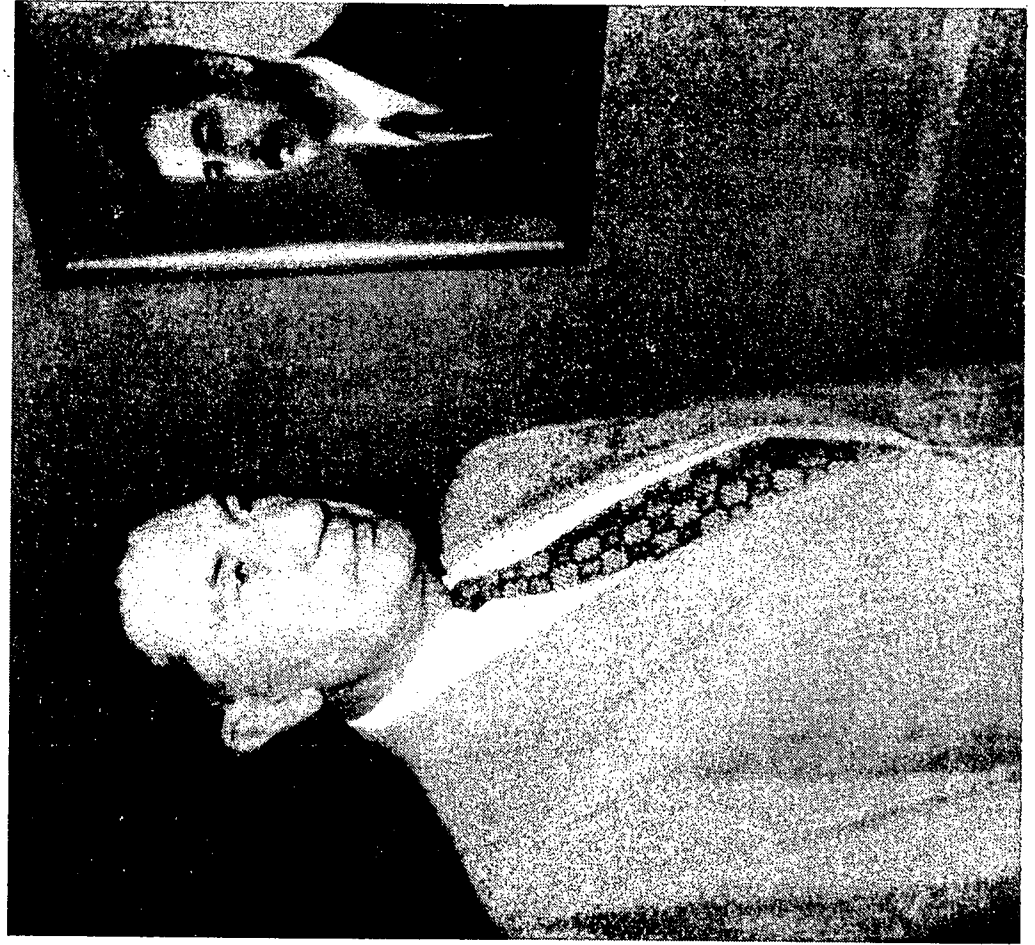
G.

• Libération - jeudi, 13 janvier 1997 • Libération - jeudi, 13 janvier 1997

Jeannou Lacaze, lobbyiste en Irak

Le général s'est reconverti en intermédiaire, coûteux, pour businessmen français.

Bagdad envoyé spécial
Faut-il vraiment passer par un intermédiaire pour faire des affaires en Irak? C'est la question que doivent se poser les quelque cinquante businessmen français qui se sont rendus en janvier à Bagdad sous l'égide du Conseil du commerce et de l'industrie franco-irakien (CCIFI), une officine privée fondée par l'ex-chef d'état-major français, le général Jeannou Lacaze (*Libération* du 21 janvier 1997). Non seulement, peu de contrats ont été signés, mais l'escapade leur a coûté cher: 39 000 francs exactement pour un aller-retour Paris-Amman en avion, le transport en taxi jusqu'à Bagdad, quatre nuits d'hôtel sur place et la location d'un petit stand d'exposition sur le mini-Salon agroalimentaire Agri-France mis sur pied par le CCI-FI. Un rapide calcul montre que le coût réel n'excède pas les 10 000 francs, gardes du corps non compris mais sont-ils vraiment nécessaires? Certains sont d'autant plus amers que quelques entreprises proches de Jeannou Lacaze ont eu droit à un prix d'ami: 25 000 francs. «Parfois, on se demande si on ne



sion de préparer la visite d'entrepreneurs français et de les aider dans leur démarche sur place. Dans l'entourage de Lacaze, qui ne voit pas d'un bon œil cette concurrence «adéloyable» puisque gratuite, on rétorque que les Irakiens sauront faire le tri entre ceux qui étaient là dans les moments difficiles et ceux qui réapparaissent au moment opportun.

Viol de l'embargo. Il est vrai que le business d'intermédiaire en Irak peut se révéler très lucratif. Le général Lacaze n'est d'ailleurs pas le seul sur le marché: l'Association franco-irakienne de coopération économique (Aface), de Gilles Munier, ou la section internationale du CNPF sont aussi sur les rangs, ainsi que plusieurs francs-tireurs généralement proches de l'extrême droite. «*Tout ça fait un peu désordre, et les Irakiens risquent un jour d'envoyer balader tout le monde*», s'inquiète d'ailleurs un lobbyiste.

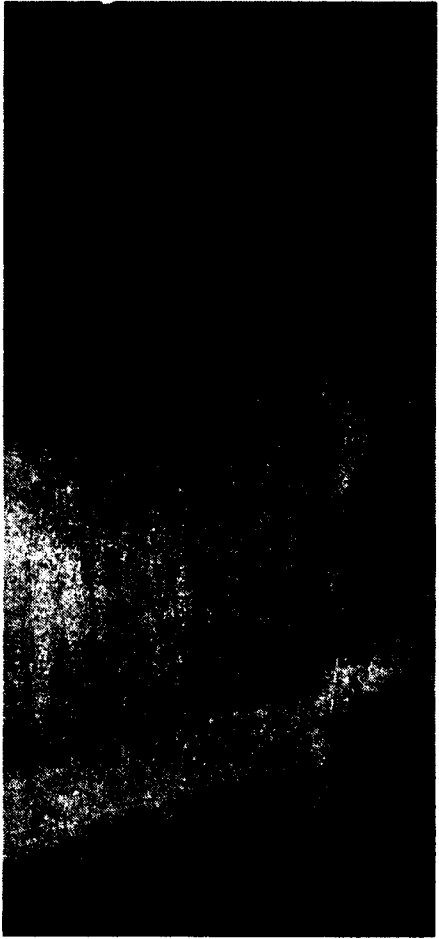
En attendant, autant profiter des occasions qui se présentent. Lors des trois journées du Salon Agrifrance, les plus maulins ont vite compris qu'il ne leur restait plus qu'à espérer

sert pas à financer ses activités politiques?» se plaignait un homme d'affaires préférant garder l'anonymat. Le général Lacaze est membre de l'Union des indépendants et du Centre national des indépendants et paysans.

Pierre Girard-Hautbout, chargé de mission auprès du général Lacaze, se défend: «Les hommes d'affaires sont libres de venir seuls ici. Nous n'avons pris personne en otage. S'ils passent par nous, c'est qu'ils savent que nous avons un carnet d'adresses sans équivalent. Ils ont pu rencontrer cinq ministres en trois jours. Tout ça se paie.»

Entre anciens chefs d'état-major... De fait, Lacaze a gardé d'excellentes relations avec le ministre irakien du Pétrole, Amir Rachid, remontant à l'époque où ils étaient chefs d'état-major dans leurs pays respectifs. Plus généralement, Pierre Girard-Hautbout est persuadé qu'on ne peut pas faire de business dans un pays comme l'Irak sans passer par les responsables politiques: il n'a pas tort dans la mesure où le secteur privé y reste embryonnaire.

La vraie question est de savoir sur quoi débouchent ces fameux contacts politiques. Pas grand-chose de



Jearmou Lacaze à Bagdad en 1995. L'ex-chef d'état-major a conservé un utile carnet d'adresses irakien.

concret, si l'on se fie à un rapide sondage dans les stands d'Agrifrance. Pour nombre de novices, ce fut la douche écossaise: «On nous avait dit que les Irakiens nous attendaient à bras ouverts et que nos contrats n'avaient plus qu'à être signés. En fait, on a réalisé sur place que tout le monde était déjà là et qu'on était arrivé bien trop tard pour les contrats au titre de la résolution "Pétrole contre nourriture". Au moins, on a pu prendre quelques contacts, mais ça fait un peu cher la carte de visite.» D'autant que la section des intérêts français à Bagdad compte un conseiller commercial dans ses rangs depuis le mois d'octobre: il a pour mis-

négocié deux ou trois contrats en douce avec la nomenclatura du régime, qui n'a pas perdu le sens des affaires. «J'ai vu ici une laiterie industrielle ultrarécente comme il n'en existe qu'aux Etats-Unis», s'étonnait ainsi un Français en visite pour la première fois en Irak. «J'imagine qu'elle est entrée en fraude et en pièces détachées.» Plus surprenant: son hôte lui a proposé d'acheter des souches génétiques de vaches laitières Holstein à livrer à Amman, en Jordanie, ou à Dubaï, dans les Emirats arabes unis. Ensuite, le client irakien se débrouille pour faire entrer la marchandise dans son pays comme il peut, c'est-à-dire en contrebande, puisque ce genre de transactions, prohibées par l'embargo, n'entre pas dans le cadre de la résolution «Pétrole contre nourriture», dont tous les contrats sont visés par le comité des sanctions des Nations unies. Un dévoiement qui a donné au voyage organisé par le général Lacaze des allures de grande foire au viol des sanctions onusiennes à l'encontre de l'Irak! Le régime de Saddam Hussein aura sûrement apprécié, les entreprises françaises moins ●

CHRISTOPHE AYAD

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

Turquie-Défense : Eurocopter: contrat de 430 millions de dollars en Turquie

ANKARA, 13 fév (AFP) - Le groupe franco-allemand Eurocopter, filiale d'Aérospatiale, a signé jeudi à Ankara un contrat de 430 millions de dollars pour la vente et la coproduction en Turquie de 30 hélicoptères Cougar AS-532 MK1, a-t-on annoncé de source officielle.

L'accord prévoit l'achat direct par la Turquie des deux premiers appareils qui seront livrés en juillet 1999.

Les 28 autres exemplaires seront fabriqués conjointement dans les usines de la compagnie Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI) près d'Ankara, qui coproduit également des chasseurs F-16 aux termes d'un accord avec la firme américaine Lockheed Martin.

La première livraison des hélicoptères coproduits aura lieu en octobre 1999. La coproduction durera 68 mois et se terminera en octobre 2002.

Les 30 Cougar AS-532 MK1 comprendront 20 modèles de combat (search-and-rescue) pour l'armée de l'Air turque et 10 modèles utilitaires pour l'armée de Terre.

Le contrat a été signé par le ministre turc de la Défense Turhan Tayan et le président d'Eurocopter Jean-François Bigay, en présence de l'ambassadeur de France à Ankara Daniel Lequertier.

"Il y aura plus de 30% de contenu local dans les hélicoptères", a indiqué le sous-secrétaire d'Etat à l'industrie de Défense turc Yalcin Burcak.

Les compagnies turques participantes seront, outre la TAI, les firmes Aselsan, TEI, Netas et Aspilsan.

Un accord de principe sur les grandes lignes de ce projet avait été conclu en juin 1995 entre le président français Jacques Chirac et l'ancien premier ministre turc Tansu Ciller. A l'époque, le projet prévoyait la vente directe de 30 hélicoptères fabriqués dans les usines d'Eurocopter.

Après la chute du gouvernement Ciller suite aux législatives de décembre 1995, le projet a été modifié et les deux parties se sont mises d'accord pour une production conjointe en Turquie.

Ce contrat vient s'ajouter à un autre d'un montant de 253 millions de dollars, signé également à Ankara en octobre 1993, aux termes duquel

l'armée turque avait acheté 20 hélicoptères Cougar AS-532 UL multi-usages et leurs pièces de rechange. Les dernières livraisons découlant de ce contrat ont été effectuées en mai 1996.

Le nouveau contrat est d'une valeur de 430 millions de dollars. En incluant la logistique, la maintenance et les services à long terme, il avoisine les 500 millions de dollars, selon des sources turques.

Les engagements d'off-set directs et indirects d'Eurocopter sont de plus de 50%, soit quelque 215 millions de dollars.

Le Cougar, appareil bimoteur, a une capacité de transport allant jusqu'à 24 soldats. Il a une vitesse de croisière rapide à masse maximale (10 tonnes) de 260 km/h et une autonomie de 800 km.

Ce type d'hélicoptère est déjà utilisé par 34 pays. Un millier ont déjà été fabriqués.

Sur un marché turc dominé par les Américains, les firmes françaises ont fait leur entrée depuis 1990 avec plusieurs accords sur des projets de défense, dont 138 millions de dollars pour des radars mobile Thomson CSF, suivis d'un contrat de 116 millions de dollars pour achat et fabrication de 515 canons de 25 mm et tourelles de la société GIAT.

M. Bigay s'est félicité du nouvel accord, qu'il a qualifié de "nouveau partenariat", exprimant l'espoir qu'il débouchera "sur d'autres domaines de coopération".

De source bien informée, on a indiqué qu'Aérospatiale négocie actuellement avec la Turquie deux autres projets, l'un concernant des missiles Erix pour une valeur de quelque 500 millions de dollars, l'autre un satellite Turksat 2A à 32 canaux, d'une capacité égale à celle des deux satellites Turksat déjà en orbite.

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Turquie-Défense-USA : La Turquie achète quatre hélicoptères Sikorsky aux Etats-Unis

ANKARA, 13 fév (AFP) - La Turquie a passé commande jeudi de quatre hélicoptères de marine UH-60 Sea Hawk à la compagnie américaine Sikorsky, pour 113 millions de dollars.

L'accord prévoyant l'achat direct de ces appareils, destinés à être

stationnés sur des frégates, a été signé à Ankara entre les autorités turques et des représentants de Sikorsky, a-t-on annoncé de source officielle.

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Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1997

PKK settles Atrush refugees in border villages

Ankara- Turkish Daily News

■ A number of refugees leaving the Atrush camp in northern Iraq are being resettled by the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in villages along the Turkish-Iraqi border, that had once been occupied by the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), the Anatolia news agency reported on Thursday.

Anatolia said the refugees had been placed in the border villages by the PKK to act as a kind of buffer in the case of a cross-border raid by Turkish troops.

Anatolia also claimed the PKK had positioned 300 armed men in the Atrush camp.

Last week, the KDP announced that those refugees who did not want to return to Turkey could settle in the border villages if they accepted KDP authority in the area.

The Atrush refugee camp is home to approximately 14,000 Turkish Kurdish refugees. The UNHCR decided to withdraw from the camp after it admitted that Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were effectively in charge at the camp.

The situation at the camp has been in somewhat of a deadlock since most of the refugees have refused to return to Turkey. It has also been reported that over 1,000 refugees joined the PKK after the U.N. decision to pull out of the camp.

Military sources speaking to Anatolia reporters said the situation regarding the camp and its inhabitants would be clarified after the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) releases its report on its current visit to the camp.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1997

Russia holds conference with PKK participation

Turkey, whose protests succeeded in canceling the first attempt to have the conference, warned Moscow on Wednesday to prevent further activities of this kind, which demonstrate 'support for the PKK'

Ankara- Turkish Daily News

■ The Committee on Geopolitical Issues of the Duma has tightened its relations with the so-called Kurdish parliament-in-exile. The separatist militants orga-

nized a "Conference on Cooperation between the Russian and Kurdish Peoples" — which started on Thursday — with assistance from the committee, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Rustem Broy, a member of the executive committee of the so-called Kurdish parliament-in-exile, was presented as the 'expert of the Duma's Committee on Geopolitical Issues' in the official brochures of the conference.

The conference was chaired by Broy and attended by a number of Russian deputies.

Mahir Velat, a representative of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) responsible for the Commonwealth of Independent States

(CIS) and eastern European countries, told a group of journalists during a break that a Kurdish group of 10 people was currently working on the committee, which he deemed to be a great success.

Velat is known to be a high-ranking official in the PKK and has been allowed to take shelter in Moscow for a number of years.

The conference was first scheduled for Jan. 16, but did not materialize then due to protests from Turkey. As the current conference was being prepared, the Turkish Embassy in Moscow contacted the Russian Foreign Ministry and warned them that activities of this kind, which are evidently in "support of the PKK," should be prevented.



HADEP calls on the state to take the media reports into account.

TDN- Selahattin Sönmez

HADEP urges the state to punish informers

Ankara- Turkish Daily News

■ Sedat Yurtdaş, deputy chairman of the People's Democracy Party (HADEP), on Thursday hit out at informers, threats of a military coup d'état, and the banning of satellite dishes in the Southeast.

Speaking at a press conference on Thursday in Ankara, Yurtdaş urged the state to punish those who had gone to the press with stories of extrajudicial killings. Murat İpek and Murat Demir, who

Yurtdaş claimed were members of the Intelligence Department of the Gendarmerie (JITEM), told Radikal and Demokrasi newspapers that 73 prisoners from the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), including themselves, had become agents of the state and had been involved in political killings and kidnappings.

Dangerous polarization

Yurtdaş also criticised the military for showing off in Sincan. The HADEP deputy chairman said dividing the country

into secular and anti-secular groups was very dangerous. Last week, the military sent a number of tanks through the main street of the town after the mayor had held a pro Sharia rally two days before.

Referring to the steps taken by security forces in the Southeast to prevent people from watching the pro-PKK MED-TV, Yurtdaş asked the state to explain how it had used the 73 prisoners, instead of banning satellite dishes, which puts Turkey in a select group of only five countries that ban satellite dishes.

Turkish Daily News · FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1997

One minute of darkness leads to daylong controversy

ZAFER F. YÖRÜK
Istanbul- Turkish Daily News

■ While the "one minute darkness for permanent light" campaign has turned into a massive action by participation from around the country, looming reactions against the campaign and its participants from the top seats of the Refah Yol coalition are giving new momentum and dimensions to the debates around it. In particular, the Minister of Justice Şevket Kazan's recent comments which include a grave insult to the country's millions-strong Alevi community herald the beginning of a new crisis. Kazan said in his Bayram address to the Gebze district branch governors of the Refah Party, "The opposition is keeping itself busy with childish actions. They think they can clean up the country by

turning off their electric switches. They play 'candles off' by turning the lights off.

Do Alevis turn candles off?

The term "candles off" refers to a conventional folk fallacy about Alevi traditions. According to this belief, when Alevi families gather together at night, they put the candles off and engage in an incestuous orgy.

The origins of this belief lie in the fact that, unlike Sünni Muslims, Alevi men and women pray together in their Cem rituals. Moreover, the form of their prayers is not the classical Muslim namaz, but a form of dancing accompanied in a sense, by a form of religious music, performed by both men and women.

Alevis are a branch of Shi'ite Muslims, and Alevi practices are the peculiar form that Islam took in Anatolia at the popular level. Alevism is a synthesis of Islam with both the pagan Turkic traditions and the practices of the inhabitants of Anatolia where, religious heterodoxy reigned since the Greek civilization of ancient times. The world's largest Alevi community is in Turkey, which is estimated to form around one-third of the population.

The relationship between the Alevis and Sünnis in Turkey has always contained considerable tensions in modern times as well as before. In December 1978, ultra-nationalists (Ülkücüs) provoked the anti-Alevi feelings of the Sünni population of the southeastern city of Kahramanmaraş which resulted in a pogrom in the Alevi neighborhoods of the city, causing over 100 deaths among the Alevi population.

The place of the infamous Sivas massacre of July 1993, in which 37 people were burnt to death by religious fanatics, is also a province where Alevi-Sünni tension is traditionally momentous. Prior to his assignment to the post of minister of justice, Kazan worked as a defence lawyer of the Sivas massacre suspects. More recently, in 1995, a provocative armed attack on the Alevi populated Gazi neighborhood

of Istanbul led to unprecedented riots in Istanbul's suburbs leaving 14 Alevi youths dead from police fire. The Gazi riots were a reminder to Turkey's rulers of the sensitivity of the Alevi issue, and since then all wings of the political spectrum have taken extra caution when mentioning the Alevis. In fact, the careless comments of a TV presenter, Güner Ümit, very similar to those by Kazan, ruined the celebrity's career in 1995. Given this background, Kazan's "candles off" comment contains explosive consequences. In fact, Kazan's point came as a surprise given that the Refah Party, although relying mostly on its solid Sünni Muslim constituency, also approached the Alevi community with extra care — demonstrating its awareness of this extensive electorate, prior to the December 1995 elections.

'Separatist' and 'a sworn enemy of Alevis'

As expected, the leading figures of the Alevi community quickly protested against Kazan. One of the leading Alevi intellectuals, Rıza Zelyut, demanded the minister of justice's immediate resignation. The chairman of the Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Associations, Murtaza Demir, said that "Şevket Kazan has an exceptional place amongst the sharia supporters and the Refah Party as a sworn enemy of the Alevis."

The chairman of the Semah Culture and Research Foundation, Lütfü Kaleli, declared that they will sue Kazan for insulting the Alevi community. Kaleli said: "The ignorant fundamentalists once again recourse to the immoral 'candles off' allegations." referring to the fact that Kazan was the defence lawyer of the Sivas massacre suspects, he continued to accuse Kazan of sharing the mentality of the Sivas assassins. "Kazan labels as his enemies all those who do not share his beliefs and opinions," said Kaleli. Social-Democrat leaders also accused Kazan as separatism.

Protests from the Alevi community are expected to proliferate throughout the week. To begin with, in the predominantly Alevi populated neighborhoods of Istanbul, Okmeydanı,

Nurtepe, Ornektepe and Maltepe-Gülsuyu, hundreds took to the streets at lights-off time, 21:00 hours, on Tuesday and

Wednesday evenings shouting anti-Kazan and anti-Refah slogans.

Why is Erbakan offended?

The manifesto of the one-minute's darkness for permanent light campaign as published by the Citizen's Initiative for Enlightenment does not include any specific anti-Refah

points. When calling for the one-minute's darkness action, the manifesto exclusively demands an end to corruption and state-mafia relations. The harsh criticism of the campaign from the ranks of the Refah Party which has always been careful to present itself as a civil movement against the authoritarian anti-Islamic state, is consequently interpreted as over-reaction originating from a misunderstanding. Prior to Kazan's rather unfortunate comments, Prime Minister Erbakan called the campaigners "parasites" and "conspirators" and said: "These are people who have nothing to do but create intrigues." The junior partner of the Refah coalition, the True Path Party (DYP) although emphasizing its disagreement with the campaign, in the words of the party's deputy chairman, Mehmet Golhan, ("Why should people long for the light? As if there is any darkness in this country,") has avoided being over critical. In fact, some DYP deputies criticized Erbakan for over-reacting. Referring to the one-minute's darkness campaign, State Minister Salim Ensarioğlu said: "If such campaigns bring useful subjects onto the agenda, then they are right." DYP deputy Sezai Özbek said: "For a cleaner Turkey, this reaction is very good. The prime minister should not be offended by it."

However, Refah's reaction to the campaign may bring protests, but seems unlikely to lead to a serious rift between the coalition partners.

By the way, have you noticed, before reading all this, that some people are turning their lights off at 21:00 every evening?

Turkish lobby firms on Capitol Hill running on next to nothing

They worked for almost a year without a contract

But some in New York seem to be doing fine

Ankara paid \$30,000 for Çiller's speech in 1993

UĞUR AKINCI

Washington-Turkish Daily News

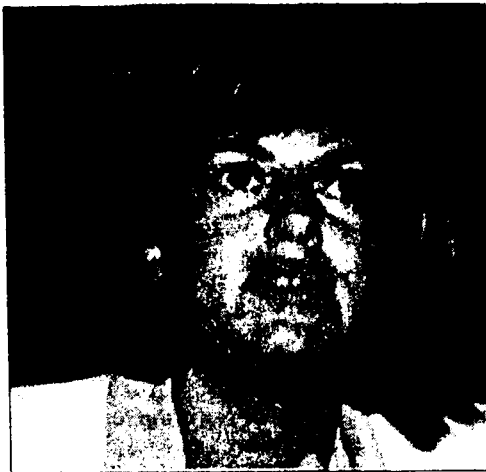
■Washington is to lobbying what a forest is to the trees. In this jungle of PR (public relations) firms and registered "foreign agents," the two principal "trees" in the Turkish Embassy's backyard still feel alive to the touch although, from a financial point of view, they kissed the ground almost a year ago.

The Washington lobby firms in question, Capitoline/MS&L and Fleishman-Hillard work for the Turkish Embassy but they are not the only ones hired currently by the Turkish Government.

Also active are two New York firms: White & Case, which represents the Central Bank of Turkey since 1978; and Abernathy/McGregor Group, catering specifically to the Prime Ministry since 1994. The New York firms seem to be doing much better than their unfortunate counterparts in Washington.

No contracts

Due to the slowing down of the bureaucratic gears through which the annual



Deputy PM and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller relied on lobby firms to polish up her image

approval of the Turkish lobby firms squeeze through, Capitoline and Fleishman-Hillard have been providing services for the Turkish government for almost a year without a valid contract, TDN learned. Relying on nothing more than oral guarantees given to them by the Turkish officials that they'd eventually be taken care of and paid in full, these two companies in particular have been stretched — as far as their Turkish account is concerned — almost to the limits of their forbearance. Sources close to these two companies claimed that the dominant sentiment in both firms is that they have been "victimized" by the funds that got bogged down deep within the bureaucratic labyrinths of Ankara.

Reduced fees

Fleishman-Hillard's last annual contract, effective as of April 1, 1995, and signed between Richard J. Sullivan, Executive Vice President & Senior Partner; and Nuzhet Kandemir, Turkish Ambassador to Washington, promised to pay \$412,500 per quarter, or \$1,650,000 a year.

This amount represents a reduction of \$450,000 (or 21.4%) from 1994-95 payment of \$2,100,000 per annum. The contract, which expired on April 1, 1996, was not renewed. Some TDN sources claim that Fleishman-Hillard's loss so far has approached \$1 million mark. Among the responsibilities of the company is to maintain the Embassy's Internet site, to publish and disseminate "Turkey Today" newsletter, and issue various press releases.

Capitoline's last contract, effective as of May 1, 1995, signed between Charles R. Pucie, Jr.; and Nuzhet Kandemir, Turkish Ambassador to Washington, set the company's remuneration at a fixed annual fee of \$550,000, "payable quarterly in advance."

This contract, which expired on May 1, 1996, was also not renewed. The company's fee was reduced by \$100,000 (or 15.4%) from its 1994-95 payment of \$650,000. Capitoline's main focus is to lobby the members of the U.S. Congress on legislation important for Turkey.

Capitoline's expenses

Despite being unpaid, Capitoline continued in 1996 to fight anti-Turkish legislation on Capitol Hill. The House deliberations of the FY-97 Foreign Assistance bill came as a heavy blow to the firm both for the greatly reduced FMF and ESF amounts and the heavy

attacks Turkey was exposed to in June 1996 during the floor debates. But some observers claim that the much-softer version adopted by the Senate, which was worked into the compromise Conference Committee text in August, was in no small measure due to the efforts of Capitoline.

Capitoline spent \$42,722.50 during the first six months of 1996 while working the Turkish account. \$10,000 of this amount was paid to consultant Ed Graves. Other consultants Jay Coupe and John Behuncik received \$3,000 and \$375, respectively.

During the second half of 1996, Capitoline spent \$38,119.16 as expense while lobbying on behalf of the Turkish Government. Consultants Jay Coupe, Ed Graves and John Behuncik received \$3,000; \$5,000; and \$312.50, respectively.

Fleishman-Hillard's expenses

Fleishman-Hillard had the much more costly operation, partly due to its focus on media outreach. During the last period for which the company filed records, February-August 1996, the company showed a total expense of \$209,731.59 while working on the Turkish account. One big ticket item was the \$19,202.98 paid to David Barchard on January 30, 1996 as "professional fees." Global Tanitim was paid \$9,556 for "daily monitoring" of Turkish press.

In the previous six-month period between August 1995 and February 1996, Fleishman-Hillard spent \$226,886.41 on behalf of the Turkish Government. David Barchard received \$26,666.64 on October 14, 1995 for "consulting fees." Global Tanitim was paid \$8,734.63 for "trainee, photographs, courier and monitoring (of Turkish press)."

1993 & Çiller's fury

Turkey for a long while coordinated all its lobbying activities within the United States mainly through Turkish Foreign Ministry. Yet all changed in 1993, when the then-Prime Minister Tansu Çiller visited Washington — and was completely ignored by the U.S. media. Turkey's first female Prime Minister, an ambitious political-climber of sizable ego, was not amused.

No sooner then she returned to Ankara, Çiller launched an investigation into the reasons why Turkey's lobby firms, like Hill and Knowlton, were not living up to her expectations. A committee, headed by Daryal Batibay of the Foreign Ministry (who is promoted as ambassador since then), was formed to find one good company that would do the job single-handedly.

Out of the thirty-or-so applicants, the five finalist were invited to Ankara in spring of 1994 for a final presentation. To these, with the Washington Embassy's enthusiastic recommendation, a sixth was added: Capitoline. The winners were Fleishman-Hillard for public relations and media outreach; and Capitoline for Capitol Hill lobbying.

Promotion Board

The overhauling of Turkey's lobbying system did not end there. With Çiller, Turkey's

Foreign Promotion Board was assigned as the coordinator of Turkey's all lobbying activities around the world.

The Board included representatives from Prime Ministry (N. Murat Ersavcı, Director General of Press & Information, who is also been promoted as an ambassador since then), as well as ministries of Foreign Ministry, Defense, Tourism, Culture, and Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade. In practical terms it meant that unless the Promotion Board approved the appropriation and disbursement of the lobby firm funds, nobody got a penny in Washington, New York City, or comparable major cities of Europe.

During 1996, a year of uneasy coalition governments, the Board did not meet for reasons not quite clear. Some observers think that's where Capitoline's and Fleishman-Hillard's real problem lays.

Enter Kriegel

Although Çiller's original idea was to entrust the responsibility of Turkey's lobbying efforts in America to only one qualified company, in practice, others cropped up, seemingly at Çiller's personal bidding.

Abernathy McGregor Scanlon, for example, another New York firm, was hired on November 30, 1994 by Çiller to provide "counsel and coordination of communication activities in Europe and the United States of other agencies performing advocacy functions" on behalf of Turkey, as well as "to generate support for Turkey's admission to the European Customs Union." Turkey entered the Customs Union in December 1995.

The company's main principal, Jay L. Kriegel soon emerged as an effective operator who won Çiller's trust and who could be seen wherever Çiller went in the United States, sometimes busy adding last-minute touches to her speeches.

Kriegel was rewarded handsomely for his services with \$800,032.49 for the 12 month period ending December 31, 1995. According to the U.S. Justice Department documents that TDN got hold of, Kriegel was again paid \$250,000 in the first six months of 1996. Çiller, who was Prime Minister when she first hired Kriegel, became the Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of the RP-DYP coalition government in July 1996.

Mega mission

While Capitoline and Fleishman-Hillard were patiently waiting for their contracts be renewed through the Promotion Board, Kriegel's contract was renewed by Turkish Foreign Ministry on September 3, 1996 to be valid until December 31, 1996. Kriegel was paid in two installments of \$90,000 each, for a total \$180,000 for three-months work on European Union relations, Caspian Sea pipelines, "trade and investment," "support for Turkey's fight against the PKK," and "human rights."

As if that was not enough, Kriegel also

promised "to assist in the preparation of various materials, including press releases and speeches, and the use of various media techniques, including videos, brochures, research projects and White papers, as requested." At this writing TDN could not confirm if Kriegel's \$45,000-a-month contract was renewed for 1997.

\$30,000 speech

Speech-writing has apparently been a short-cut to the heart of Çiller, who was keen on making the best impression she can as the "defender of secularism and Western values" whenever she visited the United States. That's how Fleishman-Hillard apparently got its foot in the door of Ankara's lobby business way back in 1993, long before a new bid was announced to replace Hill and Knowlton.

In a contract agreed between Fleishman-Hillard and Turkish Undersecretariat for Foreign Trade, the Turkish Government agreed to pay "not less than \$30,000 nor more than \$75,000" for "counsel on some writing assistance in advance of P.M. Çiller's visit to the U.S.," which took place October 14-15, 1993.

The duration of the contract was the three brief weeks between October 7, 1993 and October 31, 1993. That was the sort of fat speech-writing assignment that all English-majors live for.

To coordinate Çiller's visit to the United States, Fleishman-Hillard's senior officials visited Turkey on October 7, 1993, upon the request of the Undersecretariat. Fleishman-Hillard's out-of-pocket expenses of between \$10,000-\$30,000 for "hotels, airfare, meals, telephone, etc." were again compensated by the Turkish Government.

Arnold & Porter

Turkey, in contrast to Greece, for example, which has a sizable and powerful ethnic community in the United States, always had to rely on various lobby groups to advance its interests in America — and that went for Turkish private sector as well.

Arnold & Porter, for example, one of the prominent law firms of Washington, has long served Profilo Holding of Turkey as well as the Turkish Government. Mr. Paul S. Burger has been the chief officer in charge of both accounts for years.

Between July and November 1993, for example, Arnold & Porter charged Profilo Holding \$25,200 for rendering "advice on U.S. laws, regulations, policies and proposed legislation that may effect or relate to activities of the foreign principal and U.S.-Turkey relations."

Again in 1993, Arnold & Porter charged the Turkish Embassy \$25,000 a month for the three months of October, November, and December 1993.

Arnold & Potter did much better in 1995. For the 12 month period ending December 4, 1995, the company was paid \$336,787.76 by the Turkish Government for giving advice on "U.S. laws, regulations, policies and activities concerning intellectual property and the GSP, securities registration and privatization issues, U.S. foreign aid and foreign relations."

Burston Marsteller

Burston Marsteller of Washington was yet another lobby firm hired by Ankara in 1996 to "serve as press counsel for the Second U.N. World Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II)" which took place in Istanbul, June 3-14, 1996. The company also provided media relations in connection with the briefing on the conference held by the U.S. Department of Housing and Development on May 23, 1996.

For its media savvy, Burston Marsteller was paid \$22,877.75 in January 1996; \$110,877.64 in April 1996; \$48,030.48 also in April 1996 and an additional \$48,612.91 in June 1996 — for a total of \$230,398.78 within six months. All the payments were made through the Turkish Government's subcontractor, Lowe Adam Tanitim Hizmetleri in Macka, Istanbul.

Burston Marsteller's total reported expenses during the same period was \$54,161.82.

Others

Turkish political parties have used "hired guns" as well to upscale their image. The Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) of Alparslan Turkes did hire such a PR firm between April 1993 and March 1994.

The main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) of Mesut Yilmaz hired Raffaelli, Spees, Springer & Smith of Washington and paid \$15,000 for the 6 month period ending July 31, 1995. Raffaelli contacted the U.S. Administration officials on behalf of ANAP "to promote greater appreciation and recognition of (ANAP) and the people of Turkey as friends, allies and economic partners of the United States," according to U.S. Department of Justice records.

Interbank is another Turkish actor that frequently hired American PR companies since 1991. In 1995, the bank hired Winston & Strawn of Washington "in connection with the collection of a debt owed by the government of Iraq" to Interbank. Winston & Strawn also represented Interbank "before the U.S. Congress with respect to legislation relating to unblocking frozen Iraqi assets."

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

Turquie-Kurdes : Peines capitales requises pour profanation du drapeau turc

ANKARA, 14 fév (AFP) - Le procureur de la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara a requis vendredi la peine capitale contre deux hommes accusés d'avoir jeté à terre le drapeau turc et de l'avoir remplacé par l'emblème du PKK et un portrait de son chef Abdullah Ocalan lors du congrès d'un parti pro-kurde, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Ces deux hommes, Faysal Akcan et Giyasettin Mordeniz, ont "commis un crime" le 23 juin à Ankara, "dans le but de créer un Etat indépendant sous le nom de Kurdistan uni, en s'emparant d'une partie des territoires de la Turquie", aux termes de l'article 125 du code pénal turc, selon le réquisitoire du procureur Nuh Mete Yuksel.

Akcan et Mordeniz, tous deux écroués, n'assistaient pas à l'audience.

Le procureur a également requis 22 ans et demi de prison contre 23 dirigeants du Parti de la démocratie du Peuple (Hadep), dont son président Murat Bozlak, pour "avoir créé une bande illégale", aux termes de l'article 168 du code pénal.

Dix-neuf ans de prison ont été requis contre 15 autres inculpés, membres du Hadep, pour "appartenance à une bande illégale" selon le même article.

Un ex-député pro-kurde, Sirri Sakik, risque 3 ans aux termes de la loi anti-terroriste, selon le réquisitoire.

La profanation du drapeau, filmée par les télévisions, avait créé une réaction nationaliste virulente qui avait secoué la Turquie pendant plusieurs jours.

Akcan est accusé d'avoir enlevé le drapeau et Mordeniz de lui en avoir donné l'ordre. Le premier avait reconnu, lors de la première audience le 1er novembre, avoir enlevé le drapeau, mais avait nié appartenir au Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), en lutte armée contre Ankara depuis 1984.

Leur procès avait été joint à celui des dirigeants du Hadep, intenté à l'issue du congrès général de ce parti, lors duquel s'était produit l'incident du drapeau.

Le procureur a affirmé que le Hadep était la "branche politique" du PKK et que ses dirigeants étaient chargés de "missions spéciales" par le

PKK.

Il a accusé les dirigeants du Hadep, notamment M. Bozlak, de ne pas avoir réagi à la transformation de leur congrès en celui du PKK par les participants qui avaient applaudi la profanation du drapeau turc et scandé des slogans pro-kurdes.

Le Hadep avait succédé à une autre formation pro-kurde, le Parti de la Démocratie (Dep), dissous en juin 1994 pour séparatisme et dont quatre ex-députés, dont Mme Leila Zana, purgent une peine de 15 ans de prison pour "création d'une bande illégale".

Le procureur Yuksel a accusé de "trahison" ceux qui demandent la création d'une fédération kurde sur les territoires turc ou le droit aux Kurdes à l'enseignement dans leur langue. "La seule condition de la paix est la reddition du chef des bandits (ndlr: Ocalan) avec sa bande" (ndlr: le PKK), a-t-il affirmé.

Un des avocats du Hadep, Selim Okcuoglu, a déclaré que les propos du procureur semblaient sortir tout droit d'un "thriller" au cinéma. Il a demandé la libération de tous les inculpés.

Le procès se poursuivra le 14 mars.

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Turquie-Israël : Le chef de l'état-major général turc en Israël fin février

ANKARA, 14 fév (AFP) - Le chef de l'état-major général des armées turques, le général Ismail Hakki Karadayi, se rendra fin février en visite officielle pour plusieurs jours en Israël, a-t-on appris vendredi de source diplomatique à Ankara.

Cette source, parlant sous couvert de l'anonymat, n'a pas précisé la date exacte et la durée du voyage du général Karadayi.

La visite, si elle se réalise, s'inscrira dans le contexte de visites de hauts responsables militaires turcs et israéliens qui se sont multipliées depuis la signature en février 1996 d'un accord-cadre portant sur la coopération dans le domaine militaire.

Cet accord, qui prévoit notamment des vols d'entraînement des pilotes des deux pays, l'échange de personnel et d'informations, avait

alors provoqué la colère de pays arabes, notamment de l'Egypte et la Syrie, ainsi que de l'Iran.

En décembre dernier, la Turquie et Israël avaient 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 prévoyait l'organisation pour la première fois de manoeuvres conjointes entre les armées turque et israélienne.

Ils avaient également conclu en août dernier un accord de coopération sur la technologie militaire.

Le Premier ministre islamiste turc, Necmettin Erbakan, avait approuvé le 6 décembre 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, à la demande des militaires qui sont favorables à la poursuite de la coopération turco-israélienne.

Cet accord, conclu en 1995, prévoit l'octroi à la Turquie par Israël de 600 millions de dollars de crédits pour aider au financement du projet de modernisation.

Il 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.

M. Erbakan, Premier ministre depuis fin juin 1996 à la tête d'une coalition à dominante islamiste, était connu pour ses prises de position anti-israéliennes lors de la campagne électorale de décembre 1995.

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

Cease-fire monitoring force to be deployed in March in N.Iraq

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1997

Ankara-Turkish Daily News

■ Deployment of a projected Cease-fire Monitoring Force (CMF), to supervise the truce between the two rival Kurdish parties in northern Iraq, will likely be delayed to next month, Anatolia news agency said on Friday.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) agreed to the

establishment of the CMF in February in peace talks held in Ankara under joint sponsorship of Turkey and the United States. The talks, started last October, ended renewed fighting between the rival factions when KDP allied itself with Baghdad and attempted to seize total control of the Western-protected Kurdish enclave.

Iraqi Turkmens, 200 of whom will be part of the force, were trained in Turkey. The United States will

provide the technical equipment of the force. Ankara, backing Iraq's Turkmen minority because of ethnic and cultural bonds, has also persuaded the Kurds to give them an enhanced say in the administration of the area.

The delay is reportedly due to technical aspects of setting up the force. Despite the cease-fire agreement, Tehran radio claimed PUK fighters killed five KDP supporters last week. Quoting KDP broadcasts,

the Iranian radio said that PUK started the fight. The PUK, however, countercharged that the KDP killed two of its supporters. The PUK radio was also quoted as reporting that the Turkmens living in Kirkuk were being oppressed by Saddam

Hussein's forces.

PUK chief Jalal Talabani and other senior party officials will reportedly visit Tehran next week for talks with Iranian officials. Iran, which Washington seeks to isolate because of its alleged sponsorship of

international terrorism, has never hidden its hostility to a "Pax Americana" in northern Iraq and has backed one or the other of the rival Kurdish parties against each other to spread its influence in the area.

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1997

Susurluk commission chief: 'I'm confused'

With over 30,000 documents and 10,000 telephone calls received, and some of these trying to lead the commission off track, is it any wonder?

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

■ Mehmet Elkatmış, chairman of the parliamentary Susurluk commission said on Friday that he was confused with the number of documents the commission receives every day, the Anatolia news agency reported.

"We are trying to make the blurred picture we have in our hands at the moment clear," Elkatmış said.

Noting that the commission had received over 30,000 documents and about 10,000 telephone calls, Elkatmış said some of the calls

they received were aimed at deceiving them. He said at present they were trying to differentiate between the false and correct information they had received.

"We do not believe that everyone who has been heard told the truth," the chairman noted.

Elkatmış noted that they were closely following all reports on Turkish television related to Susurluk, as well the broadcasts of MED-TV, the pro-Kurdish television station of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Elkatmış said he will propose that the commission hear Murat Ipek and Murat Demir, who are alleged to be PKK informers. If the commission gives consent, Elkatmış said, Ipek and Demir will be invited to testify before the commission. The chairman added that General Veli Küçük, who it has been claimed was the head of the military wing of the gang, might be invited to testify.

GAMK, 15-16 février 1997

TENSION DANS LES RELATIONS ENTRE TÉHÉRAN ET ANKARA

Depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir de la coalition dirigée par le Premier ministre islamiste Erbakan, on avait assisté à une nette amélioration des relations entre l'Iran et la Turquie couronnée notamment par la signature d'un contrat gazier de 23 milliards de dollars entre les deux pays et la visite à Ankara du président iranien Rafsanjani. Depuis vendredi dernier, les relations turco-iraniennes connaissent une crise à la suite de l'organisation d'une campagne baptisée "une journée pour Jérusalem" lancée par le maire islamiste, Bekir Yildiz, de Sincan, banlieue d'Ankara, et à la quelle assistait l'ambassadeur iranien à Ankara, Mohammad Reza Bagheri. Cette campagne avait provoqué de vives réactions dans le milieu laïc. Au

cours de cette campagne les relations entre la Turquie et Israël avaient été dénoncées et vivement critiquées et des appels à l'application de la loi islamique en Turquie avaient été lancés. A la suite des réactions suscitées par cette campagne, l'armée s'est déployée dans la ville et le ministre de l'Intérieur a destitué le maire islamiste qui a été arrêté et placé en garde-à-vue le 5 février. L'ambassadeur d'Iran à Ankara avait tenu des propos invitant la Turquie à appliquer la loi islamique et déclaré que "la victoire appartiendra à l'Islam dans le monde entier". Celui-ci a été convoqué au ministère des Affaires étrangères qui lui a mis une note de protestation. Des dirigeants politiques avaient appelé à son expulsion immédiate. Quant au parti de la Gauche démocratique, dirigé par B. Ecevit, il a annoncé le dépôt prochain d'une motion de censure contre le gouvernement.

GAMK 15-16 février 1997

TURKISH CONNECTION: APRÈS UN JUGE ALLEMAND, UN VICE MINISTRE ADJOINT BRITANNIQUE MET EN CAUSE LES AUTORITÉS TURQUES DANS LE TRAFIC DE DROGUE

Après le juge allemand Ralf Schwalbe mettant nommément en cause Mme Çiller dans le trafic de drogue vers l'Europe et alors que la BBC estime que "la Turquie est devenue la Colombie du Moyen-Orient", le Britannique Tom Sackville, ministre adjoint de l'Intérieur, dans une interview à Sunday Times du 26 janvier souligne à son tour la responsabilité des autorités turques dans ce trafic. Extraits: "80% de l'héroïne saisie en Grande-Bretagne provient de Turquie. Il y a des faits qui ont été dévoilés à la suite des événements et des investigations. Nous savons que des informations confidentielles concernant des opérations de narcotiques sont tombées dans les mains des trafiquants de drogue. Ce que je veux dire c'est que quand nous avons informé les autorités turques de ces opérations elles ont filtré l'information aux trafiquants de drogue et les opérations ont échoué". Remarquant que "l'implication des officiels du gouvernement et des hommes politiques avec des criminels condamnés par la justice ternissait l'image internationale de la Turquie" et précisant que l'inquiétude britannique vient des "rapports troublants affirmant que des membres de la police et même des membres du gouvernement sont impliqués dans le trafic de drogue", M. Sackville a ajouté qu'ils "ne pouvaient être sûrs de l'exactitude des informations transmises par les organismes de sécurité turcs aux autorités britanniques au sujet du trafic de drogue".

De son côté, l'Observatoire géopolitique de drogue, basé à Paris, a également accusé la Turquie d'être impliquée dans le trafic de drogue. Un dirigeant de l'Observatoire, cité par le Turkish Daily News du 27 janvier, indique que "70% de la drogue arrivant en Europe provient de Turquie et cela est impossible sans connexion politique". Soulignant que "la drogue saisie en Turquie n'est jamais ni détruite ni rapportée aux agences internationales" le porte-parole de l'Observatoire ajoute: "L'argent de la drogue saisie est donné à la milice officieuse qui combat le PKK. Cela est connu en Europe. Un vaste réseau de narcotiques a été découvert, et c'est un réseau tellement vaste que chacun y est impliqué d'une manière ou d'une autre".

Reste que cette "Turkish connection" n'a pas fait que ternir l'image du pays, elle aggrave aussi des conditions de vie de millions de citoyens turcs vivant à l'étranger" commente, à juste titre, la BBC. Désormais tous les porteurs de passeports turcs sont considérés par les policiers européens comme de "possibles trafiquants de drogue". A qui la faute? Pas aux Européens dit l'ancien Premier ministre turc Mesut Yilmaz. "Comment peut-on donner à des trafiquants notoires de drogue des passeports de service réservés à des hauts fonctionnaires de l'État et s'étonner ensuite que l'on nous critique pour l'implication de notre gouvernement dans ce trafic" s'interroge-t-il.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1997

NYT: Refah's rise alarms Turkish secularists

Refah is arming itself with shotguns, AP says

New York - Turkish Daily News

■ In a front-page story splashed with a picture of Turkish Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan hugging Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani, the New York Times declared that "secular Turks are alarmed by resurgence of religion" in Turkey. The story, continuing at an inside page, had another photo of students attending Anadolu İmam-Hatip Lycee -one of the hundreds providing religion-based education - in Konya. Yet, the story filed from Sincan, the Ankara suburb where Iranian Ambassador to Ankara Muhammad Reza Bagheri inflamed the sensibility of secularists by urging all Turks to call themselves a fundamentalist since all Turks are Muslims anyway, had enough passages supporting the thesis that Erbakan's rise at the head of the RP-DYP coalition government was not a fluke but a reflection of a tectonic shift in the preferences of the Turkish public for an Islamist policy.

"A veil is being lifted in Turkey," NYT quoted a foreign resident in Ankara and a specialist in Islamic ideology, saying. "As it lifts, we're seeing that this country is more religious than people think, and a million times more than secularists would like. The idea of a greater role for religion in public life has widespread support in Turkey. So as the country becomes more democratic, you see more Islamic influence."

A sociologist, Büşra Ersanlı Ebhar, is also quoted saying: "Turkey has gone so far in the Kemalist direction that many people think it's time for some balance in the other direction. There is a wide spread feeling that this country needs a synthesis of secularism and Islam. A real cultural debate has begun in Turkey. It is exciting and frightening, because nobody can say how it will come out."

This interpretation is diametrically opposed to the view forwarded in a "1997

Strategic

Assessment" report released by National Defense University of Washington D.C. In this new report, it is said that Erbakan came to power not because of wide-spread public support but because of Çiller's fear of the corruption files about her and the constant bickering among the other secular opposition parties.

Refah arms

An Associated Press story filed from Ankara alleged that Refah supporters were arming themselves with shotguns and forming a paramilitary organization.

A prosecutor has opened an investigation into the Welfare Party for allegedly forming a militia-like group, which would be illegal, AP said.

The opposition says more than 100,000 shotguns have been sold to civilians since 1990.

"These are dangerous signs," Deniz Baykal, the leader of the Republican People's Party was quoted as saying. "If parties tend toward such ways, armed fighting will replace verbal discussions."

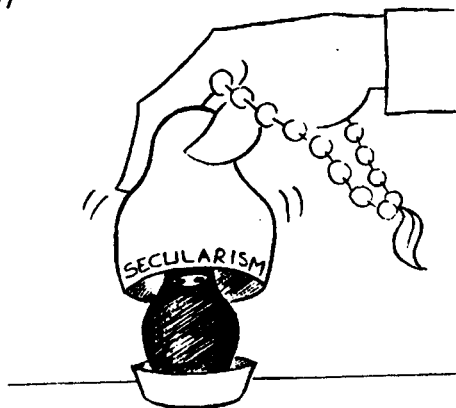
Mesut Yılmaz, leader of the main opposition Motherland Party, blamed hard-liners in the ruling party for the shotgun buildup.

"This is an issue about this (secular) system's future. Something has to be done urgently," he said Tuesday. "Shotguns are used as assault weapons throughout the world."

The opposition concerns surfaced over the formation of a special team of bodyguards who protected Islamic Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan during a visit to the central town of Kayseri last month, AP said.

Although they were unarmed, the military-looking uniforms, complete with officer-style berets and metal badges triggered a legal investigation and the resignation of the town's Welfare executives.

It is illegal for political parties to maintain such units.



NEHMETTİN ERBAKAN '99

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

Irak-Turquie-Israël : Washington veut "contenir" les Arabes par une alliance israélo-turque, selon Bagdad

BAGDAD, 16 fév (AFP) - Les Etats-Unis encouragent la formation d'une alliance israélo-turque afin de contenir les pays arabes, a affirmé dimanche le quotidien du parti Baas au pouvoir en Irak, al-Saoura.

"Il est clair que les Etats-Unis soutiennent la coopération militaire entre la Turquie et Israël. Washington la considère comme un pilier de sa stratégie, qui vise à contenir la nation arabe et à freiner la réalisation de ses aspirations légitimes", selon al-Saoura.

"Les accords conclus entre la Turquie et Israël menacent la sécurité de la nation arabe. Il serait naïf pour les gouvernements arabes de penser qu'ils ne sont pas concernés par ces développements graves", ajouté le quotidien.

"Les gouvernements arabes doivent faire face à leurs responsabilités historiques et mettre fin à leurs disputes", poursuit-il.

Israël et la Turquie ont signé en février 1996 un accord-cadre portant sur la coopération dans le domaine militaire, prévoyant notamment des vols d'entraînement des pilotes des deux pays et des échanges de personnels et d'informations. Cet accord avait alors provoqué la colère de pays arabes, dont la Syrie, l'Egypte et l'Irak, ainsi que de l'Iran.

La Turquie et Israël ont signé en décembre un programme de coopération militaire pour l'année 1997, lors d'une visite à Ankara du directeur général du ministère israélien de la Défense David Ivry. Ce programme prévoit l'organisation pour la première fois de manoeuvres conjointes.

Les deux pays ont également conclu en août dernier un accord de coopération en matière de technologie militaire.

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

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

Turquie-Chine : Des militants ouïghours brûlent des drapeaux chinois à Istanbul

ISTANBUL, 16 fév (AFP) - Près d'un millier de militants ouïghours et de nationalistes turcs ont brûlé dimanche des drapeaux chinois au cours d'un rassemblement à Istanbul pour protester contre la politique oppressive menée selon eux par la Chine contre les musulmans, ont indiqué des témoins.

Cette manifestation intervient alors que des informations font état de l'exécution de musulmans à la suite d'émeutes qui ont opposé Ouïghours musulmans (turcophones) et Han (Chinois de souche) début février dans la province du Xinjiang (nord-ouest de la Chine).

Les manifestants ont scandé des slogans anti-chinois dans le quartier de Sisli, dans le centre d'Istanbul et, pour la deuxième fois en moins d'une semaine, ont brûlé des drapeaux chinois.

Ils ont également tenté de marcher vers le consulat chinois tout proche, mais ont été stoppés et dispersés par les forces de l'ordre.

Les associations d'Ouïghours, qui ont organisé cette action, affirment que la communauté ouïghoure de Turquie compte de plus de 300.000 personnes.

Des diplomates chinois avaient protesté contre la tenue lundi d'une première manifestation de ce type et demandé aux autorités turques de prendre des mesures pour assurer la sécurité des représentations chinoises dans le pays.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1997

Turkish Women Protest Koranic Law

Marchers Fear Ankara Is Moving Toward Fundamentalism

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

ANKARA — Thousands of Turks, most of them women, marched through the streets of Ankara in the first major

public protest against the policies of the Islamic-led government.

Marchers carried signs and chanted slogans condemning what they contend are efforts to move Turkey closer to *Sharia*, the strict law of the Koran, which imposes many restrictions on women.

"Let Turkey shout 'Down with Sharia,'" the marchers chanted. One banner proclaimed, "Women's Rights are Human Rights," while another said simply, "Women Exist."

Turkey is the most secular Muslim country in the Middle East, and the role

of religion in public life is restricted by both law and custom.

Turkish secularists fear that moves toward Islamic fundamentalism here may set an example for other moderate Muslim countries, and the organizers of Saturday's march hoped the protest would prove that anti-fundamentalist sentiment remains widespread in Turkey.

Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the Muslim-oriented Welfare Party, is seeking to lift restrictions on women wearing veils or head scarves in the civil service and on university campuses.

He contends that he is simply defending freedom of choice, but critics maintain he is using the issue as part of a campaign against secularism.

During his eight months in power, Mr.

Erbakan has not imposed any major legal changes and has, in fact, stepped back from many of the radical proposals he made while in the opposition. Because he is the first leader since the founding of the Turkish Republic 74 years ago to strongly identify himself with Islam, however, many Turks deeply mistrust him.

"We are definitely in danger because of what's going on now," said one of the marchers, Ayse Topcu, who carried a sign reading, "We Want a Secular Democratic Turkey."

"Part of the problem is Erbakan and the Welfare Party," she said. "The other part is the Turkish people. We aren't doing anything to stop this from happening."

Women played a crucial role in supporting the secular reforms decreed during the 1920s by the founder of the

Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and more than two thirds of those who marched Saturday were women. Sponsors of the march included women's groups, labor unions, law and medical associations and cultural and retirees' organizations.

"We are marching against Sharia and the darkness that aims to keep women outside of humanity," said Senal Sarahan, a leader of the Modern Lawyers' Association, one of the groups sponsoring the rally.

Another marcher, Sabiha Kizilirmak, was draped in a Turkish flag to which she had pinned a portrait of Mr. Ataturk.

"I don't want to live under a black sheet," she said. "We are the real Muslims, not those who want to turn back the clock."



Fatih Saribas/Reuters

EXILES ON MARCH — Muslim Uighur exiles carrying nationalist flags facing the police Sunday as they marched toward the Chinese Consulate in Istanbul to protest the killing of relatives in riots in Xinjiang Province in China.



Governor's remarks on satellite dishes draw strong reactions

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1997

HADEP's Sedat Yurtdaş said the governor's main aim in banning the satellite dishes could only be to thwart cultural development of the region. 'This will be used as another instrument of oppression,' Yurtdaş added

SAADET ORUÇ, ALPARSLAN ESMER
Ankara-Turkish Daily News

■ Remarks by Necati Bilican, governor of the Emergency Rule Region, early in the week on the possible banning of the use of satellite dishes in the mainly Kurdish-populated Southeast ostensibly "to protect the people from separatist propaganda," has drawn strong objection from various civic organizations and from the opposition.

The Turkish Human Rights Association (IHD), the Contemporary Journalists Association (CGD) and the People's Democracy Party (HADEP) reacted to the efforts of Bilican.

Akin Birdal, the chairman of the IHD, told the TDN that these efforts were against the freedom of communication while roughly 20 nationwide television stations were operating freely. He said this would provide an excuse for oppression against the people living in the region. "The only countries where satellite dishes are banned are Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, North Korea and China" Birdal added.

CGD Chairman İsmet Demirdöğen said that instead of "hunting" satellite dishes it would have been better to allow freedom of expression. Referring to the Chinese proverb, "Let one hundred flowers bloom, let one hundred thoughts compete," Demirdöğen pointed out that first the conditions of "war in the Southeast" had to be eliminated.

HADEP's Yurtdaş: 'Instrument of oppression'

Meanwhile HADEP's Sedat Yurtdaş said the governor's main aim in banning the satellite dishes could only be to thwart the cultural development of the region. "This will be used as another instrument of oppression," Yurtdaş added.

An opposition politician also reacted strongly to the remarks by the Emergency Rule Region Governor Bilican, who called for the confiscation of satellite dishes "if

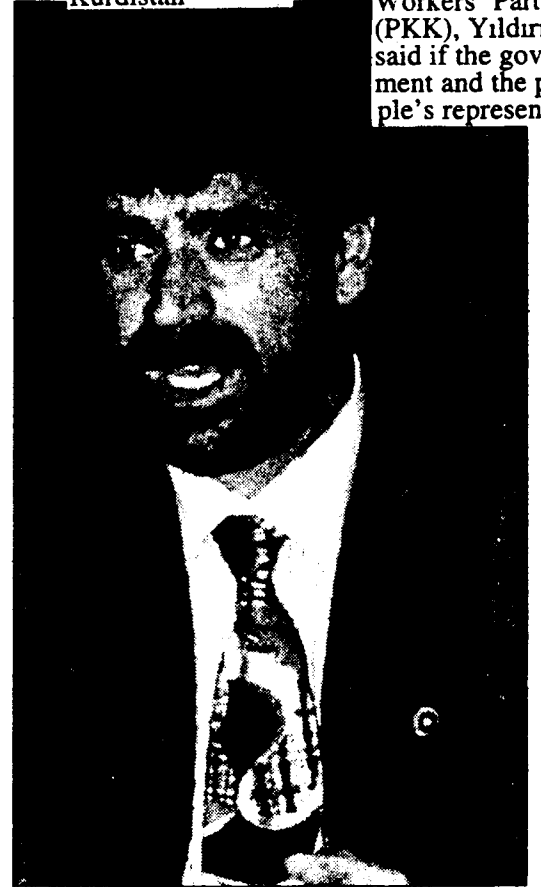
necessary, to prevent the broadcasts of the MED-TV," referring to the pro-Kurdish television station.

Main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) Deputy Mehmet Salih Yıldırım called for an end to the "mistaken policies" which have been carried out by the government affecting the people of the Southeast.

Yıldırım said there were two local television stations broadcasting "partly" in Kurdish in the southeastern province of Diyarbakır. "Instead of trying impose such bans, they (the government) should search for ways of expressing its views to the people (in the Southeast) in their own language," he added. Referring to MED-TV, which is considered by the Turkish authori-

ties to be the mouthpiece of the separatist Kurdistan

Workers' Party (PKK), Yıldırım said if the government and the people's representa-



HADEP's Sedat Yurtdaş

tives refrained from presenting solutions to the problems in the area then the solutions would be brought about by "someone else."

"Then the authorities will share the burden of their policies," he added. Yıldırım also said his opinions did not bind ANAP.

Les Kurdes font un pas vers Bagdad

Les échanges s'intensifient depuis la victoire du PDK, allié de Saddam.

Dohouk envoyé spécial

Cen n'est pas vraiment un poste frontière mais ça en a tout l'air. Au bout de la longue plaine vallonnée qui s'étend au nord de Mossoul, Faïda marque la limite des territoires sous contrôle du gouvernement de Bagdad. Entrants comme sortants descendent de leur véhicule pour présenter leurs papiers d'identité.

Depuis peu le Kurdistan et le reste de l'Irak communiquent à nouveau. Exactement, depuis la victoire militaire en septembre du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), allié à Bagdad, sur son grand rival, L'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) soutenu par l'Iran.

Pendant cinq ans, les habitants des deux zones ont vécu séparés par la méfiance vouée par les leaders kurdes au régime de Saddam Hussein, coupable d'avoir écrasé dans le sang le soulèvement du printemps 1991. Aujourd'hui, signe de la détente qui prévaut, 500 à 1 000 personnes passent chaque jour par Faïda. Des civils

seulement: les fonctionnaires de Bagdad ne s'aventurent pas encore au nord où ils seraient à coup sûr arrêtés puis refoulés ou assassinés.

Les Irakiens de la zone gouvernementale qui «montent» rendre visite à un parent, y croisent des Kurdes aux larges pantalons bouffants remplis de liasses de billets qu'ils vont dépenser à Mossoul avant de rentrer le soir chargés de paquets de cigarettes destinées à la Turquie et à l'Iran.

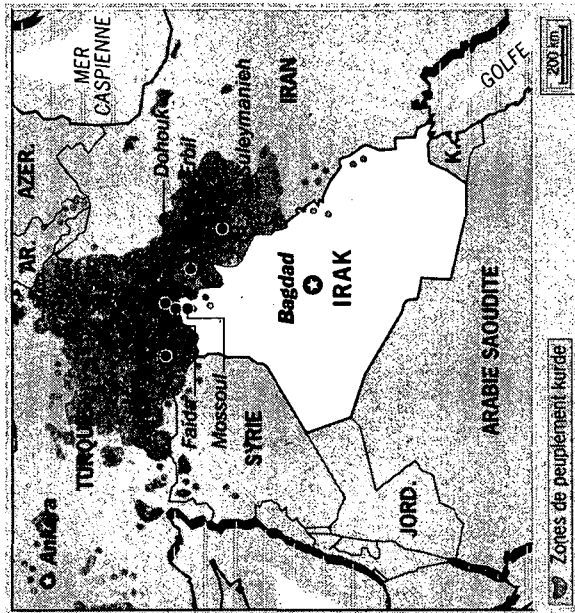
Des camions passent aussi avec des fruits, des légumes ou des produits de contrebande turcs et ramènent de l'essence en zone kurde. Un flux constant et vital pour l'économie irakienne sous embargo depuis six ans et pour le PDK qui prélève sa dime au passage.

le pouvoir central; la France s'est retirée de «Provide Comfort», la mission de surveillance aérienne du nord de l'Irak; la Communauté européenne - sous prétexte de résolution «pétrole contre nourriture» - a drastiquement réduit son financement aux Kurdes d'Irak.

Refugiés. Déjà, les travailleurs humanitaires ne peuvent plus entrer au Kurdistan par la Turquie et sont contraints de passer par le poste de Qamishli en Syrie. Et les plupart des ONG américaines ont plié bagages emmenant plusieurs milliers de Kurdes ayant travaillé avec elles: il est vrai que, selon des sources fiables, un certain nombre d'entre elles étaient de véritables agences de renseignements pro-américaines. Ce qui provoque un raz-de-marée de demandes d'asile politique auprès des autres organisations étrangères, toutes refusées pour l'instant.

Certes, les fonctionnaires de Bagdad ne sont pas sensés circuler dans le Kurdistan mais tout le monde se méfie des *moukhabarat*, les membres de la terrible police secrète de Saddam Hussein qui s'était livrée à une véritable chasse à l'homme lors de leur brève incursion à Erbil en septembre dernier. «Plus que sur le terrain, c'est dans les têtes que tout à changé», confie le responsable d'une organisation humanitaire. «Les Kurdes ont un peu la gueule de bois. Quant ils ont vu les Américains décamper, ils ont réalisé que la protection alliée ne durerait pas infiniment. Maintenant, ils ne leur restent plus qu'à négocier leur réintégration à l'Irak au meilleur prix.» D'où les contacts tout azimut qui ont vu les deux factions ennemis kurdes négocier le mois dernier à Ankara sous l'égide de diplomates américains.

Plus discrètement, les ennemis d'hier ont renoué les fils du dialogue: l'UPK de Jalal



En fait, les choses ne sont pas si simples et nombre de Kurdes craignent sans le dire que le départ des ex-patriés travaillant dans les ONG étrangères ne prélude à un retour en force de Bagdad au Kurdistan. Tout y concourt: la Turquie, lassée des incursions des combattants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), favorise une reprise en main de la région par

La guerre des Kurdes

Mars 1991: après la défaite irakienne lors de la Guerre du Golfe, les Kurdes se soulèvent contre Bagdad. La riposte est terrible, et les forces alliées mettent en place l'opération Provide Comfort afin de protéger les 4 millions de Kurdes: une zone d'exclusion aérienne de 10 000 km² au nord du 36^e parallèle est instaurée accompagnée d'un programme d'aide humanitaire. Juillet 91: Les forces alliées se retirent du Nord de l'Irak, laissant

Contrebande. Au-delà de Faïda, c'est le Kurdistan comme l'indique la grande peinture du leader historique Mustapha Barzani qui orne le check point tenu par le PDK. Dohouk est à dix minutes en voiture, nichée au creux d'une vallée aride. La troisième ville du Kurdistan irakien fait figure de havre de paix. Les étals des magasins, inondés par les produits de contrebande turque sont nettement mieux achalandés qu'à Mossoul. Des policiers en uniformes flambant neufs règlent la circulation au carrefour: le PDK qui règne ici en maître comme dans la plus grande partie du Kurdistan - à l'exception de Suleymanieh tenu par l'UPK - a bâti un véritable Etat miniature.

Moayed Ahmed, chargé des relations publiques et membre du PDK, se veut rassurant: «La ville est très calme. Même en septembre, il n'y a pas eu de combat ici. Les troupes irakiennes se sont immédiatement retirées après leur entrée à Erbil. Bagdad n'est présent en aucune façon ici.» Il nie tout contact entre son parti et Saddam Hussein: «Nous nous sommes seulement mis d'accord, via l'ONU, sur le transport du pétrole irakien vers la Turquie par pipe-line. Il est dans l'intérêt du peuple kurde que la résolution «pétrole contre nourriture» soit mise en œuvre.» Et le passage ces dernières semaines par le Kurdistan du vice-Premier ministre irakien Tarek Aziz ainsi que du ministre du pétrole Amir Rachid en route pour la Turquie? «Il s'agissait d'un transit. Ils n'ont eu aucun contact avec des officiels kurdes. Il n'y a d'ailleurs aucun accord entre Saddam Hussein et le PDK.»

le terrain aux combattants kurdes.

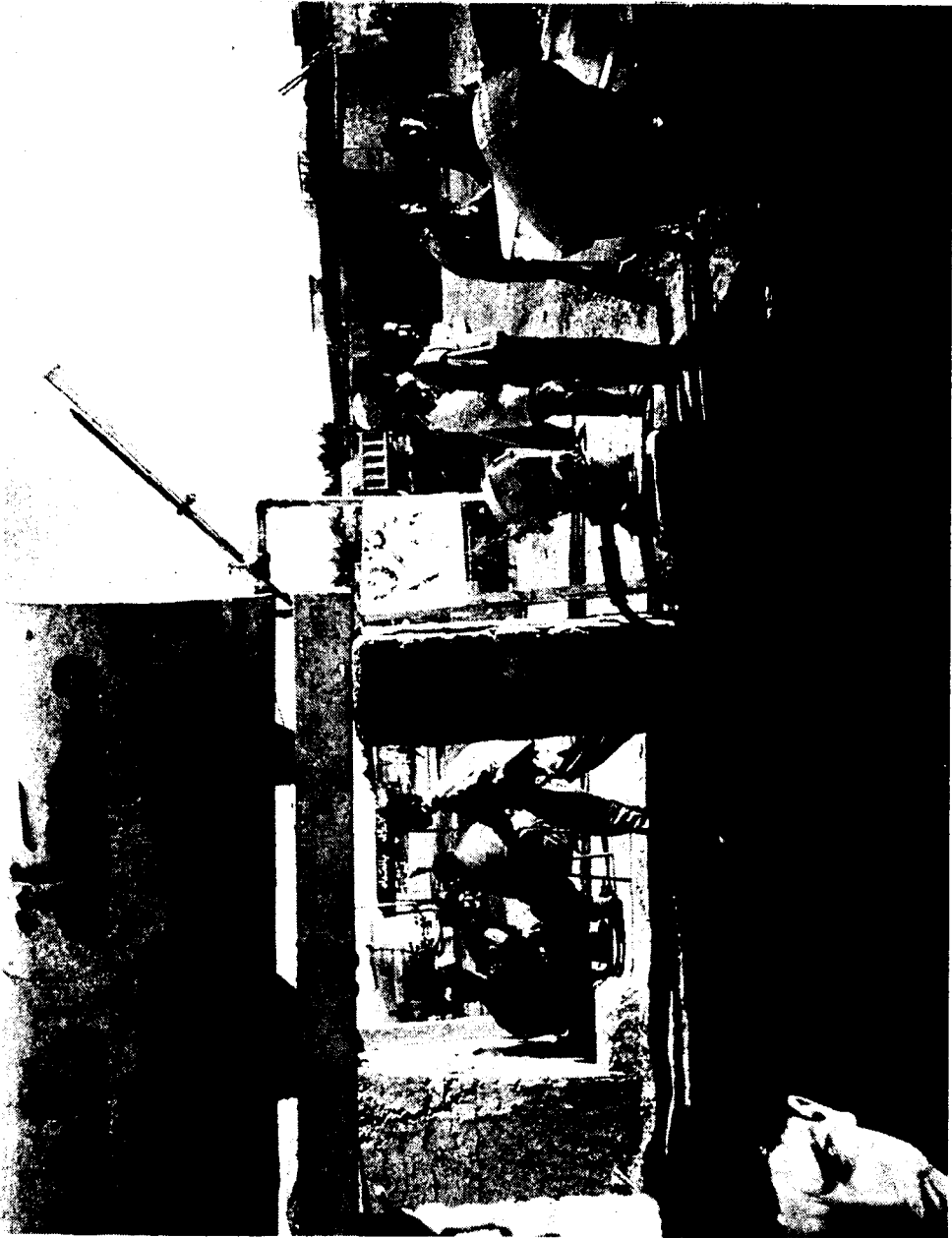
Septembre 92: Le PDK et l'UPK décident de fusionner.

1994: Les combats reprennent entre les deux factions kurdes. **31 août 1996:** La principale ville du Kurdistan, Erbil, tombe aux mains du PDK, soutenu par l'Armée irakienne. Les Etats-Unis déclenchent alors des frappes contre des objectifs en Irak. Saddam Hussein retire ses troupes.

31 décembre 96: Northern Watch remplace Provide Comfort. La France se retire.

Talabani a envoyé des émissaires à Bagdad, le PDK de Massoud Barzani à Téhéran et l'Iran vient même d'ouvrir un bureau à Salaheddine, dans le fief de Barzani. Pendant ce temps, Bagdad attend: Saddam Hussein sait que le temps joue en sa faveur et que le Kurdistan finira bien pas tomber dans son escarcelle. ●

CHRISTOPHE AYAD



Dohouk, en 1996. Aujourd'hui, la troisième ville du Kurdistan fait figure de havre de paix. Le PDK règne ici en maître.

Disappointment for Turkey in trade with Iraq

AYŞE KARABAT

Ankara-Turkish Daily News

■ Turkey, despite expectations of gaining deals worth hundreds of millions of dollars from the "oil for food" agreement between Iraq and the United Nations, has scarcely benefited. A mere five Turkish firms are engaged in trade with Baghdad, in deals worth around \$25 million.

The terms of the oil for food agreement allow Iraq to sell \$2 billion worth of Iraqi oil every six months. The proceeds are to buy supplies needed to counter the impact on ordinary Iraqis of U.N. sanctions imposed following the August 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

It was anticipated that at least half the exported Iraqi oil would be transported through Turkey via the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline, allowing Turkey to take a \$50 million transit fee.

Turkey also hoped to sell \$500 million worth of food and medicine to Iraq. According to the terms of the agreement, Iraq is allowed to buy \$1 billion worth of food and medicine.

The rest of the proceeds are to go

on compensation payments, humanitarian aid for northern Iraq and U.N. expenditure.

Over the past six years Turkey has lost up to \$30 billion as a result of the trade embargo, including \$4.7 billion through loss of income generated by transportation of goods via Turkey and \$7.3 billion through loss of exports to Iraq. It was expected that Turkey would receive an immediate boost from the resumed oil flow, providing an economic revival for the Southeast, an underdeveloped region particularly adversely affected by the U.N. sanctions.

The economic woes of the region have been aggravated by a separatist Kurdish insurgency which has claimed over 21,000 lives in 12 years.

Following the implementation of the oil for food agreement, approximately 400 Turkish firms proposed trade deals with Iraq but so far only 10 of them have reached any agreement.

The contracts must also be submitted to the U.N. Sanctions Committee, and to date only five have received approval. The value of these agreements is about \$25 million.

An Iraqi official told the Turkish Daily News that prices quoted by Turkish firms were very high and therefore not competitive, leading to a number of requests for lower prices.

"After the oil for food agreement our trade minister came to Turkey for talks with Turkish firms and we asked for prices to be reviewed. However, Turkish prices are still very high, and we have only \$1 billion for our humanitarian needs.

We would like to do business with Turkey and buy our requirements

from our neighbor, but we have to be careful," the official said.

A senior official from the Turkish Foreign Ministry said that trade between Turkey and Iraq following the oil for food agreement was at a very low level, and they hoped it would increase.

Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, speaking at the opening ceremony of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline near Ceyhan last December, said the center would not only be a terminal for Iraqi oil, but also for oil from the Middle East, the Caspian and Central Asia.

"The region is going to become an energy distribution center. Now a new era is beginning, and in this era Turkey will be the center of the world," the Islamist leader pledged.

However, even in the field of transportation Turkey is at a disadvantage. The Iraqi official said other ports such as Aqaba did not have the capacity for their needs, but once again port services offered by Turkey were expensive.

The owner of an international transportation firm in Iskenderun, Mehmet Emin Değer, denied the claim that Turkish services were expensive.

He pointed out that before the Gulf War 25,000 tons of goods were transported to Iraq from Turkey every day, but now there was no trade.

According to Değer, Iraq is using other means of transportation because of the Turkish policy on northern Iraq.

Turkey has been the base for Operation Provide Comfort (OPC), the U.S.-led multinational air force patrolling northern Iraq.

Iraq has claimed this is an infringement of its sovereignty.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1997

Gamk, 17/18 février 1997

Mme Albright interpellée sur le blocus turc sur l'Arménie

Au cours d'une rencontre au Congrès la semaine dernière entre Madeleine Albright et les membres de la commission des affaires internationales de la Chambre des Représentants, le "congressman" démocrate du New Jersey Steve Rothman a interpellé le nouveau Secrétaire d'État sur le blocus exercé



par la Turquie à l'encontre de l'Arménie. M. Rothman a ainsi fait remarquer que "si la Turquie est considérée comme un allié stratégique important des États-Unis et de l'Occident", elle n'en continue pas moins à "imposer un blocus à l'Arménie et à montrer une attitude partisane dans le conflit du Haut Karabagh". Il a demandé à Mme Albright comment elle espérait voir changer l'attitude de la Turquie à l'égard de

Chypre, de l'Arménie et du Haut Karabagh. Le Secrétaire d'État, tout en réaffirmant l'importance stratégique de la Turquie, a admis que "les questions de Chypre et de l'Arménie seront des tests de la capacité de la Turquie à gérer les problèmes régionaux, dont nous suivrons l'évolution avec la plus grande vigilance".

Turkish Daily News
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1997

Arabs not doing enough to solve water problem - Syria

Ankara-Turkish Daily News

■ Abdülkadir Kaddura, the speaker of the Syrian Parliament has accused Arab countries of being irresponsible on the water issue and said they were not doing enough to try and solve the problem, the Anatolia news agency. Speaking at an Arab parliamentarians

meeting in Damascus, Kaddura said although the water problem was staring them in the face, the Arab world had not mobilized its forces to try and solve the problem.

Kaddura said water for Arab countries mostly comes from other countries and that some neighboring countries applied illegal methods in the way water is distributed.

Syria's relationship with Turkey has been strained by concern over water rights to the Euphrates, and the fact that Syria allows Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), to reside in Damascus. Syria has opposed Turkey's biggest project, "Atatürk dam," arguing it reduces water flow to Syria.

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

Turquie-armée-Islamistes : L'activisme islamiste continue à préoccuper l'armée

ANKARA, 18 fév (AFP) - Le Conseil national de sécurité turc, organe politico-militaire regroupant de hauts dirigeants civils et militaires, se réunira le 28 février pour discuter de l'activisme islamiste en Turquie, selon le quotidien Sabah.

Le chef de l'état-major général des armées turques, le général Ismail Hakki Karadayi, "soulignera le malaise de l'armée face aux activités anti-laïques" lors de cette réunion, en présence du Premier ministre islamiste Necmettin Erbakan, selon le journal.

Le Conseil comprend notamment le chef de l'Etat, le Premier ministre, les ministres de l'Intérieur, des Affaires étrangères et de la Défense, et les commandants en chef de l'armée.

L'armée est "mal à l'aise" devant la recrudescence des activités anti-laïques en provenance du Parti de la Prospérité (Refah) de M. Erbakan, selon la même source.

Elle a été également irritée par une visite rendue la semaine dernière par le ministre de la Justice Sevket Kazan (Refah) à un maire islamiste détenu depuis une dizaine de jours pour avoir fait des déclarations pro-charia lors d'une "soirée pour Jérusalem" qu'il avait organisée.

L'armée réclame toujours le départ sans délai de l'ambassadeur d'Iran à Ankara Mohammad Reza Bagheri, dont les propos lors de cette soirée en faveur de l'application de la charia avaient provoqué la colère des milieux laïcs turcs.

La diplomatie avait alors remis une note de protestation à M. Bagheri

mais cette mesure avait été jugée insuffisante par l'armée et les milieux pro-laïcs, qui demandaient que le diplomate soit déclaré "persona non grata".

Le chef du principal parti d'opposition au parlement, Mesut Yilmaz, et un nombre d'associations et syndicats ont demandé la démission de M. Kazan, homme de confiance de M. Erbakan et un des durs du Refah.

La visite de M. Kazan au maire islamiste Bekir Yildiz, arrêté par décision de la Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara, a été qualifiée de "défi à la justice", visant à "donner le message que le maire islamiste se trouve sous la protection du ministère de la Justice", affirment ses opposants.

Des porte-parole du Refah ont pris la défense de M. Kazan, affirmant qu'il avait rendu visite au maire en sa qualité de "responsable des relations publiques" du Refah et non comme ministre de la Justice.

Le 4 février, l'armée avait fait traverser par une quarantaine chars et véhicules militaires la localité de Sincan (banlieue d'Ankara), administrée par M. Yildiz et où s'était déroulée la "soirée pour Jérusalem". Ce défilé avait été unanimement interprété comme une mise en garde de l'armée aux éléments islamistes les plus radicaux.

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Turquie-politique : Vers une levée définitive des charges de corruption contre Mme Ciller

ANKARA, 18 fév (AFP) - Le vice-Premier ministre et ministre des Affaires étrangères turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, devrait assurer sa survie politique à l'occasion de l'examen mardi et mercredi par le parlement d'accusations de corruption à son encontre.

L'assemblée nationale doit se prononcer en dernier ressort sur les rapports de trois commissions parlementaires qui ont enquêté sur des accusations de malversations portées contre Mme Ciller.

Ces accusations étaient relatives à la gestion, lorsqu'elle était Premier ministre, de la compagnie d'Etat Tedas (distribution d'électricité), à la privatisation partielle du constructeur automobile Tofas et à

l'accumulation de sa fortune personnelle.

Les trois commissions ont toutes blanchi Mme Ciller, par une voix de majorité.

Au sein de ces commissions, les députés membres du parti islamiste de la Prospérité (Refah) du Premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan, allié au Parti de la juste Voie (DYP, droite) de Mme Ciller dans l'actuelle coalition gouvernementale, ont fait bloc avec celui-ci pour voter en faveur de Mme Ciller, alors même que c'était le Refah qui avait porté les accusations à son encontre lorsqu'il était dans l'opposition.

Si l'assemblée suit les commissions, les dossiers seront clos. Si elle rejette ces rapports, Mme Ciller sera déférée en Haute cour, ce qui mettra un terme à sa carrière politique.

Les chances d'une telle éventualité sont jugées très faibles, le rejet des rapports nécessitant la majorité absolue de 276 voix sur 550, que l'opposition ne semble pas en mesure de réunir.

Le Refah compte 160 députés et le DYP 119, ce qui donne à la coalition une majorité absolue de quatre sièges.

Mme Ciller n'assistera pas aux votes, se trouvant à Bruxelles où elle participe à une réunion ministérielle de l'Otan. Elle a donné procuration au ministre de la Défense Turhan Tayan pour voter pour elle.

Mardi, l'assemblée devait examiner les dossiers Tedas et Tofas et mercredi celui de la fortune personnelle de Mme Ciller.

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Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1997

Court sentences Firat for separatist propaganda

Ankara- Turkish Daily News

■ The Ankara State Security Court sentenced former deputy Abdülmelik Firat to a

one year prison sentence and a fine of TL 100 million for spreading separatist propaganda, the Anatolia news agency reported on Tuesday.

The court suspended the sentence against Firat, who had been indicted on charges of spreading separatist propaganda during a panel discussion on "The Kurdistan question and the Islamic solution" in 1994 in Berlin.

Attorney Levent Kanat, who defended Firat at Tuesday's hearing, claimed Firat had not spread separatist propaganda as alleged and requested that his client be cleared of all charges.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1997

Çiller insists NATO and EU expansion are 'related processes'

'It must not be forgotten that NATO documents prescribe that the expansion of NATO, the EU and the WEU should proceed together in close relation'

Ankara- Turkish Daily News

■ In Brussels for a NATO foreign ministers' meeting, Tansu Çiller said Turkey was not opposed "in principle" to the eastward expansion of the alliance provided it did not proceed independently of the expansion of the European Union (EU). Foreign Minister Çiller is likely to face strong pressures to withdraw Turkey's threat to veto NATO's planned eastward expansion during the American-sponsored summit aimed at mending fences between member states and presenting a united front against tough Russian criticism of the expansion. In a radio interview with the BBC on Tuesday, Çiller said NATO states had agreed in 1995 to consider the membership applications of former Eastern Bloc countries in relation to the expansion of the EU and its military wing, the Western European Union (WEU).

"It must not be forgotten that NATO documents prescribe that the expansion of NATO, the EU and the WEU should proceed together in close relation," said the Turkish foreign minister. Turkey wants to get its name among the list of

most-likely-to-be-accepted applicants to be invited to an EU meeting in Amsterdam later this year. The veto threat had been first floated by

Çiller late in 1996 when Turkey was rebuffed upon announcing it wanted to upgrade its associate membership status at the WEU to full membership.

Undersecretary Öymen: advocating a veto is not blackmail

British Foreign Office officials have been told it is not blackmail for Turkey to advocate a possible veto on NATO enlargement. Rather, this is born out of Turkey's expectation of equal treatment by the EU with other candidates, said Onur Öymen, Foreign Ministry undersecretary in London on Monday before leaving for Brussels to join Tansu Çiller.

Speaking at a press conference after meetings with a number of top British diplomats, Öymen said he considered the talks to be a follow-up to last month's Rome meeting between the five major European states of Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain and Turkish Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller.

"We consider it very important that Britain is showing understanding toward our concerns over Turkey's full membership in the EU, particularly that we should be treated equally with the other candidate states," Öymen emphasized. When asked how British officials had reacted to the spectre of a veto by Turkey on NATO enlargement, Öymen said each nation was looking at the issue in accordance with its own national interests. Turkey's interests had been made clear to officials during the meetings, he continued, adding that Turkey needed to be invited to the EU summit in

Amsterdam along with 10 former communist countries from central and eastern Europe. "The invitation needs to be extended on equal terms," he said, indicating they were hoping for positive developments on this matter shortly.

Referring to his meeting with the British special envoy to Cyprus, Sir David Hannay, Öymen pointed out that both sides had expressed a desire for dialogue between the two community leaders in Cyprus. "The solution lies with the two communities. However, this does not only depend on the Turkish side. It is the Greek side which has been refusing to talk since 1994," the undersecretary added.

Öymen also touched upon last week's statement by British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind that a conflict in the Aegean was a serious possibility, saying such remarks were not welcomed by anybody. However, the British Foreign Office had dismissed the claims last week and said Rifkind was not referring to a war over Cyprus but was speaking about the situation during the Kardak crisis.

The undersecretary also told journalists that the issue of drug trafficking via Turkey had come up during his visit to the British Foreign Office. "We have explained to our colleagues the ways we are dealing with terrorism and drug trafficking, the revenues from which we believe benefits terrorists in Turkey the most. The British officials said they were pleased to see their own authorities cooperating with their Turkish counterparts in the fight against drug trafficking," Öymen said.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1997

IHD report for January published

Istanbul - Turkish Daily News

■ The Turkish Human Rights Association (IHD) Istanbul Branch has now published its monthly report for January 1997. The document contains a statement by IHD Istanbul Branch leader Ercan Kanar in which he claims that a covered up military coup occurred in Turkey and that violations of civil and human rights continued at every level of life in the city during the month.

Kanar states that oppressed people started 1997 with the hope of developments in steps taken towards freedom, peace and democracy, and that the new year also brought hope that there would be an end to extra-judicial executions, unresolved murders, disappearances and torture in custody and corruption, and that there would be prosecution of those suspected of carrying out such activities. However, the IHD Istanbul leader says that the government has instead

come up with an "Islamic Law (Sharia)-Coup" dualism. Kanar also states that the National Security Council (MGK) confirmed that it was the real power in the country with the January 9, 1997 "Prime Ministry Crisis Administration Directorate." He further states that the directorate confirms that "sovereignty belongs to the soldiers" and the Crisis Administration is a government within the government and rules the country. Kanar comments that the directorate was the most dangerous development of the month.

The report also states that allegations of torture and disappearances in custody continued to increase along with attacks against civilians for their political opinions.

Kanar then gives a lengthy list of abuses of human rights, saying that women lost their lives after violent attacks, sick prisoners were refused treatment and consequently died, many members of the press were arrested and tortured, publishing houses were raided, newspapers, books and magazines were banned, the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) punished many radio and television channels with warnings and temporary bannings, the State Security Courts (DGM) continued to function as political weapons, attempts were made to stop the "One Million Signatures for Peace Campaign" in many places, cultural centers were raided by the police, and a war against satellite dishes was started, violating the right of free access to information. The report ends with the a complete list of human rights violations reported to the group in January.

• Libération - mercredi, 19 février 1997 • Libération - mercredi, 19 février 1997

Le Parlement turc blanchit Tansu Ciller

Le Parlement turc a levé hier les accusations de corruption pesant sur le ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller. L'Assemblée nationale a ainsi soutenu les rapports de trois commissions parlementaires qui ont toutes blanchi l'ancien Premier ministre.

Demonstration for light repeated for Cankoru

'My husband was beaten,' claims widow. 'Police are mounting a cover-up operation'

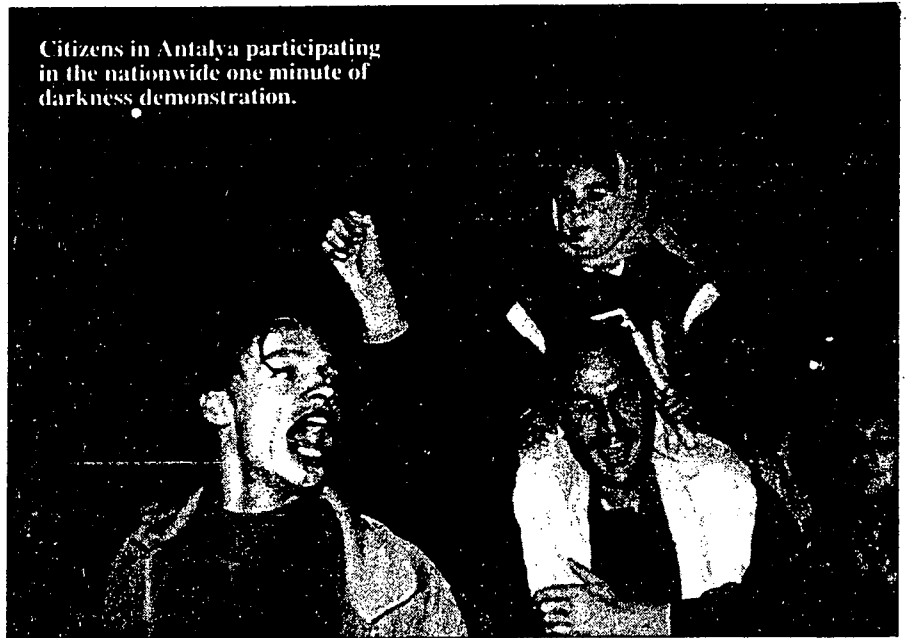
HASAN ÜSTÜN

Antalya-Turkish Daily News

■ As Celal Cankoru, who died under arrest in a police car following the "one minute's darkness for enlightenment" demonstration in Antalya on Sunday evening was buried in his home town of Egirdir, tension in Antalya continued. The result of the autopsy conducted on Cankoru was said to have revealed that "no evidence of beating was discovered and death was the result of edema of the lungs," but the dead man's wife, Süheyla Cankoru, repeated her allegation that her husband had been struck on the head with a two-way radio by a plain-clothes policeman and claimed that the police were trying to mount a cover-up operation. Stating that while he was being taken to the hospital she had held her husband's head, and noticed a depression where he had been struck, Süheyla Cankoru added, "That grey-haired policeman hit other people besides my husband. I will recognize him if I see him again."

Meanwhile, attorney Mustafa Şahin, the Antalya Regional Chairman of the Freedom and Solidarity Party who was present at the demonstration and tried to intervene to help Celal Cankoru, whom he insists was innocent of any wrongdoing, displayed the injuries he himself received from the police at the scene, and for which he received treatment at the Antalya

Citizens in Antalya participating in the nationwide one minute of darkness demonstration.



State Hospital. While he was still in custody, a press conference was held on his behalf in Cumhuriyet Square which was attended by a large number of representatives from occupational chambers and political parties as well as other lawyers from the Antalya Bar who laid a black wreath at the Atatürk Monument, the centerpiece of the square.

Şahin and six other people arrested with him at the demonstration were later released at a court hearing. Five other people traveling in a car in the convoy accompanying Cankoru's body to his home in Antalya were also later arrested and taken to a police station. Of these, four were released, but İbrahim Güröz, a reporter for the journal Nüroş which is printed in both Turkish and Kurdish, was held in custody.

Mustafa Çetinkaya, Antalya

Regional Chairman of the Republican People's Party, alleged that what had happened was an action by the government to halt the opposition of the people.

"The security forces are not just the representatives of the administration," he said, "but are obliged to protect both the people and the secular state." Çetinkaya claimed that attempts were being made to push Turkey into civil war and this must be prevented.

Demonstrators, under strict police control, gathered once again on Monday evening at Cumhuriyet Square where around 2,000 people extinguished their candles at 9 p.m., both to demand a clean society and in memory of Cankoru. To the previous slogan, "Don't be silent or your turn will come," was added, "The citizens are here, where are the killers?"

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

Turquie-politique : Le parlement lève les dernières accusations de malversations contre Mme Ciller

ANKARA, 19 fév (AFP) - Le parlement turc a levé mercredi les dernières accusations de malversations pesant sur le ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller, également vice-premier ministre, a

indiqué le vice-président du parlement, Kamer Genc.

Ces accusations étaient relatives aux conditions d'accumulation de la fortune personnelle de Mme Ciller.

Celle-ci possède une fortune énorme, de l'ordre de plusieurs millions de dollars selon l'opposition, notamment de nombreux biens immobiliers dont plusieurs maisons aux Etats-Unis.

L'assemblée nationale avait déjà blanchi mardi Mme Ciller sur deux dossiers de corruption, lui évitant une comparution en Haute cour qui aurait probablement mis fin à sa carrière politique.

Le parlement a rejeté mercredi par 270 voix contre 263 et une abstention une motion demandant l'envoi de Mme Ciller en Haute cour. Il a ainsi entériné le rapport de la commission parlementaire ad hoc qui avait déjà déclaré le ministre non coupable.

Les députés du parti de la Juste voie (DYP, droite) de Tansu Ciller et ceux de son allié dans la coalition gouvernementale, le parti de la Prospérité (Refah, islamiste) du Premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan, ont voté en sa faveur.

C'était pourtant le Refah qui, lorsqu'il était dans l'opposition au printemps 1996, avait porté toutes ces accusations contre Mme Ciller.

La presque totalité des membres des partis d'opposition ont voté pour l'envoi de Mme Ciller devant la Cour constitutionnelle, la plus haute instance judiciaire de Turquie.

Mais leurs chances étaient très faibles, car une telle décision requiert la majorité absolue de 276 voix sur 550, que l'opposition n'atteint pas.

C'est au contraire la coalition qui détient la majorité absolue, le Refah comptant 160 sièges et le DYP 118, après la démission mardi d'un de ses députés.

Un scénario identique s'était déroulé mardi. Le parlement avait voté qu'il n'y avait pas lieu de traduire Mme Ciller devant la Haute cour pour répondre d'accusations de corruption relatives à la gestion, lorsqu'elle était Premier ministre, de la compagnie d'Etat Tedas (distribution d'électricité), et à la privatisation partielle du constructeur automobile Tofas.

CE/hc/sg tf

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

Irak-Turquie : Départ pour la Turquie d'une délégation irakienne

BAGDAD, 19 fév (AFP) - Une délégation d'une association officielle irakienne a quitté mercredi Bagdad à destination d'Ankara, pour une visite d'une semaine en Turquie, a-t-on appris de source officielle irakienne.

Le président de l'association pour l'Amitié, de la Paix et de la Solidarité, Salah Al-Mokhtar, responsable du parti Baas au pouvoir, a déclaré à l'AFP qu'il informerait les dirigeants turcs des "efforts déployés par la communauté internationale pour obtenir la levée de l'embargo imposé à l'Irak (depuis 1990) et mettre un terme aux souffrances du peuple irakien".

La délégation irakienne a quitté Bagdad dans la matinée en direction de la frontière irako-turque, via la ville de Mossoul, dans le Kurdistan irakien, à 400 km au nord de Bagdad.

fch-sam/sl

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

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1997

Arab League states oppose Turkish dams

Damascus - Deutsche Presse-Agentur

■ A meeting of Arab League member countries Tuesday urged Turkey to stop building dams on the Euphrates river, a measure criticised as affecting the flow of water to Syria and Iraq.

Winding up a two-day symposium on water, the participants also called on Turkey to halt the pumping of contaminated water to the two countries.

In his opening speech Monday, Syria's parliament speaker Abdul-Qader Qaddoura said that "Syria's insistence on its water rights is as strong as its insistence on regaining its complete land".

The symposium underscored the need to cling to water rights in Jordan, Golan Heights and south

Lebanon in accordance with international law and agreements.

The symposium called for a United Arab position to support water rights of Sudan and Egypt, and urged the Arab states to reach agreements unilaterally or collectively for water sharing. The participants said Arabs should take part in a meeting in New York on March 24 for enacting a law allowing the use of nonnavigable water courses.

The symposium was attended by representatives of Syria, Iraq, the Palestinian National Authority, Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Tunisia, Algeria, Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Egypt and Mauritania as well as the Arab League.

The next symposium will be held in Cairo.

... and the lobby firms got their money

Turkey has to overhaul its lobbying system abroad so that our causes win recognition and we are not milked by ineffective lobbyists

WASHINGTON

Two American lobby firms which have been "serving" Turkey since the spring of 1996 without a written contract have, at last, gotten their \$1 million dollar fee. The fuss these two companies created and the adverse campaign they launched against Turkey and Turkish interests during the past few months to get their money was incredible. They even went to the extent of insulting this columnist and the Turkish Daily News, thinking that we were obstructing their efforts to milk the Turkish government. Two

representatives (Turkish ladies whose names we will not publish) from each lobbying company met with Sabah columnist Sedat Sertoglu and fed him a series of lies which were published in his column.

Yet the truth is naked. The lobby companies in Washington have hardly done anything worth mentioning in the past few years to advance



Editorial

İlinur Çevik

Armenian lobbies and from independent sources in Washington that the general sentiment is that Turkey's lobby activities are so bad that it really does not take a great effort to hurt Turkish interests in Congress or anywhere else.

Turkey's money is limited and it is valuable. It is taxpayers' money which should be spent with extreme care. That means it should not be wasted on ineffective lobby activities and incapable companies.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry could well set up a unit in Washington, as well as in Europe, to coordinate lobby activities on the spot and hire lobbyists from leading companies who specialize in specific issues. That may save funds for Turkey and make the lobbying more effective. Now the Turkish government and other competent agencies have to closely scrutinize how and where Turkey's money has been spent on lobbying activities and what has been achieved. If necessary, a parliamentary investigation should be launched. While this is going on we must continue overhaul our information and promotion system.

We have no interest in lobbying. The duty of the Turkish Daily News is to present a clear and truthful view of Turkey to the world and also promote Turkey's views and causes. We are told everywhere (both at home and in the world) we are doing this in an excellent manner.

Turkey's causes in the U.S. capital. They have acted like a clerical office for the Turkish Embassy and they have had to struggle ineffectively against a very strong Greek and Armenian lobby in Congress with no success. In the past one-and-a-half-years Turkey's causes have suffered serious setbacks in Washington. We could not even secure the delivery of frigates which we purchased from the U.S. and Congress is blocking the sale of Cobra attack helicopters to Turkey.

We know well both from the Greek and

Parliament clears FM *Turkish Daily News* THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1997

Çiller on suspect wealth

Cleansed: The Islamist partners piggyback the foreign minister to safety, relieving her of her dependency on their protection

Ankara-TDN Parliament Bureau

Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller on Wednesday surfed to safety over a final opposition bid to send her to court over corruption allegations with support from Islamist government partners who earlier tabled the probe into her controversial wealth. The parliament also voted down a counter government call for the trial of opposition leader Mesut Yilmaz.

But the 270-to-263 edge was too narrow to allow both Çiller and the embattled Islamist-conservative coalition any long-term comfort. The day before, coalition's numerical superiority in the 550-member legislature also saved Çiller from trial by the Supreme Court for alleged misdeeds concerning state contracts.

The opposition parties, on the other hand, remained below the critical 276 vote mark they need to attain to bring down the government in next week's ballot on censure motions.



CILLER'S CONTROVERSIAL WEALTH

- "I INHERITED FROM DADDY":
- TL 473,000 (With which I bought apartments, large estates, Bosphorus villas over 30 years)
- "I INHERITED FROM MUMMY":
- 880 GOLD "REPUBLIC" COINS
- \$ 570,000
- DM 690,000
- TL 432,000,000
- REAL ESTATE IN U.S.
HOUSE, HOTEL AND COMPANIES OWNED BY HUSBAND OZER WORTH \$ 5.5 MILLION

The left and right-wing opposition parties which have put together a loose secularist alliance see Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's (Islamist) Welfare Party (RP) a threat for the country's 74-year-old secular state system. Çiller reversed her own hostility to RP and set up a partnership

with the Islamists eight months ago after her shortlived coalition with center-right Motherland Party (ANAP) collapsed when her former partner backed the inquiry motions RP tabled against her.

With Çiller's True Path Party (DYP) reduced to impotency through her dependency on Islamist protection, Erbakan's Islamists felt bold enough recently to test the country's constitutional secularism, angering the pro-Western military and the media in the process. The opposition parties tabled censure motions against the government which call for confidence votes set for Feb. 25.

Although in theory the coalition partners still enjoy an absolute majority, the growing resentment among the DYP deputies for the cohabitation with the Islamists make tests of strength undesirable for the shaky government.

The fact that Çiller saved the day with a difference of only seven votes has boosted the opposition hopes that they can pull the rug from under the coalition by persuading a few government deputies not to back the partnership in the upcoming vote on censure motions.

The opposition still has to muster 276 votes to unseat the government.

But if the coalition partners themselves fail to muster the majority of 276, the parliamentary traditions call for the government's resignation.

Gamk, 20 février 1997

Poète, dramaturge et écrivain humaniste kurde Musa Anter avait été assassiné à l'âge de 74 ans le 20 septembre 1992 à Diyarbakir où il se trouvait pour participer à un festival culturel. Sa mort avait suscité une vive émotion en Turquie et les autorités politiques avaient promis d'arrêter rapidement "les auteurs de ce lâche

TURQUIE-KURDES

Les confessions de l'un des assassins du poète Musa Anter

assassinat" tandis que les Kurdes montraient du doigt l'État turc. Finalement, encouragé par le climat de déballage qui se développe depuis l'affaire de Susurluk, un dénommé Murat Ipek, dans des déclarations à plusieurs quotidiens (Radikal, Yeni Yüzyil, Özgür Politika et Demokrasi du 11 février) avoue être l'un de ses assassins. Extraits de ses aveux: "Après avoir essayé vainement pendant toute la soirée du premier jour où nous avons reçu des instructions de l'amener d'obtenir un rendez-vous de Musa Anter, nous sommes revenus à la charge le lendemain avec un mot d'Alaettin Kanat (repenti du PKK employé par les escadrons de la mort de la police). Après un certain temps, Musa Anter a accepté notre demande d'entrevue, il est venu à la réception de son hôtel avec quelqu'un (Orhan Miroglu). A la sortie de l'hôtel, je l'ai fait monter dans une voiture. Nous étions précédés par une voiture à bord de laquelle se trouvait A. Kanat et suivis d'un autre véhicule. A la sortie de Diyarbakir, nous avons bifurqué en direction d'Ergani. Après un certain temps, nous nous sommes arrêtés. A. Kanat est monté dans notre voiture. En le voyant, Musa Anter a compris ce qui se passait car il connaissait Kanat. Il s'est penché la tête et s'est tu. Son compagnon discutait avec nous.

Notre voiture s'est engagée dans la route de Silvan. Après un moment, on s'est arrêté. Kanat a pris le bras de Musa Anter. Anter nous a dit alors: "les enfants, vous faites une erreur". Ils étaient devant, nous les suivions. Après avoir marché quelque temps, nous avons reçu le signal. A. Kanat a tiré la première balle dans la

tête de Musa Anter. Puis, à notre tour, nous avons tiré. Anter a été tué de 4 balles et Miroglu s'est mis à fuir, nous avons tiré dans sa direction. Les sentinelles d'un camp militaire proche ont tiré en l'air. Pris de panique, nous sommes montés dans notre voiture et nous avons repris la route de Silvan. Nous nous sommes arrêtés devant la Faculté de médecine de l'université Dicle. Après un bref intervalle, des policiers en civil sont venus à bord d'un minibus rouge. Nous sommes montés dans le minibus et les policiers ont pris notre voiture. Puis, nous nous sommes éloignés des lieux. Nous avons au total utilisé trois véhicules pour cette opération. L'un d'eux était volé, les deux autres appartenaient à l'armée. Nos armes étaient fournies par la police".

Affirmant appartenir à un escadron de 22 tueurs dirigé par A. Kanat, qui reçoit lui-même ses ordres de "Yesil" responsable de JITEM et du super-préfet régional, M. Ipek donne les détails suivants sur quelques-unes des opérations auxquelles il a participé: "Après le Newroz (NDLR. *Le nouvel an kurde célébré le 21 mars*) de 1992 Ünal Erkan (NDLR. *Super-préfet régional*) était venu à Sirnak. La population était rassemblée dans le stadium. Puis, il a demandé "qui sont les meneurs de ces événements?". Les policiers ont répondu: Biseng Anik. "Faites-le disparaître" a-t-il ordonné. Et comme je venais d'être recruté, ils ont voulu me mettre à l'épreuve en me confiant cette mission. Le domicile de B. Anik est devant la mosquée. Avec des



policiers en civil, nous sommes allés le chercher. Au commissariat, ils l'ont torturé. Ils ont taillé son dos et la plante de ses pieds avec des lames de rasoir. On m'a donné un fusil G3 se trouvant au commissariat et j'ai tué B. Anik avec une seule balle tirée dans sa tête avec ce fusil. Quelques mois plus tard, le 18 août 1992, nous avons exécuté l'avocat A. Rahim Demir et Mehmet Ertak. Le directeur départemental de la Sûreté N. Altintas nous avait dit que le frère aîné de M. Ertak était dans le maquis et qu'il fallait de ce fait le tuer. Nous l'avons embarqué dans un Panzer et l'amené en dehors de la ville près de la mine de charbon où nous l'avons débarqué et tué. Puis, nous l'avons vêtu d'une tenue de guérillero, mis une Kalashnikov entre ses mains et annoncé que nous venions de tuer un terroriste".

M. Ipek affirme que son chef direct A. Kanat vit actuellement dans le secteur résidentiel militaire de Diyarbakir. Il est au service du capitaine de gendarmerie Ersin Becaksiz qui commande aussi à un autre escadron de la mort dirigé par un certain Cemil. C'est cet escadron qui a enlevé le 1er octobre 1996 quatre instituteurs du village Hantepe qu'il a sommairement assassinés ajoute-t-il. Ce quadruple assassinat, survenu le jour même du lancement de la campagne d'Amensty International sur les violations des droits de l'homme en Turquie, avait été attribué par Ankara au PKK qui l'avait aussitôt rejeté. Les organisations turques des droits de l'homme avaient été empêchées par les autorités de mener une enquête indépendante sur cette affaire.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1997

Saddam's Clan Is Reeling From Blows and Threats

Signs of Disruption Grow After Attack on Son

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Service

AMMAN, Jordan — Udai Hussein, 32, the eldest son and heir-apparent of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, wheeled his expensive car into Baghdad's plush Mansour district shortly after sundown two months ago, pulling up a few hundred yards from Iraqi intelligence headquarters.

He knew the neighborhood intim-

ately. Mansour's shopping boulevards were regular backdrops to the brutal, hard-drinking nightlife that left reports of rapes and shootings in his wake. This night, Dec. 12, there was a difference: The blood to be shed would be Udai's.

Two gunmen in jogging suits and helmets, somehow pinpointing Udai's whereabouts at a vulnerable moment, appeared beside his car. According to Iraqi opposition figures here, claiming eyewitness information, one poured automatic rifle fire through Udai's open car window at point-blank range while the other shot into the air to keep pedestrians at bay.

Repercussions from the attack, which left Udai gravely wounded, have brought spasms of vengeance and betrayal into Mr. Saddam's innermost family and raised new questions about his grip on power. Because the gunmen tracked down their target despite a web of secrecy, false convoys and body doubles, the assassination attempt raised the specter of an inside job. And because the gunmen have yet to be found, the organizers of the attack remain a potential threat to the regime.

Mr. Saddam's wife, Sajida Talfah, is under house arrest, along with daughters Raghda and Rana, according to Iraqi, American and other Western sources. Udai, whose condition was officially described as "not a matter of concern," is now reported to be partly paralyzed by spinal injuries, at risk of losing a leg to gangrene and suffering from major wounds to the stomach and bladder.

Perhaps most threatening of all, the identities of Udai's would-be assassins have not come to light despite a purge involving hundreds of executions and thousands of arrests, according to sources privy to Jordanian government intelligence data. Having deprived Mr. Saddam of his No. 2 and shattered the myth of invincibility that helped keep both of them alive, the assailants have melted away.

The fall of Mr. Saddam has been predicted many times since the 1990-91 Gulf War, but his regime has proven difficult to assess, and it is clearly more resilient than its enemies had supposed. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that his clan-centered government, which bestowed power on, and removed it from, his sons, half-brothers and cousins over the years, has absorbed unprecedented blows of late.

Less than a year ago, Mr. Saddam had his two sons-in-law killed. Hussein Kamel Hassan Majeed and Saddam

Kamel Hassan Majeed had defected from top security posts and then returned from Jordanian exile on promises of forgiveness. His wife, Sajida, whom Jordanian witnesses said delivered her husband's personal guarantee to her daughters and their husbands, turned bitterly against Mr. Saddam when he had the men killed anyway.

"The whole link is centered around family and people close to the family," said a Saddam opponent, Dirgham Kadhim, a leader of the CIA-backed Iraqi National Accord who lives now in Amman. "Anything that disrupts the family disrupts the regime."

A theory with few Arab adherents is that Mr. Saddam himself was behind the attack on his son, that he knew about it and declined to prevent it.

Compounding the uncertainty is a multiplicity of versions of the attack on Udai, involving nearly every point of fact.

The car in which Udai met his fate? If not a black Porsche, as Mr. Kadhim's witnesses said, it may have been a white Mercedes, as a Jordanian government minister asserted. Its occupants, apart from Udai? No one, Iraqi exiles report; the bodyguard had been sent off to fetch a woman. Or, in another version, a video. No, said a Jordanian with access to intelligence reports, the woman was in the car. No, a senior Jordanian official said, it was the famous Iraqi singer, Kadem Saher.

His injuries? Neurological, according to a Western diplomat. Ruptured bladder and stomach, according to an Iraqi exile, Mohammed Haroum, who said two bullets remain lodged near Udai's spine. Gangrenous leg, according to General J.H. Binford Peay, chief of the U.S. Central Command. Seven bullet wounds, or 9 or 13, according to various accounts.

Iraqi videotape, intended to dispel the most dire of the grapevine reports, made clear that Udai is in a bad way. He has been covered to the neck in every photograph, and in several minutes of broadcast television only his head and right arm were seen to move. But other details, some of the most interesting, cannot be confirmed by such indirect means. Mr. Haroum, the Iraqi exile, gave so intimate an account of Sajida's house arrest in her home town, Ouja, that it is difficult to imagine how he could possibly know.

Mr. Saddam's wife, he said, went to visit Udai at Baghdad's Ibn Sina Hospital on the evening of Jan. 23. There, in the hearing of the hospital supervisor,

General Abdel Jawad Thanoun, she told her son his shooting was "God's revenge" for the deaths of Hussein Kamel and Saddam Kamel, in which Udai had played a part, and she added: "It should have been your father in your place."

If motive makes for suspects, the list of those who might have tried to kill Udai is long. Numerous Iraqi and foreign reports say Udai regularly snatched young women off the street, married or not, dragging them off to be raped and beaten. A former bodyguard told The Wall Street Journal last year that when one woman complained afterward, Udai had her covered with honey and torn apart by hungry dogs.

In business affairs, Udai competed ruthlessly for dominance over the lucrative smuggling rings that evade post-Gulf War international trade sanctions. A Jordanian who knows Udai well said here that "the shooting of Udai must have been the result of fighting for the spoils."

Within the family, Udai's younger brother, Qusay, runs Mr. Saddam's intelligence agencies and the Presidential Guard and is seen as a rival for power. Mr. Saddam's half-brother, Watban Tikriti, once a powerful figure in Iraq, lost influence in a long struggle with Udai. In a climactic argument in 1995, Udai shot his uncle seven times in the left leg, reportedly intending to prevent recovery. The leg was amputated, and some Iraq watchers think Mr. Tikriti may have taken revenge.

Both of Mr. Saddam's surviving half-brothers, Barzan Tikriti and Sabawi Tikriti, have major grievances against Udai: Barzan over Udai's treatment of his daughter, whom Udai married, and both for having been pushed from power.

Any of the relatives of Hussein Kamel and Saddam Kamel, the president's slain sons-in-law, also have had reason to hate Udai. So do members of the Duleimi clan from the town of Ramadi, south of Baghdad.

The clan's leading member, Mohammed Duleimi, was killed after a run-in with Udai, and his body was sent back to Ramadi mutilated and eyeless.

■ New Elite Unit Is Slated

President Saddam has delegated a special committee to create a new elite armed force within three months, Iraqi sources in Amman said Monday, Agence France-Presse reported.

According to the sources, the elite group will be led by Qusay, his youngest son.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1997

Secular Turks Are Alarmed By Resurgence of Religion



Mehmet Ali Kizilali/The New York Times

Students leaving an Islamic school in Konya, Turkey. Many Turks fear the secular state is being undermined.

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

SINCAN, Turkey — Scenes that unfolded in this working-class suburb of Ankara over the last few days have stunned millions of Turks who want to believe that their country, even though it is now governed by an Islamist prime minister, will remain a secular democracy.

On one recent evening, several hundred people jammed a hall in Sincan to celebrate "Jerusalem Day," a holiday proclaimed 17 years ago by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran. Their host was the local mayor, and the evening's guest of honor was the Iranian ambassador, Muhammed Reza Bagheri.

When Mr. Bagheri arrived, the crowd erupted with chants of "Down with

Israel! Down with Arafat!" He then stepped to the podium and delivered a fiery speech demanding that Muslims obey the Sharia, the law of the Koran.

"On behalf of Muslims all over the world, I say that we can wait no longer," the ambassador declared. "Do not be afraid to call yourselves fundamentalists. Fundamentalists are those who follow the words and actions of the Prophet. God has promised them the final victory."

Tensions between religious and secular Turks have been rising in recent months, and the Sincan episode convinced senior military officers, who view themselves as defenders of the secularist ideology that has guided Turkey since 1923, that it was time to

respond. They ordered tanks to roll through Sincan's streets, a clear warning that their patience is wearing thin.

[A Turkish security court on Thursday charged the mayor, Bakir Yildiz, with serious public order offenses for organizing the anti-Israeli protest, Reuters reported, quoting the Anatolian news agency.]

After hurried consultations between officials in Ankara and Tehran, Turkish officials said Mr. Bagheri would soon give up his post and return home.

Turkey is on edge these days. After eight months in power, the Muslim-oriented Welfare Party has begun to take steps that many Turks fear are aimed at undermining the secular state.

Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan has backed away from his most militant campaign promises. He no longer talks of expelling U.S. troops or cutting ties to Israel. But he evidently now feels strong enough to press ahead with other plans that, taken together, strike secularist Turks as little short of terrifying:

- He is urging the construction of a large mosque in Istanbul — in Taksim Square, the cosmopolitan heart of modern Turkey — and another in the Cankaya quarter of Ankara, where the presidential palace, a commanding symbol of secularism, is now the most important building.

- He wants to repeal laws that forbid women who are civil servants and students at public universities to wear veils or head scarves.

- He has built a corps of uniformed Welfare Party bodyguards and has begun to rely on them rather than on government security agents.

- He is encouraging young people to study at religious academies, and says graduates of such academies should be eligible for appointment as military officers.

- He is quietly moving fundamentalists into positions in many government agencies.

These steps, coupled with outbreaks of

fundamentalism like the one in Sincan, have led many Turks to fear that the secular identity of their country is being threatened. Many others — it is impossible to know how many — welcome the moves.

At the heart of secularist fears is the realization that their ideology has not yet taken full hold in the hearts of Turks. It has been just 74 years since Mustafa Kemal Ataturk proclaimed the doctrine, now known as Kemalism, that Turkey should be a Western-oriented republic in which religion plays no public role. That is a short time compared with the centuries during which Turks were subjects of a theocratic empire.

As a result, secularists fear that giving Turks full freedom of choice in determining the role of religion in public life might open the way to the Islamization of society.

"This country has a past, and it's a bit naive not to understand what that means," said Sermet Atacanli, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, which is a strong bastion of Turkish secularism.

"Christians had a period of brutal fanaticism, but you also had your Renaissance," he said. "You have had hundreds of years to distance yourself from religious extremism, so now when your president puts his hand on the Bible to take the oath of office you don't see anything wrong. But in Turkey, our Renaissance began with Ataturk. We need time to let these ideas take hold."

Debate over these issues has come to dominate public discourse in Turkey, raising sensitive issues that many people here have never before confronted.

"A veil is lifting in Turkey," said a foreign resident of Ankara who is a specialist in Islamic ideology. "As it lifts, we're seeing that this country is more religious than people think, and a million times more than secularists would like. The idea of a greater role for religion in public life has widespread support in Turkey. So as the country becomes more democratic, you see more Islamic influence."

Many Turks are asking whether their



Bakir Yildiz, Islamist mayor of Sincan, in a police car after his arrest.

secular system can withstand Mr. Erbakan's rule. Some believe that he is at heart a conciliator who will never try to push the country too far toward fundamentalism.

Others consider him a radical determined to chip away at the foundations of secularism until the system collapses.

Whatever the truth, Mr. Erbakan has shown himself to be a shrewd politician who knows when it is time to retreat. Apparently alarmed by the reaction to his recent moves, he issued a statement over the weekend pledging his support for "pluralist political democracy."

But even if his government now pulls back from some of its proposals, it has fundamentally and perhaps permanently reshaped the terms of political and social debate. Military leaders, who have staged three coups since 1960, are watching the government's every move.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1997

Turks Sign \$543 Million In Air Deals

Reuters

ANKARA — Turkey's plans to modernize its military were aided Thursday with the signing of helicopter deals worth \$543 million with the French-German group Eurocopter and the U.S. concern Sikorsky.

"With the signing of these contracts with Eurocopter and Sikorsky, our armed forces will have taken a concrete step towards modernization for the future," Yalcin Burcak, Turkey's defense industry undersecretary, said at a ceremony before the deals were initiated.

The deals could fuel Western governments' concerns of an arms race in the eastern Mediterranean. The latest accords are part of Turkey's goal to accelerate annual military spending to \$5 billion from around \$2.5 billion to \$3 billion as part of a \$150 billion program to the year 2030.

Turkey's main rival, Greece, plans around \$8.5 billion in military spending by the year 2000. The two countries are disputing territorial rights in the Aegean

Sea and the divided island of Cyprus.

The Eurocopter deal to build 30 Cougar helicopters from 1999 to 2002 is part of an effort to foster Turkey's domestic defense industry and reach ambitious targets for development of the armed forces.

Turkey's state defense company

Turkish Aerospace Industries, and other Turkish concerns will account for 30 percent of the \$430 million deal with Eurocopter, owned by French state-run Aerospatiale and Germany's Daimler-Benz Aerospace.

"In this way, technology will be acquired, savings will be made and work

possibilities will be created for our industry," Defense Minister Turhan Tayhan said at the signing ceremony.

In a separate \$113 million deal with Sikorsky Aircraft, a unit of United Technology, the Turkish Navy will buy four Sikorsky Sea Hawk helicopters over three years.



Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1997

General Çevik Bir to discuss 'Northern Watch' with Lodal

Turkey to insist on "reciprocity" while Rahmi Koç lobbies Şen. Sarbanes

Washington-Turkish Daily News

■ Deputy Chief of Turkish General Staff Gen. Çevik Bir arrived in Washington accompanied by a delegation of senior Turkish officers to discuss a series of bilateral defense issues with U.S. Administration officials.

When Gen. Bir meets with his counterpart Jan Lodal, U.S. Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, on top of Bir's agenda will be Turkey's concerns regarding the "Operation Northern Watch (ONW)," according to an informed TDN source.

Among the senior officials that accompany Bir are National Security Council Secretary Gen. İlhan Kilic and V. Adm. Aydan Erol, Chief of Staff, Turkish Navy.

ONW is the air-cover umbrella over northern Iraq which replaced Operation Provide Comfort. ONW denies access to Saddam Hussein's forces north of the 36th parallel. The allied jets that enforce the air umbrella fly out of bases in Turkey. Turkey, which in theory supports Iraq's territorial integrity and wants to maintain friendly ties with Baghdad, finds itself in the uncomfortable position of supporting an operation which effectively challenges Iraqi sovereignty in northern part of the country.



Çevik Bir

ONW for WMD

TDN learned that Iraq officials were told in private by Turkish officials that if Iraq truly gets rid of all of its weapons of mass destruction (WMD), Turkey would lobby actively for the dissolution of Operation Northern Watch.

Yet the UN special commission (UNSCOM) charged with monitoring of such WMD sites in Iraq reported recently that Baghdad was still not coming through clean and was still hiding a part of its WMD program from UN inspectors.

Reciprocity and F-16 training

Gen. Bir will reportedly insist Turkey be treated in accordance with the "reciprocity" principle in return for Ankara's support for ONW.

Within that context, Turkey's complaints about the F-16 pilot training will be brought to the attention of Pentagon officials, TDN sources said. Specifically, the recent \$35 million increase in the cost of F-16 pilot training is expected to be made an issue by the Turkish delegation. Gen. Bir will reportedly ask Lodal both to drop the cost of F-16 training and to increase the number of Turkish pilots undergoing such a training. The total number of Turkey's trained F-16 pilots is estimated to be around 400. F-16 Falcons are co-produced by Turkish Aeronautics Industry under Lockheed Martin license at a site near Ankara.

Rahmi Koç on Şen. Sarbanes

Turkey's frustration with spurned military orders will be another item on Gen. Bir's agenda, TDN learned. Last year U.S. denied three frigates and ten Super Cobra helicopters.

A storm is already brewing on the Capitol Hill for the four Seahawk helicopters Turkey ordered this year. The Greek-American senator from Maryland, Paul Sarbanes, emerged as the key figure to object to the sale notifications at Senate Foreign Affairs Committee.

In a novel approach to an old problem, the Turkish billionaire Rahmi Koç, who is currently in Washington, is expected to visit Şen. Sarbanes in an effort to dislodge Turkey's stuck military orders.

Koç, who is the head of Turkish-Greek Business Council, is a man with a wide circle of influential Greek friends. Thus he is expected to convince Sarbanes to release the Turkish orders from his tight clutch although all previous appeals have failed to convince Sarbanes otherwise.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1997

PKK threatens aggression at N. Iraq border

Ankara-Turkish Daily News

■ The head of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has threatened to carry out aggressive action against the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in Iraq unless the KDP gives the PKK its share of revenues collected from vehicles passing

through one of the checkpoints at the border with Turkey, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The PKK has reportedly been collecting from the KDP revenues in return for remaining an "obedient child" in the region. But Anatolia said the rebel group has recently been dissatisfied with the amount it is receiving and

has requested that this be doubled. The KDP, which is controlling Iraq's border with Turkey, has been gathering so-called "taxes" from truck drivers who enter the embargoed country to transport small quantities of oil to the northern neighbor.

Revenue collection has been the greatest source of conflict between the rival Kurdish groups in northern Iraq, the KDP and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), affording Turkey's separatist Kurds more freedom to act in the region.

PKK leader Abdullah "Apo" Öcalan reportedly sent written orders to the organization's regional heads. One set of directives was seized by

Turkish security forces.

The PKK's written order says the traffic passing through the site known as the Halil Ibrahim border gate has tripled, as have revenues, and, thus, the share given to the PKK should be increased. If this does not occur, the separatist rebels will take action along the strategic points of the border, the message says. While officials from the Halil Ibrahim border gate avoided comment, KDP sources said that they had not received any such message to date. Meanwhile, bus drivers speaking to Anatolia claimed that the PKK was collecting money last year but that this year they were unable to establish control through these routes.

•Le Monde - vendredi, 21 février 1997 •Le Monde - vendredi, 21 février 1997

Le Parlement turc disculpe M^{me} Ciller

Les députés ont refusé la comparution de l'ancien premier ministre devant la Cour suprême

ANKARA

de notre correspondante

Tansu Ciller, ministre des affaires étrangères, ancien premier ministre, peut désormais envisager son avenir politique avec plus de sérénité : l'Assemblée nationale turque s'est prononcée contre sa comparution devant la Cour suprême pour corruption. A trois reprises au cours des deux derniers jours, le Parlement a confirmé les conclusions des commissions qui avaient enquêté sur d'éventuelles malversations dans l'administration de la compagnie d'électricité Tedas ainsi que lors de la vente de parts étatiques de la compagnie automobile Tofas. L'Assemblée nationale a également conclu que la fortune considérable de M^{me} Ciller, qui possède notamment de nombreuses propriétés et terrains en Turquie et aux Etats-Unis, n'avait pas été accumulée de façon illégale.

Ces résultats, qui ne réhabiliteront pas M^{me} Ciller aux yeux de ceux qui l'accusent d'avoir trahi ses promesses en formant une coalition avec les islamistes du Parti de la prospérité (RP) de Necmettin Erbakan, n'ont pas surpris. Les procédures engagées contre l'ancien premier ministre se sont perdues dans le jeu politique et n'avaient plus vraiment pour objectif d'établir ou de démentir la véracité des rumeurs qui circulent sur les affaires financières de la famille Ciller et d'autres politiciens turcs d'ailleurs.

NE PAS « POLITISER LA LAÏCITÉ »

Lancées l'an dernier par le parti de M. Erbakan, qui s'était prononcé avec un bel ensemble en faveur de l'ouverture de ces enquêtes pour le bien d'une Turquie « plus propre » alors qu'il était encore dans l'opposition, ces accusations ont été rejetées ces jours-ci avec une même unité par les députés du RP, qui ont désormais intérêt à protéger leur partenaire pour assurer la poursuite de la coalition.

La discussion a également permis de prendre la température de l'Assemblée avant le débat, la semaine prochaine, sur les motions de censure déposées par les partis d'opposition. Il est apparu que les opposants au gouvernement actuel ont peu de chances d'obtenir les 276 voix nécessaires pour renverser la coalition. Malgré le mécontentement de certains de ses députés face à l'activisme accru du RP, M^{me} Ciller a confirmé pour sa part que « ce gouvernement va continuer ». Elle a également demandé à ceux qui accusent le gouvernement de politiser la religion de ne pas à leur tour « politiser la laïcité ».

Les propositions faites durant le mois du ramadan par le premier ministre Erbakan, qui envisageait la levée de l'interdiction sur le

port du foulard dans les universi-

Un « téléphone rouge » entre Athènes et Ankara

La Grèce s'est montrée favorable, mercredi 19 février, à l'installation d'un « téléphone rouge » entre Athènes, Ankara et le siège de l'OTAN, proposée par les dirigeants de l'Alliance pour prévenir toute crise gréco-turque. La mise en place d'une telle ligne pourrait « jouer un rôle positif », a déclaré le porte-parole du gouvernement grec, Dimitris Reppas. Le projet, entre les deux capitales et Bruxelles, a été soumis mardi par le secrétaire général de l'OTAN, Javier Solana, au secrétaire d'Etat grec aux Affaires étrangères, Yanos Kranidiotis, selon la presse grecque. M. Solana est attendu fin février à Athènes, après une visite au début du mois à Ankara, dans une tentative de l'OTAN de réduire la tension entre ses deux membres ennemis. L'installation d'une ligne rouge entre Athènes et Ankara figurait parmi les mesures de confiance sur lesquelles les gouvernements grec et turc s'étaient accordés en 1989, mais

non appliquées jusque-là. - (AFP)

tés et la fonction publique et qui prévoyait la construction de grandes mosquées à Istanbul et à Ankara, ont soulevé un tollé de

protestations de la part des défenseurs de la laïcité, et notamment de l'armée, qui n'a pas caché son irritation.

Depuis lors la « poussée de fièvre » s'est quelque peu calmée

bien que le débat sur la laïcité continue. « Erbakan a mis en veilleuse ses suggestions, qui étaient plus des ballons d'essai que de véritables projets de réformes », estime un diplomate qui n'envisage pas

la chute du gouvernement dans l'immédiat : « L'opposition n'est pas encore mûre pour une alternative crédible. »

Nicole Pope



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FEUILLETON

Nouvelles déclarations, nouvelles révélations, plus de trois mois après l'accident de Susurluk

La fin de l'ASALA est-elle l'œuvre de la « bande à Çatli », ou le résultat des dissensions internes à l'organisation ?

L'accident de Susurluk charrie décidément un flot intarissable de révélations - et parfois des plus contradictoires -, plus de trois mois après les faits. Les feux de l'actualité sont braqués cette semaine en Turquie sur le démantèlement de l'ASALA, l'organisation clandestine arménienne, dont le leader, Hagop Hagopian, a été assassiné en avril 1988 à Athènes. Un premier article, renfermant le témoignage d'Ömer Bekar, un proche d'Abdullah Çatli, tend tout en apportant de nouvelles révélations à confirmer le rôle décisif qu'auraient joué Abdullah Çatli et sa bande dans le processus de destruction de l'ASALA; un autre, en revanche, exclut quasiment cette possibilité, pour remettre sur le tapis la thèse la plus répandue à l'époque, celle d'une dislocation née de la scission survenue en 1983 entre les partisans d'Hagop Hagopian et ceux de Monte Melkonian. Où est la vérité ?

La presse turque s'est fait l'écho (1) ces jours-ci des déclarations d'un certain Ömer Bekar. L'un des amis proches d'Abdullah Çatli, selon lesquelles ce dernier aurait perpétré un attentat manqué, en 1984 à Paris, sur la personne d'« un des dirigeants de l'ASALA », Ara Toranian. Ömer Bekar a affirmé que la police française a déjoué l'entreprise de sabotage, empêchant la bombe placée à l'intérieur de la voiture d'Ara Toranian d'exploser. Par la suite, la police française a interpellé Abdullah Çatli, sous l'accusation fabriquée de toutes pièces, selon Ömer Bekar, de trafic de drogue, car Çatli était un « homme de convictions », qui n'avait « rien à voir avec le milieu de la drogue ».

Selon Ömer Bekar, Çatli a été arrêté en 1984 dans un café, situé juste en face de la pâtisserie fréquentée habituellement par Ara Toranian, place de la Nation. C'est Çatli qui a posé à l'intérieur de la voiture d'Ara Toranian stationnée près de la pâtisserie la bombe que la police désamorçera par la suite. Quinze jours plus tard, Çatli sera arrêté, après que la police eût trouvé de la drogue dans la boîte à lettres de son domicile du 44-50, avenue Victor Hugo. Pour Ömer Bekar, il est évident qu'il s'agit là d'un coup monté par la police française.

L'un des camarades de classe d'Abdullah Çatli a ajouté pour sa part qu'Oral Celik (2) et Abdullah Çatli ont rejeté les offres de collaboration proposées par les services de renseignements français. La même personne prétend que ce sont Celik et Çatli qui ont mis fin aux actions de l'ASALA.

L'ASALA minée par ses conflits internes

Mais cette thèse a aussi ses détracteurs en Turquie. L'hebdomadaire turc *Nokta* (3) consacre le sujet principal de son édition de cette semaine à l'histoire de la dislocation de l'ASALA. S'appuyant sur les témoignages de deux militants turcs de gauche - dont le nom n'est pas révélé -, qui ont vécu de longues années durant aux côtés des membres de l'organisation clandestine, dans les camps de la plaine de la Bekaa, Saynur Cetiner soutient la thèse selon laquelle Abdullah Çatli et Oral Celik n'ont pas du tout joué le rôle prépondérant qu'on leur reconnaît depuis l'accident de Susurluk dans le processus de dislocation de l'ASALA. L'auteur de l'article estime que cette dernière était déjà détruite de l'intérieur, sans l'aide d'aucune intervention extérieure.

Mme Tansu Ciller avait qualifié récemment Abdullah Çatli de « héros national ayant utilisé des armes pour le compte de l'Etat », mais faut-il pour autant attribuer la paternité de la destruction de l'ASALA à Oral Celik et Abdullah Çatli ? Rien n'est moins sûr. Certains prétendent que le numéro un de l'ASALA, Hagop Hagopian, a été tué par un officier du MIT (Ndlr : les services secrets turcs); d'autres témoins oculaires affirment au contraire qu'Hagopian a été tué par l'un de ses opposants à l'intérieur de l'organisation; enfin, certains pensent que le FBI a joué un rôle dans la destruction de l'ASALA.

Nokta indique seulement à propos des deux militants turcs, qu'ils ont fui la Turquie après le coup d'Etat du 12 septembre 1980, pour se réfugier dans les camps palestiniens, ce qui leur a permis d'entretenir des liens très étroits avec les militants de l'ASALA.

L'un des deux témoins turcs affirme que cette époque coïncide avec l'apparition des dissensions à l'intérieur de l'organisation, sur le bien-fondé de la ligne dure prônée par Hagopian. Ce témoin affirme que lui et ses amis discutaient souvent de cette question avec les membres de l'ASALA.

Les allégations sur l'action de Çatli et Celik contre l'ASALA sont « dénuées de tout fondement », selon lui. Il affirme que nombre de membres de l'ASALA ont été « très sensibles » à ses opinions ainsi qu'à celles de ses camarades turcs. Ces

membres ont donc décidé un jour de former un groupe dissident, sous l'influence conjuguée de ces militants turcs et d'Ara Toranian, le dirigeant du Mouvement National Arménien (MNA), basé en France, qui s'était prononcé contre la ligne dure d'Hagopian.

C'est ainsi qu'un mouvement démocratique s'est formé au sein de l'ASALA, dirigée par Hagop Hagopian, un homme «très dur». Le numéro deux de l'organisation était «le dirigeant de la branche militaire», Monte Melkonian, avec lequel le témoin turc affirme avoir eu des relations «très chaleureuses». Progressivement, Monte Melkonian va commencer à défendre une position opposée à la ligne dure.

Monte Melkonian a mis du temps à oublier sa méfiance à l'égard des camarades turcs, due à leur origine. Mais les doutes ont fini par se dissiper, ce qui a permis à ces derniers d'expliquer aux militants arméniens sur quels points ils se trompaient à leurs yeux.

A ce moment-là, la lutte entre Hagop Hagopian et ses opposants s'est intensifiée : Hagop Hagopian a envoyé deux de ses hommes tuer Monte Melkonian, mais les lieutenants de ce dernier ont pu faire échouer l'attentat. Il n'empêche que quatre membres de l'ASALA ont payé de leur vie ces querelles internes. Les partisans de Monte Melkonian ont décidé de s'unir au MNA d'Ara Toranian, pour déplacer leur lutte du terrain militaire à celui de la politique.

Hagop Hagopian a alors mené un combat contre les Turcs devenus les amis de Monte Melkonian, accusés d'être des «agents du MIT». C'est ainsi qu'un ou deux de ces Turcs ont été arrêtés, avant d'être relâchés, deux jours plus tard, à la demande des autres membres de l'organisation. Hagop Hagopian n'a pu s'y opposer, car il avait déjà perdu l'essentiel de son poids.

Lorsque le chef de l'organisation clandestine se faisait assassiner, en avril 1988, à Athènes, il ne comptait plus que trois ou quatre personnes parmi ses partisans, qui ne formaient déjà plus qu'un groupe marginal. En 1993, l'ASALA avait virtuellement cessé d'exister.

Pendant ce temps-là, Monte Melkonian s'engageait sur le front du Haut-Karabagh, en qualité de commandant en chef des forces arméniennes pour la région de Mardouni.

Conclusion des témoins turcs : Oral Celik et Abdullah Çatli sont «blancs comme neige» dans cette «affaire» de la destruction de l'ASALA. Toutes les allégations du style «Nous sommes allés jusqu'au Liban, nous avons détruit l'ASALA, nous avons réglé le problème Hagopian», n'étaient donc que «pures fanfaronnades».

Faisant lui aussi part de ses observations, le deuxième témoin turc rappelle que l'on vivait une période très particulière à l'époque dans la Bekaa : il affirme catégoriquement qu'«aucun membre de services secrets étrangers n'avait la possibilité de pénétrer» à l'intérieur d'organisations telles que l'ASALA. Le MIT et ses membres ne pouvaient voir la Bekaa «qu'en rêves». Et de citer les témoins de la scission de l'ASALA : Ara Toranian, le chef spirituel de l'Eglise arménienne de Damas et la branche iranienne de l'ASALA, sans oublier l'organisation palestinienne d'Abou Nidal (Ndlr : Fatah-Conseil Révolutionnaire, opposé à la ligne de Yasser Arafat), témoin privilégié du conflit entre les partisans de Melkonian et ceux d'Hagopian, ces derniers travaillant main dans la main avec les militants d'Abou Nidal. Durant le conflit qui a suivi la scission, les partisans de Melkonian ont trouvé refuge dans l'Eglise arménienne de Damas : mais les hommes d'Abou Nidal ont mené une attaque contre cette église, pour en déloger les hommes de Melkonian. Parmi eux l'on comptait des camarades des deux témoins turcs, lesquels seront transférés dans le camp d'Abou Nidal.

C'est dans la «stupéfaction générale» que l'on accueillit dans la Bekaa la nouvelle de la présence de Turcs parmi les per-

sonnes arrêtées. C'est sur l'insistance de l'organisation palestinienne, ainsi que sur celle des nombreuses organisations turques travaillant dans cette région, que les Turcs ont été relâchés. Hagop Hagopian s'est retrouvé «tout seul face à cette résistance massive». Abou Nidal a libéré les Turcs, mais pas les partisans de Monte Melkonian, dont il a même fusillé deux membres. Le témoin turc ajoute avec force détails que la montre de l'un d'eux est toujours en sa possession.

Hagopian leur avait d'ailleurs fait subir un interrogatoire avant leur exécution, au cours duquel il put leur arracher pas mal d'«aveux». Les «repentis» reconnaissaient qu'ils avaient travaillé pour le MIT, et demandaient pardon au peuple arménien.

A cette époque, Melkonian travaillait dans la Bekaa à la libération de ses camarades. D'autre part, il entretenait une relation avec Ara Toranian. Dans les premiers jours consécutifs à la scission, Hagopian s'était rendu dans le camp de Fetihi, où il avait même eu une entrevue avec les témoins turcs. Il leur a adressé des «menaces très dures», en raison de leur soutien affiché à Melkonian. Les Turcs lui ont répondu qu'ils cherchaient simplement à établir des «relations d'amitié chaleureuses».

Cela n'a pas été facile de convaincre Hagop Hagopian, qui pensait que les Turcs marchaient «de concert avec Monte Melkonian». C'était un «malade psychique», qui ne cessait de dire que les Turcs travaillaient avec le MIT.

C'est au printemps 1983 que la scission est apparue au grand jour au sein de l'ASALA. Melkonian et ses amis sont allés s'installer à Damas, car ils n'ont pu trouver de camp palestinien pour les accueillir. Après le départ de Melkonian, Hagopian a commencé à dire partout que la main du MIT se cachait derrière ces événements.

Il voulait ainsi prouver que Melkonian travaillait pour le MIT. Ce sont ces cafouillages d'Hagopian qui allaient permettre à Abdullah Çatli de devenir un jour un «héros respectable» en Turquie, car les partisans du leader de l'ASALA ne cessaient de répéter et d'écrire, pour tenter de liquider la fraction Melkonian, que c'est le MIT qui a mis fin aux actions de l'organisation. Mais cette allégation était «totalement fausse». «Sans déployer de gros efforts, grâce à Hagopian», le MIT a «gagné en respectabilité» dans cette affaire.

Selon le témoin turc, l'infiltration d'un camp de la Bekaa par un agent du MIT était «pratiquement impossible», compte tenu des conditions de l'époque. Des hommes comme Oral Celik ou Abdullah Çatli ne pouvaient absolument pas espérer entrer dans les camps du Liban pour y assassiner les militants de l'ASALA. D'ailleurs, la date de l'effondrement de l'ASALA ne correspond pas à la période à laquelle Çatli et sa bande étaient en mission. Lorsque Celik et Çatli sont apparus sur le devant de la scène, l'ASALA était déjà une organisation «moribonde», en raison de ses dissensions internes; et au moment où Hagopian était assassiné. Çatli était incarcéré pour trafic de drogue.

L'auteur de l'article de *Nokia* conclut que les récits des deux témoins turcs «apportent de l'eau au moulin» de ceux qui affirment que c'est le FBI qui a précipité la chute de l'ASALA. Si au printemps 1983, celui-ci n'était pas parvenu à causer l'effondrement de l'organisation d'Hagopian, il avait peut-être déjà réussi à «neutraliser totalement le mouvement démocratique arménien». Et de conclure : «Les Arméniens doivent bien entendre tirer les leçons de ces événements. Ara Toranian, qui vit aujourd'hui dans la région parisienne, et qui était à l'époque l'un des principaux témoins des événements, publie périodiquement des écrits dans les journaux arméniens. Mais il garde le silence dans ce vacarme assourdissant; alors que s'il s'avisait un jour de raconter ses mémoires, il pourrait faire ressortir

d'autres facettes de l'histoire de l'ASALA. ■

(1) D'après *Haratch* (15/16-02-97), tiré de *Marmara* (12-02-97), quotidien des Arméniens de Turquie.

(2) Voir ses révélations publiées dans notre édition de la semaine dernière (n° 162, 15-02-97).

(3) D'après *Haratch*, tiré de *Marmara* (17-02-97).

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1997

Gen. Bir repeats call for civilian help to beat terror

Gül, Tayan, Oymen wrap up the week's proceedings

UĞUR AKINCI

Washington-Turkish Daily News

■ Underlining an analytically significant distinction between "the terrorist" and "the terror," Deputy Chief of Staff Gen. Çevik Bir repeated his call for civilian contribution to solve the terror problem in the form of more schools, jobs, roads, and hospitals to the underdeveloped region.

"Turkish Armed Forces are giving the fight against the terrorists. But only state can fight against terror in general, by investing in the region," Bir said during a press conference he held on Saturday.

"If all institutions of the society place top priority on the region, terror would vanish since it would be denied any structural grounds for recruitment into the terrorist organizations," he said.

First message

In the last day of American Turkish Council's annual convention in Washington, Bir confronted head on the arguments that he should not have aired his message in Washington but perhaps in Ankara. "We are here to deliver a message. If I don't do it here, where can I do it?" he retorted.

Bir explained the first message he delivered to the U.S. authorities as follows: "Turkey is surrounded by the 'Bermuda Triangle' of Balkans, Caucasus and the Middle East. Given such threats, we are about to launch a 10-year \$150-billion dollars project to modernize Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). If we can protect ourselves, then we can contribute to regional peace and stability, and thus, to the world peace."

"All our military infrastructure is tied to that of the United States. Therefore, if we can't openly deliver this message to the Americans, to whom else can we deliver it?" Bir asked.

Second message

Bir, in a rather off-handed manner, also

touched upon a second message that he apparently delivered to his American counterparts: "We also told them that Turkey is a secular country and will continue to stay as one," he said.

When Bir was invited to explain the differences between the implementation of secularism in Turkey and the United States, Bir declined to do so saying if he did that he would really be drawn into the thick of politics.

Military politics

Replying criticism that the military should not be involved in "politics," Bir said "you can't really separate military from [any and all] politics, that would not be correct, since we always engage in military political analysis — apart from the analysis performed by the Foreign ministry."

"When, for example, we state that Turkey is surrounded by a 'Bermuda Triangle' of regional threats, we are engaging in military political assessment. We are also the sons of this country. We are also Turkish citizens. Thus there is nothing wrong with us thinking about such issues as well," Bir said.

NATO expansion —

new approach

On NATO expansion, Gen. Bir, echoing the new approach of Turkish Foreign Ministry, displayed a sophisticated departure from Turkey's earlier threats to "veto" he expansion unless she is admitted into the European Union (EU) as a full member.

The new approach, as voiced in Washington by Gen. Bir, Minister of National Defense Turhan Tayan, Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Onur Oymen as well as State Minister Abdullah Gül can be summarized as follows: Turkey is for the expansion of All European institutions, and not only that of NATO. Thus since Turkey is supporting the expansion of NATO, it only makes sense that others also support Turkey's membership in an expanding EU.

Number One item

After identifying Turkey's EU member-

ship as number one foreign policy agenda item, Undersecretary Öymen noted that "if NATO's old adversaries are today trying to join NATO, that is quite an accomplishment for the Alliance — and Turkey, as an important ally, has a share in this accomplishment."

Yet, during a press conference he held on Saturday, Öymen said expansion of different European institutions are all inter-linked. Last year Turkey was told that, in order to join EU, one should first join Western European Union (WEU), EU's "military arm." Thus, such a linkage was established by EU itself, he said. Yet, of those countries who want to join NATO, none of them are a member of either EU or WEU.

That makes one think if only Turkey is asked to satisfy such preconditions before joining an expanding European institution, Öymen reasoned.

Öymen added that both U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and Deputy Secretary Strobe Talbott support

Turkey's membership in EU. In Washington, Öymen met with Talbott, Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor John Shattuck, and National Security Deputy Adviser James Steinberg.

Bir on expansion

Gen. Cevik Bir voiced a parallel sensitivity on the question of NATO expansion. "We are not against the expansion of NATO," Bir said. "But one must be very careful in addressing Russia's concerns. One must decide well which countries to accept. One should not create unhappy parties while expanding."

Bir met with Jan Lodal, Principal Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for International Economic Security during his stay in Washington.

Iran's gas

The natural gas deal concluded by RP-DYP coalition with Iran has apparently been the subject of Administration's inquiries during Öymen's contacts. Washington always claimed that any instrument of profit extended to Tehran is not acceptable since it is tantamount to contributing to terror. Öymen apparently

could not get any satisfactory answers when he pointed out that Italy, for one, obtains 43 percent of its gas and oil from Iran and Libya — two countries on State Department's list of state sponsors of international terrorism. Hence, why didn't anyone accuse of Italy by supporting terrorism through sums paid for energy imports from Iran, Öymen asked. "As a country with urgent energy needs, Turkey's attempts to close its energy gap must not be misinterpreted," Öymen said.

Gül on issues

When asked how he reacted to Gen. Bir's portrayal of Iran as a terrorist state, State Minister Abdullah Gül carefully sidestepped this question — as he did almost all the questions put to him in Washington. Gül said "there could be some problems with Iran in our bilateral relations. We have to resolve such issues. We must maintain our bilateral relations with our neighbors at a constructive level."

Gül also denied that his party, the (Islamist) Welfare Party (RP) once opposed NATO. "We actually criticized NATO for not becoming more involved in Bosnia. This does not mean that we do not want to continue to be a NATO member. One should not distort and misinterpret our position," he said.

Tayan confirms

Turkish Minister of Defense Turhan Tayan was among the top VIPs meeting with his counterparts in Washington in the past few days. Tayan met with Secretary of Defense William Cohen who reportedly assured American support for Turkey's accession to EU as a full member.

During a press conference he held also on Saturday, Tayan again repeated others' views that the expansions of NATO and EU could not be taken as totally separate processes.

"We shared our long-term requests with the U.S. officials," Tayan said. Among the promises Cohen gave Tayan apparently is the promise to help U.S. Congress stop the purchasing of Russian-made S-300 missiles by the Greek Cypriots.

Tayan said he assured the Administration officials that Turkey would not deviate from the path of secularism.

Gamk, 24/25 février 1997

POINT SUR LA SITUATION EN TURQUIE

UN CHEF DE POLICE DÉCRIT "L'ORGANISATION EXTRAJUDICIAIRE" CHARGÉE DE BASSES BESOINS DE L'ÉTAT TURC

Déposant devant la Commission d'enquête parlementaire, le 4 février, Hanefi Avci, vice-président du Bureau du Renseignement de la Direction générale de la Sûreté, a fait des révélations importantes sur ce qu'il appelle lui-même "l'organisation extrajudiciaire de l'État". Extraits: "Nous avons réalisé qu'on ne pouvait aller nulle part dans la lutte contre la terreur en restant dans le cadre du Droit. Pour cette raison, nous avons été conduits à créer une organisation hors Droit (extrajudiciaire) en vue de combattre la terreur et de recueillir des renseignements. Nous avons opté pour la règle d'anéantir la terreur par les méthodes des terroristes. Cette décision a été prise aux échelons supérieurs de l'État. Les principaux chefs de cette organisation extrajudiciaire étaient Mehmet Agar (directeur général de la Sûreté) pour la police, Mehmet Eymür pour le Service des renseignements (MIT, dont il dirige le Bureau de contre-terreur), le commandant Ersever pour les services de renseignements et d'action de la gendarmerie (JITEM) et le général Veli Kuçuk pour l'armée. Mehmet Agar était le coordinateur politique de cette organisation jusqu'à sa nomination au poste de ministre de l'Intérieur. Les gens de JITEM ont été les premiers à passer à l'action. De nombreux meurtres "mystérieux" ont été perpétrés dans le Sud-Est, touchant en particulier les gens du DEP (Parti de la démocratie, pro-kurde). J'ai alors demandé à Ersever, du JITEM; "est-ce bien vous qui faites ces choses"? il n'a pas nié. Après le JITEM, le MIT, puis la Sûreté se sont mis à utiliser ces méthodes. Mehmet Agar a formé sa propre équipe. L'un des membres de cette équipe, Korkut Eken, a été chargé de la direction des Ülkücü (Ndt. militants d'extrême droite, dits Loups gris, de l'organisation fasci-

sante du Colonel Turkes) tandis que sa branche policière a été placée sous la direction d'Ibrahim Sahin. Cette organisation a progressivement échappé au contrôle de l'autorité politique. Elle s'est mise à coopérer avec des organisations criminelles illégales. Après avoir combattu le PKK dans le Sud-Est, ces gens ont étendu leurs activités à l'Ouest du pays dans des affaires mafieuses et crapuleuses". Pour illustrer son propos, M. Avci cite le général Kuçuk qui a formé dans la région de Mer Noire "des groupes qui rançonnent les gens" et le baron de la mafia Alaettin Çakici qui a pu, grâce à l'entremise de l'époux de Mme. Çiller, créer une banque avec un homme d'affaires de Bursa (Ndt. Les barons de la mafia, pour blanchir leur argent sale ont recours à la création de leur propre banque, à durée de vie éphémère, généralement dans le nord de Chypre sous occupation turque devenue un véritable paradis du blanchiment de l'argent de la drogue). Il évoque aussi le cas d'un propriétaire de télévision privée de Gazi Antep, Mehmet Ali Yaprak, enlevé d'abord sur ordre de Mehmet Agar par des gens de son équipe, libéré contre le paiement d'une forte rançon (de plusieurs millions de marks) et enlevé ensuite par les hommes du MIT d'Eymur, toujours pour lui faire payer une rançon.

A la question des députés "Pourquoi n'avez-vous pas informé les autorités de ce que vous saviez?", le responsable policier répond amèrement: "dénoncer qui à qui? Voulez-vous que je dénonce le directeur général de la Sûreté (M. Agar) au directeur général de la Sûreté?". Confirmant que les gangsters et mafiosi endurcis A. Çakici et A. Çatli travaillaient pour la Sûreté et pour le MIT, A. Avci attribue les développements récents de l'affaire des gangs aux rivalités entre la Sûreté et le MIT et plus particulièrement entre

les clans Agar, Eymür et Eken. Ces scandales lui paraissent la partie visible de l'iceberg. "Je ne crois pas que vous arriverez à démêler ces affaires sans remonter au sommet du pouvoir" lance-t-il aux députés pour conclure sa dépo-



sition. Ces derniers se gardent de lui poser des questions sur l'identité des gens du "sommet du pouvoir".

Ces révélations qualifiées de "terribles" par le quotidien Hurriyet du 6 février auraient, dans tout autre pays, provoqué une véritable crise politique, voilà donc un chef de police qui reconnaît devant les députés l'existence d'une "organisation extrajudiciaire" créée "sur décision des échelons supérieurs de l'État" impliquée dans plusieurs milliers d'assassinats et des affaires crapuleuses de racket, de rançons, de trafic de drogue dont les chefs et les principaux animateurs nommément désignés ne sont nullement inquiétés, alors que la justice turque veut condamner à la peine capitale deux jeunes Kurdes coupables d'avoir décroché le drapeau turc dans la salle

du congrès d'un parti pro-kurde.

Cette "organisation extrajudiciaire" semble posséder une influence considérable au sein des principaux rouages de l'État. Deux journalistes de Milliyet qui ont voulu enquêter sur l'un de ses exécuteurs au Kurdistan, Mahmut Yildirim, dit Yesil (le Vert), accusé de plusieurs dizaines d'assassinats politiques, l'ont appris à leurs dépens. Extraits de leur reportage paru dans le numéro du 31 janvier de ce quotidien: " Nous sommes arrivés vers 16h à Solhan, pays de Yesil, sans révéler à personne l'objet de notre visite. Le maire de la bourgade nous avait promis son hospitalité et le commandant de la gendarmerie local "son aidé en cas de difficulté". Après avoir traversé des rues vides, nous arrivons dans le bureau d'un journaliste local. A peine deux minutes plus tard, le téléphone sonne et on nous demande. Une voix que nous ne connaissons pas et parlant un turc parfait nous menace: "Je suis un citoyen. Je sais depuis Istanbul que vous êtes venus dans cette bourgade pour Yesil. Si vous remuez cette affaire, vous finirez mal. Si vous ne quittez pas immédiatement cette bourgade, il vous arrivera des choses terribles.

Personne ne pourra vous sauver". Nul ne savait qu'on était des journalistes car nous n'avions pas encore eu l'occasion de discuter avec les gens (...) Le lendemain matin, nous sommes allés à la mairie et à la sous-préfecture. Le maire avait l'air de nous en vouloir avant même de nous avoir rencontrés. Dans la rue, les gens nous étaient hostiles et nous étions constamment suivis par des voitures immatriculées à Ankara. Quelques habitants courageux nous ont appris sous le couvert de l'anonymat, comment les tueurs recrutés par Yesil, d'extraction pauvre, sont devenus des propriétaires de plusieurs Renaults 19 et de stations d'essence. Devant des récits qui donnent le frisson dans le dos, nous sommes allés à la gendarmerie pour connaître sa version. Personne ne voulait nous recevoir. Le lendemain matin, nous étions convoqués à 8h au bureau du maire qui n'avait visiblement pas dormi de la nuit et qui nous a demandé de quitter immédiatement la ville pour éviter le pire. "Vous êtes en grand danger, je ne pourrais pas vous protéger". Stupéfaits, nous avons tout de suite pris la route de Mus. Tout au long de cette route de 56 Km, nous avons été suivis de près par un véhicule gris immatriculé à

Ankara. Logés à la maison des instituteurs, nous allions, après quelques heures de repos, sortir pour dîner. Le portier nous fixant des yeux stupéfaits, nous demande: "Qui êtes-vous donc! Pourquoi la police demande à chaque minute de vos nouvelles".

Confirmant à sa manière les révélations du chef de police Avci, un baron de la mafia turc, Nurettin Güven, exilé à Londres, dénonce dans le quotidien Hurriyet et sur la chaîne de télévision privée Kanal D " La liste rouge des hommes à abattre" par l'organisation spéciale turque, il affirme que son compatriote O. Topal, patron des salles de jeux, a été enlevé par l'équipe de Mehmet Agar, qu'il a payé une rançon de \$ 17 millions et qu'il a été malgré cela abattu alors même que Agar était ministre de l'Intérieur, probablement parce que " la rançon a paru insuffisante à ces gens cupides". Il raconte aussi comment, au temps de sa collaboration avec la police, il a pu avoir un passeport de service (réservé en principe aux hauts fonctionnaires de l'État) pour mener à bien ses affaires (de trafic de drogue) alors que la justice française l'avait déjà condamné par contumace à 16 ans de prison pour trafic de stupéfiants.

Turkish Daily News TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1997

Tensions increase in N. Iraq despite peace efforts

Assassination attempt on governor of Erbil

Ankara- Turkish Daily News

■ A weekend assassination attempt targeting a senior Iraqi Kurdish official threatens the shaky truce between the feuding Kurd groups, Safeen Dizayee, the Ankara representative of the Kurdistan

Democratic Party (KDP) indicated here on Monday.

The convoy of Francois Hariri, the governor of the principal Kurdish city of Erbil and a close associate of KDP leader Massoud Barzani came under attack en route to the governor's office, Dizayee told the Turkish Daily News. Hariri reportedly escaped unhurt, while KDP said two security officials and five civilians were injured in the attack.

A statement issued by the KDP-dominated regional government, unrecognized by the rival Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), blamed Kosrat Rasul, a senior PUK official for the attack.

"This was aimed at undermining peace efforts and the agreement on Iraqi Kurdistan reached at the Ankara talks as well as the U.N. Resolution 986 — for limited Iraqi oil sales," said the KDP statement.

After a bloody war fought for the possession of Erbil and control of the Western-protected enclave and its border revenues last fall, KDP and PUK agreed to lay down arms and work for a power and revenue-sharing deal in talks held in Ankara under joint sponsorship of the United States and Turkey.

The sides also agreed to set up a Supervisory Peace Monitoring Group which includes representatives of Turkey, the United States, Britain, Iraq's Turkmen community as well as those from the two rival Kurdish parties.

The PUK has been increasing its troop strength near Koysanjak,

Balisan and the Rania areas in the Kurdish-held northern Iraq in violation of the agreement, according to Dizayee.

When asked about certain groups interfering in the region, Dizayee said, "We know there are many people who want to disrupt stability and unity in the region. Sometimes the Kurds fall into these traps... But if a statement has been made by the (KDP administration's) Interior Minister, this means the situation is serious and alarming."

Shazad Saib of the PUK Ankara Office denied the KDP claims and said there were numerous elements in the region intent on ruining the peace efforts. "The KDP opened the door to the Iraqi intelligence. But I must also point out that there have been minor clashes between Muslims and Christians in Shaqlawa.

A particularly serious incident on Feb. 11 in which two Assyrians killed a Kurd had outraged the locals, the PUK representative explained, hinting that the attack on Hariri might be an act of vengeance.

Francois Hariri is an Assyrian, a

Christian minority group in northern Iraq.

Dizayee said the Supervisory Peace Monitoring Group (SPMG) had been informed about Sunday's incident.

KDP urged SPMG meeting

Even though a meeting of the SPMG had been scheduled for this week, the KDP had urged an earlier meeting to be held last Thursday. Dizayee told the TDN they had informed the SPMG of continuing media attacks and PUK violations of the cease-fire. The KDP also urged the SPMG to speed up the cease-fire implementation and monitoring.

"The PUK tried to advance its positions near Koysanjak, but after KDP retaliation, they withdrew," said Dizayee.

Fadil Mirani to visit Ankara

Last week a delegation from the KDP, headed by Fadil Mirani, the interior minister of the KDP's Erbil-based administration, held talks with Turkish Foreign Ministry officials and a number of parliamentarians. Sources indicated the visit occurred on Turkey's invitation.

Talks reportedly focused on bor-

der security, border trade and the peace talks.

Ankara has been pressing both KDP and PUK to crack down on Turkey's own separatist Kurds entrenched in northern Iraq because of Baghdad's reduced authority in the area and the on-and-off fighting between the Iraqi Kurds. Although undertaking not to allow attacks against Turkey from their area, the Iraqi Kurds have been resisting Ankara's pressures for an armed confrontation with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) whose separatist war in southeastern Turkey has claimed over 21,000 lives since 1984.

"We tried to clear up possible misunderstandings on both sides," a Kurdish source told the TDN. Turkey has repeatedly snubbed KDP requests for arms, money and permission for the resettlement of destroyed border villages to help prevent the PKK infiltrations.

Nechirvan Barzani, a top KDP official paid a similar visit about a month ago, during which he held discussions with Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Onur Öymen.

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Grèce-Turquie : Deux passeurs turcs condamnés à la prison pour le transport de 33 Irakiens

ATHENES, 25 fév (AFP) - Deux passeurs turcs ont été arrêtés et condamnés mardi à 9,5 ans de prison pour avoir fait entrer en Grèce 33 immigrants clandestins irakiens, a indiqué une source policière.

Jugés en flagrant délit, les deux passeurs ont également été condamnés à une amende de 10 millions de drachmes (38.500 USD) chacun. Ils avaient été arrêtés dans la matinée au large de l'île de Samos (sud-est de l'Egée), où ils venaient de débarquer 33 clandestins irakiens

La Grèce a récemment renforcé la surveillance de ses frontières maritimes et terrestres avec la Turquie, pour lutter contre l'afflux de clandestins, dont beaucoup acheminés par des réseaux de passeurs turcs. Ces mesures ont permis depuis janvier l'arrestation d'une douzaine de passeurs, tous condamnés à des peines de prison d'une dizaine d'années ou plus.

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Turquie-Chypre : Ankara contre un affaiblissement de son rôle de garant, selon un ministre

ANKARA, 25 fév (AFP) - Le ministre d'Etat turc Abdullah Gul, en visite aux Etats-Unis, a réaffirmé que la Turquie s'opposerait à tout affaiblissement de son rôle de garant du statut de Chypre, a rapporté mardi l'agence Anatolie.

"La Turquie ne permettra jamais que son rôle de garant à Chypre soit affaibli", a déclaré M. Gul, également porte-parole du gouvernement turc, lors d'une réception mardi soir à New York.

"La Turquie ne permettra pas non plus que Chypre soit une nouvelle Bosnie (...) Nous nous efforçons d'obtenir un accord à Chypre, acceptable par la communauté internationale et la fin de l'hostilité entre les deux communautés (turque et grecque) sur l'île", a ajouté M. Gul, membre du Parti islamiste de la Prospérité (Refah) du Premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan.

Chypre est divisé en deux secteurs, turc au nord et grec au sud, depuis l'intervention de l'armée d'Ankara en juillet 1974, qui avait fait suite à un coup d'Etat nationaliste grec visant à rattacher l'île à la Grèce.

La Turquie avait alors justifié son intervention par son rôle de garant, avec la Grèce et la Grande-Bretagne, du statut de la république de Chypre découlant des accords de 1960 sur l'indépendance. Ankara maintient depuis 1974 30 à 35.000 troupes à Chypre.

La communauté internationale a multiplié les efforts, sans succès jusqu'ici, pour obtenir une solution à Chypre, l'ONU préconisant un règlement bicommunautaire et bizonal.

Les pourparlers intercommunautaires directs sont interrompus depuis octobre 1994 et la tension sur l'île est montée d'un cran après l'annonce en janvier dernier de l'achat de missiles sol-air russes à longue portée S-300 par le gouvernement chypriote (grec), livrables en seize mois.

La Turquie est catégoriquement contre l'achat de ces missiles qui, selon elle, seront capables d'atteindre des objectifs dans le sud de son territoire, et avait menacé de frappes aériennes en cas de déploiement.

"Les conversations devraient commencer dans la première moitié de cette année (...) Nous croyons que les chances d'un règlement sont plus élevées que par le passé", avait déclaré lundi à Ankara le représentant britannique pour Chypre, David Hannay.

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Turquie-Universités : Treize blessés dans des bagarres entre étudiants de tendances opposées

ISTANBUL, 25 fév (AFP) - Treize étudiants ont été blessés mardi dans plusieurs

bagarres entre étudiants d'extrême-gauche et d'extrême-droite sur le campus de l'Université d'Istanbul, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie, citant un nouveau bilan.

Quatre étudiants ont été blessés à coups de bâton et de pierres lors d'un affrontement à la Faculté des Communications de l'Université, située dans la partie européenne de la ville, selon la même source.

La police a tiré en l'air pour disperser la confrontation. Aucune information n'a pu être obtenue sur l'appartenance des blessés, qui ont été hospitalisés.

Avant cela, neuf étudiants au total, dont sept d'extrême-gauche, avaient été blessés dans deux autres bagarres dans les Facultés de Lettres et de Droit.

La série de bagarres sur le campus a débuté dans la matinée à la Faculté de Lettres où deux étudiants d'extrême-gauche ont été blessés à coups de sabre et de bâton par des étudiants appartenant aux "Loups gris", groupe ultra-nationaliste.

La police a interpellé plusieurs étudiants impliqués dans les affrontements.

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Turquie-ONU-Irak : Rolf Ekeus à Ankara

ANKARA, 25 fév (AFP) - Le chef de la Commission spéciale de l'ONU chargée du désarmement irakien (UNSCOM), Rolf Ekeus, est arrivé mardi à Ankara pour une visite de deux jours à l'invitation du sous-secrétaire du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères Onur Oymen, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Cette visite, qui n'avait pas été annoncée à l'avance, s'effectue dans le cadre des consultations régulières de M. Ekeus avec certains pays de la région, selon l'agence.

Elle intervient au lendemain de la levée par l'Irak d'un blocage de trois mois sur l'examen à l'étranger des débris de missiles destiné à vérifier que ces missiles ont bien été détruits.

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Turquie-USA-Défense : La Turquie avertit les Etats-Unis qu'elle pourrait changer de fournisseur

ANKARA, 25 fév (AFP) - La Turquie a appelé mardi les Etats-Unis à lever les restrictions imposées sur certains de ses achats d'armements, avertissant qu'elle pourrait s'adresser à d'autres fournisseurs.

"J'ai exprimé au secrétaire à la Défense (William) Cohen que la suspension de certaines ventes à la Turquie après les efforts de certains membres du Congrès

cause des préoccupations sur la fiabilité des Etats-Unis en tant que fournisseurs d'armes", a déclaré le ministre turc de la Défense Turhan Tayan.

"J'ai également expliqué que la situation actuelle ne peut amener la Turquie à suspendre les programmes d'acquisition d'armements de ses forces armées", a ajouté M. Tayan, dans une déclaration à la presse à son retour d'une visite à Washington.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1997

Turkey Warns U.S.

ANKARA — Turkey called Tuesday on the United States to release suspended weapons transfers to Ankara, warning that otherwise it could seek other arms suppliers.

Defense Minister Turhan Tayan issued the warning on his return from Washington. The United States has frozen the sale of 10 Super Cobra attack helicopters and the de-

livery of three Perry class frigates.

"I expressed to U.S. Defense Secretary Cohen that the suspension of transfers to Turkey due to efforts by some U.S. Congress members has caused concerns over the reliability of the United States as an arms supplier," said Mr. Tayan, who met with William Cohen in Washington. (AFP)

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1997

Iraq versus the United Nations in Ankara

While the UN's executive chairman of the Special Commission on Iraq, Rolf Ekeus, was in Ankara, an Iraqi delegation asked for Turkey's support against his mission.

AYŞE KARABAT

Ankara- Turkish Daily News

■ Turkey on Tuesday came under competing pressures from a senior U.N. official and the Baghdad government regarding its policies on Iraq.

While the U.N.'s executive chairman of the Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM), Rolf Ekeus, was meeting with

Turkish Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Onur Öymen, the chairman of the Friendship, Peace and Solidarity Organization of Iraq, Salah Al Mukhtar, asked for Turkey's help in opposing the U.N. and passed on the Iraqi government's message to Justice Minister Şevket Kazan.

Speaking at the Iraqi Embassy, Al Mukhtar told reporters that his delegation wanted to brief Justice Minister Kazan, Education Minister Mehmet Saglam and ANAP Deputy Yaşar Okuyan about the U.N.-Iraq discussions and ask for Turkey's backing. Al Mukhtar said that Ekeus' reports harmed Iraq's interests and they wanted to see more French, Russian and Chinese envoys at the UNSCOM.

Mukhtar also indicated that Iraq opposed the examination of scrapped missile engine parts by the United States and preferred it

to be done in Russia or France.

The U.N. wants to find out if the scrapped parts are from missing Soviet-made engines as Iraq maintains or are local equipment buried to divert attention from hidden missile engines. The U.N. team began packing the scrapped missile engine parts last week, Reuters reported.

Ekeus was in Baghdad last week and held extensive meetings with Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz. These ended with a joint statement outlining future cooperation. He said the shipping of the parts was "the hottest issue" in his talks in Baghdad. The joint statement said Ekeus would visit Baghdad in the first week of April, before his formal report to the United Nations on April 11. Ekeus met with Undersecretary Onur Öymen on Thursday and informed him of the latest developments. Ekeus must

certify that Iraq has no weapons of mass destruction before the U.N. will lift curbs on Iraqi oil exports, although Baghdad is allowed limited oil exports under a humanitarian deal.

Al Mukhtar pointed out that Turkey can extend its trade relations with Iraq as Jordan has without U.N. permission. Jordan is using Article 50 of the U.N. charter which allows a country to engage in trade with a country under embargo if that country is suffering too much from the embargo. Al Mukhtar reminded listeners that Turkey had asked the U.N. for permission to trade with Iraq under Article 50 but said, "Iraq believes it is not necessary for Turkey to seek permission."

Turkey's losses from the embargo on Iraq are estimated at approximately \$30 billion over the past six years.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1997

Diyarbakır: The hunger city that terror hit

The population of Diyarbakır has swelled from 300,000 in 1994 to over 1 million due to an exodus of rural peasantry fleeing the war between Turkish security forces and the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party

A family in Diyarbakır is starving. Its members are also suffering from typhoid fever. Around 15,000 to 20,000 typhoid fever cases are reported in the region every year. This means that 40 to 50 people catch this disease every day. The main factors of the disease is hunger and dirty living conditions

JAN PACAL

Istanbul - Turkish Daily News

■ Last week a family of seven persons was

found starving in their shanty in Diyarbakır, the hub of southeast Turkey, and hospitalized.

Inhabitants of Yeniköy street found the Yavuz family in a state of coma, and called the police, who took the victims to a hospital from the neighborhood, largely inhabited by refugees who have fled the 13-year conflict between Turkish security forces and the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). An estimated 2,000 villages in southeast Turkey have been emptied of their inhabitants, most of whom come here.

Two members of the Yavuz family — a child aged two and 13-year old teenager — are in serious condition.

Velal Yavuz, who is under treatment, said his family had not cooked at home for a week, saying family members could not find the money to cover the last week to sustain themselves. "I was working as a shepherd in summer. I could not find a job in winter. Neighbors gave us food most of the time. We have expected death with hunger and helplessness," he added. The news of the Yavuz family, which appeared in local papers dated 22 February, succeeded in drawing public attention.

Misery's company

The Yavuz family is by no means the only one in the Southeast which is on the verge

of starvation. Thousands of refugee families in the region are facing starvation due to terror and migrations.

According to the regional Chamber of Physicians, most of the people in the area are underfed and facing starvation. Diyarbakır's population has swelled from 300,000 in 1994 to one million because of the influx of refugees, most of whom live in tent cities and shanties ringing the urban center.

Most of the refugees left their villages after selling their houses and lands in order to survive without knowing what lay in store. Many have no chance to return to their homes because their fields, crops and houses are burnt afterwards — by either the PKK or security forces, it doesn't matter — they are now hungry and hopeless.

Southeast Turkey was once one of the most important farming and cattle breeding regions of the country. But the collapse of cattle breeding and the drop in harvests is another indicator of the drastic situation the region's people now face. Once people were smuggling cattle and other farm animals across borders, and still didn't have enough to eat. According to the 1994 report of the Turkey Human Rights Foundation, the amount of money lost from the emptying of villages is over TL 12 trillion (\$111 million).

Health in the region

The report of the Chamber of Physicians declares that emergency conditions in the region have adversely affected health. The right to live in a healthy environment, they say, has almost been forgotten.

The population swells in some cities has forced lowered health conditions, the most serious ramifications being two or three people living in the same room, psychological problems related to violence, undernourishment, inadequate heating, failure to follow sanitary standards, insufficient drinkable water supply, the inability of poverty-stricken people to buy medicine, even if treated; insufficient treatment of diseases as well as general unemployment, poverty, and poor environmental conditions.

The report notes that only 14 of 204 medical centers are open. Ten of 54 medical centers are closed due to insufficient staff and safety standards. The report also talks about the reasons for the unhealthy situations in the city: No emergency health services available in Diyarbakır, population



The hungry child in Diyarbakır.



Crying over food, a child covers her face.

TDN -Jan Pacal

growth is unchecked out of control due to the migrations, medical centers are not enough for the whole population of the region.

No service evaluations are done. No health data has been collected over the last five years. The facts of the region are not reflected well as health staff is mostly in Diyarbakır city and not in the countryside.

Infant Mortalities are hidden

The infant mortality rate is high in

Diyarbakır, as in all southeast cities, but this is not sufficiently reflected in official figures. Sixty of every 1,000 babies in Turkey die before aged one, but this rate is 87 in Diyarbakır. The report says the negative factors in the last five years also pushed up this number.

Digestive diseases occur more often in Diyarbakır than in other Turkish cities. Diarrhea is the most common disease. Some 15,000 to 20,000 diarrhea incidents

are observed every year. This is the main reason for child deaths, the second most common being typhoid fever. It is now three times more than the year 1990. Around 5,000 cases were recorded in 1994.

Some 15,000 to 20,000 people catch typhoid fever every year due to insufficient feeding and sanitary conditions, according to medical chamber. And still 300-400 typhoid cases are observed in Diyarbakır every day.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1997

Coalition bests adversaries

Smooth ride: The embattled partners score a resounding victory over disunited opposition after Islamists back down from earlier militancy. Two defections deplete leftist ranks

Ankara - TDN Parliament Bureau

■ Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's Islamist-led coalition, under fire for remarks and actions seen threatening the country's secularist system, on Tuesday survived another opposition onslaught, defeating a censure motion with 281 votes to 246.

Beside the comfortable margin, an added bonus for the elated government partners, two opposition deputies resigned from the Democratic Left Party (DSP), frustrating hopes for defections from the government side. The defectors were expected to join Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller's True Path Party (DYP), the conservative junior partner in the coalition.

The government has already repulsed recent attempts to undermine it through corruption probes tabled against Çiller who enjoyed solid protection from Erbakan's Welfare Party (RP).

The new heat on the embattled partnership was applied by two rival leftist parties, which, in combined censure motions debated Tuesday, accused it of undermining the state's secular foundations which remained sacred for six decades.

The motions were prompted by a recent militancy from Erbakan and Şevket Kazan, his justice minister. The country's staunchly-secularist military made plain its displeasure with a tank-parade in Ankara after an Islamist rally and through



Islamist leader Necmettin Erbakan and Justice Minister Şevket Kazan (L) have toned down their militancy after reaction from the secularist public and the military.

strongly-worded warnings from a senior general against anti-secular activities and Iran's alleged support for them.

President Süleyman Demirel also has been issuing semi-veiled warnings against Islamist assertivism, saying the country's secularism and Western orientation were inviolable. But he also warned the military against another coup after three former interventions in four decades.

The withdrawal of a seven-strong ultra-nationalist party from the opposition bloc weakened the opposition pressure. In a parallel move, a deputy with Islamist leanings from the conservative main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP)

announced that he would not participate in the vote. Cemil Çiçek said he saw the leftist censure motions as ideologically-motivated and said he would support another censure motion from his own party against the government next week.

But the leftist and conservative opposition parties looked set on their campaign do destabilize the coalition, banking on support from DYP secularists uncomfortable with the troubled partnership with the Islamists.

To preempt a surprise rebellion, Çiller sought to comfort secularist fears about

the specter of an Islamic state, while at the same time warning the coalition partners against further sparring with the secularist establishment. "Religion is under nobody's monopoly," Çiller noted, addressing herself to the Islamist partners. "But there is no danger for Turkey becoming another Algeria or Iran," she added, turning to the worried secularist public and the military.

Republican People's Party (CHP) leader Deniz Baykal, addressing his party's deputies before the vote, said their censure motion was motivated more by the concern for the safety of the country's democratic system than their interest in ousting the coalition.

Baykal ridiculed Çiller's claims that the DYP's presence in the government was an insurance for Turkey's secularism.

Önder Sav, the CHP spokesman addressing the debate said the foundations of the secular republic were under threat, focusing on Islamist Justice Minister Şevket Kazan's past efforts to give legal counsel to defend the fanatic Islamists who burned down a hotel and killed 37 left-wing intellectuals in the Central Anatolian town of Sivas five years ago. He also slammed Kazan for the recent visit he paid to an Islamist mayor arrested for anti-secular mili-

tancy. Rival leftist leader, Bülent Ecevit of the Democratic Left Party (DSP) said the majority of the nation had fears from the Islamist-led coalition, but called for its ouster through democratic methods. He criticized the searches for a nondemocratic solution but absolved the military of putschist tendencies.

The DSP leader called for an alternative government to be set up by opposition parties to replace the Islamist-led coalition and came against early elections.

Ecevit, however, came under criticisms by refusing persistent calls from the CHP for a merger that would boost the opposition's chances to unseat the government.

ANAP spokesman Agah Oktay Güner echoed President Demirel in questioning the ground for RP's Islamism, noting that people were freely praying in 65,000 mosques throughout Turkey thanks to its secular system. He said the RP's portrayal of itself as the sole defendant of religion was a deception. But at the same time, he called for respect for the people's religion.

Dismissing the criticisms, RP spokesman Bülent Arinc called the secularism should be interpreted as it is done in the West where the Muslims are not banned from wearing their turbans or headscarves.

Turkish Daily News WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1997

Turkey demands 'respect' from Iran

Despite the reciprocal protests between the two countries, Ankara says Iran is a neighbor and good relations are important

Ankara Turkish Daily News

■ Turkey made clear its displeasure with Iran's interference in its internal affairs although it fell short of demanding a formal apology after the two countries traded protest notes. Despite the ongoing diplomatic quarrel

between Ankara and Tehran precipitated by the Iranian ambassador's call for Shariah law in this country, Turkey said that Iran is an important neighbor with whom it seeks good relations but also respect. A senior Turkish Foreign Ministry official said that Turkey cannot make concessions concerning its internal affairs and Iran should end its support for terrorism.

Tehran issued a protest on Monday over remarks by the deputy commander of Turkish Armed Forces, Gen. Çevik Bir, who said that Iran was a supporter of terrorism. Turkey rejected the protest. Gen. Bir made his remarks during a joint U.S.-Turkey Council meeting in Washington.

Iranian Foreign Ministry officials told Turkish Ambassador Osman Korutürk that Bir's remarks were irresponsible, unacceptable and similar to accusations by America and Israel, Anatolia news agency reported.

Korutürk rejected the protest but said he would inform the Turkish government of

Iran's feelings. An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman called Bir's remarks hostile and irresponsible and incompatible with the declared framework of bilateral ties.

The diplomatic quarrel began after Iranian Ambassador Ali Riza Bagheri's controversial statement calling for Shariah law in Turkey and condemning states which have friendly relations with Israel and the United States. Bagheri made his remarks at a Jerusalem Night event organized by and held in Ankara's Islamist-run suburb of Sincan. The incident led to a show of military force on the streets of Sincan.

After that event, the Turkish Foreign Ministry issued a protest about Bagheri's behavior and asked him to follow international rules of diplomacy which require that a diplomat refrain from commenting on the internal affairs of the country to which he is assigned.

Bagheri refused to accept the Foreign Ministry's warning but left for Tehran last week, leading to allegations that he had been expelled covertly. Tehran denied this, saying the ambassador had gone home for consultations, but added that his assignment in Turkey was over.

•Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997 •Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997

L'islam et l'héritage d'Atatürk

Les grands quotidiens turcs ouvrent leurs colonnes au président Demirel, perçu comme l'arbitre des tensions entre l'armée et le gouvernement

LA DOUBLE MOTION de censure contre le gouvernement du premier ministre islamiste Necmettin Erbakan, qui devait être débattue à l'Assemblée nationale le 25 février, n'a guère retenu l'attention de la presse turque, l'opposition ayant peu de chances de succès. Le débat sur la laïcité, la tension entre le gouvernement et l'armée continuent en revanche de faire couler de l'encre dans les grands quotidiens.

Les trois grands quotidiens *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* et *Milliyet*, dont les éditorialistes avaient rencontré le président de la République, consacraient leurs premières pages aux déclarations de M. Demirel, perçu comme l'arbitre de la situation. « *En intervenant, n'allez-vous pas renforcer la cause contre laquelle vous intervenez ?* »,

citait à la « une » *Sabah*, soulignant les efforts du président pour étouffer les rumeurs d'un éventuel coup d'Etat. « *Nos citoyens sont les garants du régime. Je crois à leur bon sens. Les principes de base de la Constitution ne pourront être changés ni aujourd'hui ni demain.* »

Le quotidien *Milliyet* plaçait l'accent sur l'autorité qui peut être accordée au président de dissoudre l'Assemblée en cas de crise du régime. « *Aucun groupe qui veut toucher à la laïcité et au mode de vie moderne ne peut durer longtemps* », déclarait le président. Dans *Hürriyet*, qui titrait sur le mécontentement de l'homme de la rue, le chef de l'Etat avait un message pour chacun : au premier ministre, il rappelait qu'il avait prêté serment de « *maintenir la*



démocratie et la laïcité de l'Etat », aux militaires, il signalait que « *les forces armées ne sont pas un parti politique et qu'elles sont aux ordres du pouvoir civil* », et, aux citoyens turcs, il demandait de « *protéger la République laïque et démocratique* ».

Le très laïque *Cumhuriyet* avait pour sa part réservé, lundi 24 février, le sommet de sa première page aux expressions de soutien au général Cevik Bir, le numéro deux de l'état-major de l'armée,

qui, lors d'un discours à Washington, avait attaqué l'Iran et souligné la détermination des militaires à « *protéger l'héritage d'Atatürk* ». Le même quotidien affirmait que lors de sa tournée américaine le ministre islamiste Abdullah Gül n'avait pas été convaincant et qu'« *il est clair que le Parti de la prospérité n'obtiendra jamais le soutien des Etats-Unis* ». Le quotidien de langue anglaise *Turkish Daily News*, plus proche du gouvernement, affirmait de son côté que « *les Américains... étaient prêts à travailler avec ce parti pro-islamique dans le cadre du gouvernement élu* », tout en admettant qu'un faux pas de la part du gouvernement pourrait bouleverser ces relations.

Nicole Pope

•Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997 •Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997

L'armée ne cache plus son irritation face aux islamistes du parti au pouvoir

LES RESPONSABLES de l'armée turque ont multiplié, ces dernières semaines, les interventions publiques rappelant qu'ils se considéraient toujours comme les garants de la laïcité, sans cacher leur irritation face aux islamistes du parti du premier ministre, le Refah (Parti de la prospérité). « *Nous ne ferons aucune concession sur les principes d'Atatürk, sur la démocratie et la laïcité; nous attendons que le gouvernement se conforme totalement à ces principes* », déclarait ainsi le 22 février le numéro deux de l'état-major, le général Bir, en visite à Washington. « *Nous ne permettrons jamais que nos femmes soient privées de leurs droits civils, ajoutait-il encore. Les forces armées turques sont le gardien de notre Constitution.* »

La tension avait culminé le 4 février, lorsqu'une quarantaine de chars avaient pris position autour de Sincan, dans la banlieue d'Ankara, après que plusieurs membres du Refah, dont le maire de la ville, Bekir Yıldız, se furent publiquement prononcés, au cours d'une fête,

en faveur de la charia (la loi islamique) en Turquie. Peu de temps après, l'armée et les partisans de la laïcité eurent un nouveau coup de sang lorsque le ministre de la justice, Sevket Kazan, un « dur » du Refah, rendit visite en prison au maire destitué et écroué. Le Parlement devrait poser la question de la destitution du ministre la semaine prochaine. Enfin, le chef de l'Etat, Süleyman Demirel, a indiqué, lundi, avoir attiré l'attention du premier ministre, Necmettin Erbakan, sur le « *malaise des militaires* » face aux entraves des islamistes à la laïcité. Le 28 février, le Conseil national de sécurité, véritable organe décisionnaire dominé par les militaires mais où siège également le premier ministre, doit se réunir pour discuter des activités des islamistes.

VISITE EN ISRAËL

L'évolution de la société turque ces dernières années a réduit la marge de manœuvre de l'institution militaire, qui tente de contenir le Refah, infiltré dans toutes les strates de la société et

qu'elle avait elle-même contribué à mettre en place après le coup d'Etat militaire de 1980. L'arrivée des islamistes au gouvernement n'a cependant pas remis en cause certaines options fondamentales de la politique extérieure turque sur lesquelles l'armée veille aussi, comme l'appartenance à l'OTAN.

Lundi, le général İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, chef d'état-major, s'est rendu pour la première fois en visite officielle en Israël. Cette visite fait suite aux accords de coopération militaire signés en 1996 avec l'Etat hébreu, qui prévoyaient l'entraînement de l'aviation israélienne dans l'espace aérien turc, l'organisation de manœuvres conjointes en Méditerranée et la modernisation par les industries aéronautiques israéliennes de cinquante-quatre chasseurs-bombardiers Phantom F-4E. Si au moment de leur signature, en août et décembre 1996, les accords avaient suscité le mécontentement du Parti de la prospérité, le premier ministre semble avoir adopté désormais un profil bas sur le sujet. - (AFP.)

•Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997 •Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997

TURQUIE Depuis près d'un mois, une partie de la population turque se mobilise contre la corruption. Le mouvement « Une minute d'obscurité pour la lumière en permanence »,

pacifique et indépendant des grands partis politiques, coïncide avec le débat sur la laïcité et les manifestations de femmes contre la loi islamique. ● LE GOUVERNEMENT veut à nouveau présenter la candi-

dature de la Turquie à l'Union européenne, alors que subsistent les obstacles à sa candidature (droits de l'homme, problème de la minorité kurde, question chypriote, contentieux gréco-turc) et que la victoire électorale des islamistes a accru la méfiance des Européens. ● LES MILITAIRES donnent pour leur part de plus en plus de signes d'irritation envers les islamistes, même si leur marge de manœuvre apparaît très réduite.

La population turque se mobilise contre la corruption

La protestation, pacifique et indépendante des grands partis, coïncide avec le débat sur la laïcité et les manifestations contre la loi islamique. Ankara menace de s'opposer à l'élargissement de l'OTAN si les Quinze n'examinent pas sa demande d'adhésion à l'Union européenne

ANKARA

de notre correspondante

« Une minute d'obscurité pour la lumière en permanence » : tel est le titre d'une initiative civile qui, depuis le 1^{er} février, mobilise les classes moyennes turques contre la corruption. Tous les soirs à 21 heures précises, des lumières s'éteignent - ou clignotent pour bien signaler leur participation à cette campagne - aux quatre coins de la Turquie. Dans les grandes villes, certains enthousiastes affirment leur soutien en sortant sur leur balcon ou dans les rues pour accompagner leur minute d'obscurité d'une cacophonie de couvercles de casserole, de klaxons, de sifflets, apparemment empruntés aux manifestants de Belgrade, ou de clochettes utilisées autrefois par les marchands ambulants.

Les plus déterminés n'hésitent pas à allumer une bougie au théâtre ou au match de football, plutôt que de manquer, pour une soirée, l'occasion d'exprimer leur mécontentement. Des familles tout entières participent à l'initiative, comptant de leur fenêtre les éclairs de lumière qui signalent l'existence d'esprits solidaires, au-delà des identités politiques, ethniques ou religieuses.

« UN VOLCAN PRÊT À EXPLOSER »

L'accident de voiture de Susurluk qui avait révélé, le 3 novembre 1996, la collusion entre la mafia, certains politiciens et hauts fonctionnaires de l'Etat a en quelque sorte servi de catalyseur, ouvrant les yeux de la population sur les déficiences du système, et cristalli-

sant les frustrations qui s'accumulaient depuis des années face à la dégradation graduelle des cercles dirigeants. Les Turcs, longtemps réprimés dans l'expression de leurs doléances, ont enfin trouvé un moyen de surmonter cet obstacle pour affirmer leurs vues. « Les politiciens nous serrent la main une fois tous les cinq ans, puis nous oublie », expliquait une ménagère lors d'un débat télévisé sur l'initiative, en affirmant : « J'avais à l'intérieur de moi un volcan prêt à exploser. Je suis contente, maintenant que je peux m'exprimer. »

Plus de trois mois se sont écoulés depuis la collision routière et des dizaines de témoins ont été entendus par une commission parlementaire : leurs dépositions ont révélé l'existence d'un vaste réseau de gangs, souvent des « loups gris » de l'extrême droite qui, formés initialement avec la complicité de certains secteurs de l'Etat pour des « opérations spéciales », ont ensuite profité de ce pouvoir pour se lancer dans des trafics - de drogue par exemple - et des affaires douteuses en tout genre. La presse turque a notamment publié les témoignages de repentis du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) qui affirmaient avoir participé pour le compte de ces groupes à plusieurs des « meurtres mystérieux » de nationalistes kurdes qui ont marqué les années 90.

Quelques boucs émissaires de moindre importance, des membres des « forces spéciales » de la police, ont été arrêtés, mais aucune des personnalités en vue impliquées

dans cette affaire n'a pour l'instant été inquiétée. Des demandes ont été déposées pour la levée de l'immunité parlementaire de deux députés du Parti de la juste voie (DYP) - Mehmet Agar, ancien chef de la police de sûreté, qui avait démissionné de son poste de ministre de la justice après l'accident, et Sedat Bucak, qui se trouvait dans le véhicule en compagnie d'un hors-la-loi lors de la collision - mais elles n'ont pas encore été soumises à l'Assemblée nationale.

« Nous voulons un Etat de droit, transparent, démocratique et moderne, nous voulons que la lumière soit faite sur l'affaire de Susurluk », explique l'avocat Ergin Cinmen, le porte-parole de l'« Initiative civile pour la lumière » qui a lancé la campagne.

CONTRE LES RADICALISMES

Pacifique et indépendant des grands partis politiques, le mouvement se heurte cependant à l'opposition du gouvernement. Le Parti de la prospérité (RP) du premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan, qui avait mené sa campagne électorale sur le thème de la lutte anticorruption, aurait sans doute pu gagner des points supplémentaires en s'associant au mouvement populaire. Mais, arrivé au pouvoir après des années dans l'opposition, et forcé de maintenir un équilibre difficile avec l'armée, le RP a préféré défendre les intérêts de l'Etat et ceux de son partenaire au sein de la coalition, le DYP de M^{me} Tansu Ciller, dont les députés sont mentionnés dans l'affaire. Se sentant visé par la campagne, le premier

ministre a adressé des critiques cinglantes à ses participants, qualifiant leurs efforts d'« enfantins ». Du coup, ce mouvement pour la lumière, qui ne visait pas directement le gouvernement actuel mais qui coïncide avec le débat animé sur la laïcité et les manifestations de femmes contre la loi islamique, a pris, dans certains quartiers, l'allure d'une protestation contre les islamistes. Mais ce mouvement est avant tout celui de la Turquie du centre, qui s'oppose aux radicalismes de tous bords. Confrontés quotidiennement aux divisions des partis politiques, à la polarisation de leur société, les citoyens turcs cherchent le dénominateur commun qui permettra à leur pays de trouver son équilibre.

Le succès immédiat de cette initiative est loin d'être garanti. L'affaire de Susurluk a dévoilé des intérêts puissants, profondément enracinés au cœur même d'un système qui les alimente depuis des années. Mais au cours des dernières semaines la population turque a retrouvé le courage de s'exprimer, que ce soit sur la corruption ou sur la loi islamique. Avec cette prise de conscience, le lent processus de démocratisation franchit une étape supplémentaire.

« Pour la première fois, la majorité silencieuse s'exprime ouvertement », expliquait le professeur Burhan Senatatar, lors d'un débat télévisé, et « les gens disent : "Les véritables propriétaires de l'Etat, c'est nous". »

Nicole Pope

•Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997 •Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997

Ankara revendique toujours sa place au sein de l'Union européenne

LES PRÉPARATIFS de l'élargissement de l'Union européenne à des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale, ainsi qu'à Chypre relancent l'épineuse question de la place de la Turquie dans la nouvelle architecture européenne. En décembre 1996, le premier ministre turc, Necmettin Erbakan, avait renoncé à faire le déplacement à Dublin où il était invité à un dîner par les chefs d'État et de gouvernements européens après la clôture de leur conseil biannuel. Les Turcs étaient furieux d'avoir été tenus à l'écart du déjeuner auquel avaient été auparavant conviés les responsables des autres pays candidats à l'Union.

Ce traitement donnait raison aux adversaires de la voie européenne, qui ont beau jeu de faire valoir que jamais les Européens n'ont pris au sérieux la candidature déposée par la Turquie dès 1987 pour entrer dans l'Union. Les gouvernements européens avaient espéré reporter le problème en concluant avec Ankara, en 1995, un accord d'union douanière. Aussitôt contesté par le Parlement européen, qui en a bloqué le protocole financier pour protester contre la répression de la minorité kurde, cet accord a eu l'effet contraire de celui espéré. Loin d'avoir apaisé les esprits, il a mis en porte-à-faux les défenseurs de l'intégration européenne au sein de la classe politique turque, à commencer par l'ancien ministre Tancu Ciller, aujourd'hui ministre des Affaires étrangères de la coalition que son parti a formée avec les islamistes de Necmettin Erbakan.

MENACE

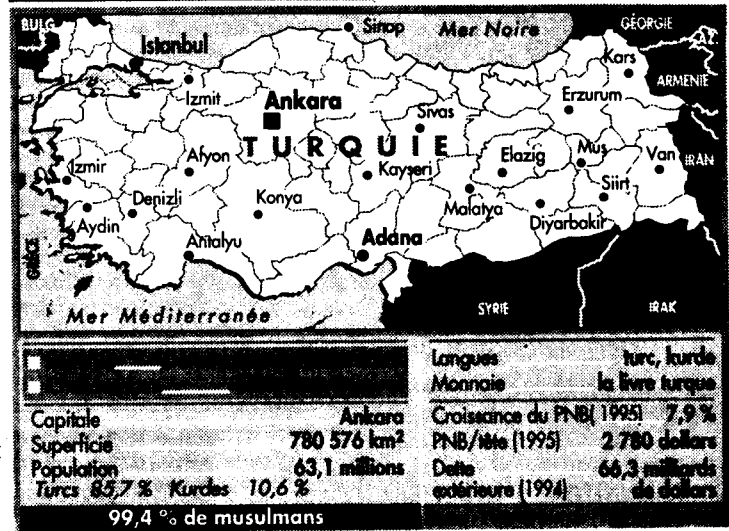
Ces pro-européens tentent ac-

tuellement de réagir en demandant aux Quinze de prendre une fois pour toutes leurs responsabilités. Le président turc, Söleyman Demirel, qui recevait le secrétaire général de l'OTAN, Javier Solana, a menacé le 7 février d'opposer le veto de la Turquie à l'élargissement de l'Alliance atlantique aux pays d'Europe centrale et orientale si les Européens ne répondaient pas à la demande turque. Il a exigé que le représentant de la Turquie fasse part de « la photo de famille européenne » lors du prochain conseil européen d'Amsterdam. Deux jours auparavant, à Rome, lors de la traditionnelle rencontre à cinq des ministres des affaires étrangères de Turquie, de France, de Grande-Bretagne, d'Allemagne et d'Italie, M^{me} Ciller avait également mis les points sur les « i ». Elle avait annoncé qu'elle présenterait à nouveau officiellement la candidature de son pays à l'Union lors de ce même conseil et dénoncé la tentative d'instaurer un « statut spécial » pour la Turquie. Nous exclure de l'Union, avait-elle réaffirmé, serait une erreur historique.

Seus interlocuteurs ont réagi en soulignant comme à l'habitude que personne ne voulait faire de discrimination à l'égard d'Ankara, mais que celle-ci devait auparavant démontrer sa volonté de trouver des solutions aux obstacles à sa candidature : la question des droits de l'homme, la gentieuse de la minorité kurde, le contentieux gréco-turc et la question chypriote.

Le ministre italien Lamberto Dini a cru pouvoir déceler des signes d'ouverture, mais souvent dans le passé les promesses ont été déçues. Les divergences au sein de la

Un pays musulman aux portes de l'Europe



classe dirigeante turque - entre islamistes, militaires ou nationalisme ombrageux et milieux d'affaires pro-européens - ont bloqué jusqu'à présent tous les espoirs de solution.

La victoire aux dernières élections des islamistes, qui ont pu profiter des conflits d'intérêts au sein de la droite républicaine conservatrice des Européens. Personne n'ose poser ouvertement la question de savoir si l'Union européenne, démocratique et chrétienne, est compatible avec un pays musulman, question qui se posera sans doute un jour également avec la Bosnie-Herzégovine et l'Albanie. Mais elle est au bord de toutes les lèvres.

MÉFIANCE

Devant une commission du Parlement européen, le ministre des affaires étrangères des Pays-Bas, Hans van Mierlo, qui assume actuellement la présidence du conseil des ministres européens, a mis récemment les pieds dans le plat. « Il y a ce problème d'un grand Etat musulman, a-t-il dit. Le voulons-nous dans l'Europe ? C'est une question passée sous silence (...). Il est temps pour nous, Européens, d'être honnêtes (...). » « D'une part, a rappelé M. van Mierlo, elle ne remplit pas les critères que nous avons fixés en Europe. D'autre part, c'est un voisin. » Un voisin qui tient une place stratégique dans le dispositif de l'Alliance atlantique à la frontière du Proche-Orient et du Caucase !

Henri de Bresson

•Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997 •Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997

Une très forte dégradation des échanges commerciaux

L'UNION DOUANIÈRE entre la Turquie et l'Union européenne (UE), entrée en vigueur en janvier 1996, a bénéficié à plein aux Européens, en leur donnant libre accès à un marché de 65 millions de personnes. Les échanges commerciaux avec l'Union européenne représentent la moitié du commerce extérieur du pays. Selon les chiffres fournis par Bruxelles, ils sont passés à la mi-1996 à 36 milliards de dollars (180 milliards de francs environ), contre 27 milliards un an plus tôt. Les exportations de la France, qua-

trième fournisseur de la Turquie (l'Allemagne est le premier), ont augmenté de 60 % sur les huit premiers mois de l'année 1996. En 1995, les ventes françaises avaient déjà atteint 10 milliards de francs environ, soit le double des achats de l'Hexagone.

La dégradation du solde commercial, issue de l'union douanière, était attendue. L'assistance financière spéciale à la Turquie de 375 millions d'euros (environ 2,5 milliards de francs) sur une période de cinq ans, à laquelle devaient s'ajouter des prêts, pour un

montant similaire, avait précisé pour but d'aider les petites et moyennes entreprises turques à surmonter la période de transition. Or, ces fonds ont été bloqués par le Parlement européen.

La détérioration des termes de l'échange est cependant difficile à mesurer, compte tenu des dérèglements statistiques issus de la suppression de nombreux droits de douane et de l'ampleur des échanges souterrains transfrontaliers (le « commerce-valise »), qui représenteraient, selon l'OCDE (Organisation de coopération et

de développement économiques), 20 % du total des échanges. Le déficit de la balance des paiements courants aurait en tous cas doublé en un an, atteignant 3 % du produit intérieur en 1996.

En dépit de cette forte dégradation, du maintien du taux d'inflation à un niveau de très loin supérieur à celui de l'Union européenne (70 % environ), d'un très lourd endettement à court terme, les taux d'intérêt réels ont diminué, et la Turquie d'Istanbul est l'une des vedettes des marchés émergents avec celle de Moscou.

They are pushing Turkey into a messy adventure

Those who encourage a civilian coup seem to forget that Refah may come back in a few years time stronger than ever — because of their current mistakes — and may refuse to integrate into the system

Some circles in Turkey who have realized they cannot get rid of the coalition government, which is dominated by the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (Refah), through democratic means, seem to have engaged in an extremely dangerous mission to oust it through some kind of a "civilian" coup.

Of course some of the arguments demanding the toppling of the government may well be justified especially in view of the fact that the corruption charges against Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller have been covered up by the coalition government. People want justice and a clean society. They want to see the mess created by the Susurluk scandal, which showed clear links between some state officials, underworld people and the police, cleared away. Yet, they see that everything is either covered up or shelved and thus feel justice



Editorial

İlınur Çevik

establish a religious state as soon as the chance arises. They feel if Refah is not halted the country may fall into the hands of the fundamentalists... The military apparently told Demirel one-and-a-half months ago that they wanted Çiller to scrap the coalition partnership with Refah and help in the establishment of a new government, without the Islamists...

Demirel reportedly conveyed this message to Çiller only this week and her reaction was negative, "for the time being..." Of course this does not mean she would not sell Refah out. For now Çiller feels she can tame Refah and run the show. Her adversaries say this is an illusion and feel Refah should be ousted.

Of course, the game could well backfire. Once those who want to oust Refah reach their target they may well turn their attention to finishing off Çiller.

Whatever happens there are very serious pressures from all quarters to get Refah out of government. What those who feel so strongly do not understand is the fact that even if they deal with Refah through undemocratic methods this will be a temporary victory because in the future Refah may emerge much stronger than today.

Whoever is trying to push Turkey into an adventure should realize that the repercussions of their actions may be devastating to the state system in Turkey in the long run. They may strengthen Refah beyond their wildest dreams...

does not prevail.

All this frustrates the people and makes them start wondering whether anti-democratic means could solve the problem. It is sad that by helping to clear Çiller in a series of corruption votes in Parliament, Refah has not done any service to the cause of a clean society and has contributed to the growing anger among the people.

But of course there is the other side of the coin. Those who do not want to show any tolerance to religious movements in Turkey feel the time has come to push Refah out of government at all costs. They think Refah is using democracy to further its fundamentalist aims and will

The New York Times Magazine / FEBRUARY 23, 1997

The Islamist Who Runs Turkey, Delicately

Necmettin Erbakan no longer talks about an Islamic NATO or a jihad against Jerusalem. Why, then, does the Turkish Prime Minister still frighten so many people? **By Stephen Kinzer**

With not a single security guard visible, could this ugly concrete building be the official residence of Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, the first Islamist to lead modern Turkey? Assured by my driver that it was, I approached, rang a bell and was admitted. Inside the door I literally bumped into Erbakan as he emerged from a small elevator. We bent down to remove our shoes together.

For months the Prime Minister had declined my requests for an interview, perhaps in part because he doesn't really trust Western journalists. The message he finally sent was an odd one. He apologized for the delay and offered to see me on Christmas Day.

The request that I come on Christmas was classic Erbakan. Unable for now to transform Turkey's deep-rooted secular society, he must speak indirectly, with symbols and images. It may be true, as his critics say, that he harbors a secret radical agenda for Turkey. But during his first eight months in power, he has been a voice of moderation.

Erbakan, a grandfatherly figure, moves delicately, gestures calmly and speaks softly. His Turkish is flowery and old-fashioned, sprinkled with words that many young people cannot understand. He is the most interesting political figure to have emerged from the Muslim world in many years. He is cultivated and worldly, a master of subtle political maneuver, yet has slashed his way through the jungle of Turkish politics with fiery oratory about Zionist conspiracies, the decadence of the West and the superiority of Muslim law and culture. He favors elegantly tailored suits and imported silk neckties and prays five times a day.

Erbakan is a figure of fascination not simply for his own character but because the choices he makes for Turkey could have enormous impact abroad. Turkey, for centuries a great imperial power, has traditionally exerted a far-reaching influence over a band of Muslim nations, stretching from North Africa across Asia to the Pacific. These nations, having witnessed the fundamentalist upheavals in Iran, Sudan, Algeria and Afghanistan, are understandably nervous about their own Islamists. So if Erbakan can peacefully steer moderate, democratic Turkey onto a fundamentalist path, he could, in effect, make the rest of the Muslim world safe for fundamentalism.

Turks call Erbakan "hodja," a term of respect usually reserved for teachers. In conversation his tone is didactic, his discourse an odd blend of traditional Islam and 1960's anti-imperialism. He has dropped his calls for an end to interest rates, an "Islamic NATO" and a jihad against Jerusalem. But he is still a jumble of grand and messianic dreams, not all of them reassuring to the West. He knows precisely what he wants: to change the world.

"At the end of World War II, the Western powers and Russia met at Yalta and set the rules for the coming era," he told me, sipping coffee occasionally. "But the West and Russia can't make the rules by themselves anymore. They have to sit down with the developing countries to establish a new order. The world needs a second Yalta

conference. The first Yalta did its job, but its time is past. Now the world must again be reshaped."

Erbakan has selected seven large, predominantly Muslim countries that he hopes will join Turkey in a new group he calls the D-8. (The "D" stands for developing.) He imagines this D-8 sitting down with the Group of Seven, which represents the world's richest industrial democracies, to negotiate a redistribution of wealth as part of a new and just world order. The process is to begin later this year, when Erbakan hopes to launch the D-8 at a summit meeting in Istanbul.

"Turkey is at the center of the world," he reasoned. "We have good relations with the developing countries of Africa and Asia, and we are also a partner of Europe. It's a logical role for us. Turkey is going to take the first step toward ending this double standard and injustice in the world."

Like other Islamic leaders, Erbakan is convinced that the West has an inbred prejudice against Muslims, and that this prejudice distorts the foreign policies of Europe and the United States. He pointed to Bosnia, Chechnya and Kashmir as places where Western countries have tolerated outrages they would never have accepted in Christian countries.

"Educated people in the West know very little about Islam," he lamented. "They are the victims of propaganda that is hundreds of years old. They cannot think rationally about this subject."

Within Turkey, Erbakan's aspirations are just as sweeping. No longer, he has proclaimed, should women with head scarves or men with religious beards be legally barred from positions of influence in universities and the army. He has quietly moved Islamists into mid-level Government posts and urges parents to educate their children religiously. He says he wants to build mosques in prominent locations in Istanbul and the capital, Ankara, though no earth has been turned.

"Our people are embracing their history, their belief and their identity," Erbakan said. "If you look around, you will see many more mosques, many more students going to religious academies. That is our people's wish, and an important development in Turkey. Finally we have found ourselves. We were searching for so many years."

THE DAY ERBAKAN WAS BORN, OCT. 29, 1926, was the third anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic by the secular hero Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. In Ataturk's Turkey, women were discouraged from wearing veils or head scarves, men were not to wear the fez and religion was to have no influence in public life. Muslim sects were banned, Latin script was replaced by Arabic and Turks were urged to look toward Europe rather than Asia for inspiration.

In his youth, Erbakan seemed to embrace Ataturk's new order. He studied engineering, won a

doctorate at Aachen Technical University in Germany and returned home to open an engine factory. A few years later he became head of a small-business lobby and discovered that he had a talent for politics. He began giving speeches condemning corruption and defending the rights of the little guy. When he added a religious component, he hit upon a successful formula.

After winning a seat in Parliament in 1969, Erbakan formed his own political party and began campaigning for a revival of Islamic values. Barely a year later the Constitutional Court condemned his party as anti-secular and ordered it dissolved. He renamed it, modestly altered its charter and his rhetoric and started over. By the mid-1970's he controlled enough seats in Parliament to emerge as a kingmaker. Joining first with leftists and then with rightists, he served as Deputy Prime Minister for a total of nearly four years.

In the two decades since then, Erbakan has built his Welfare Party into the only true grassroots political organization Turkey has ever known — four million strong, with 80,000 new members each month, he claims. Like other Islamist parties in the Middle East, it relies on volunteers who work all year long, especially in poor neighborhoods, feeding the hungry, helping people find homes and jobs and, not coincidentally, harvesting thousands of votes.

By 1995 many Turks had begun to associate Welfare with honesty and clean streets more than fundamentalism. In the autumn election campaign, Erbakan barnstormed the country, spending hours after rallies kissing babies and listening to private complaints. More voters than ever decided to take a chance on him, and Welfare finished first with 21.4 percent of the vote, even though less than 10 percent of the population is thought to be Islamist.

After several months of maneuvering, Erbakan struck an odorous deal with the former Prime Minister, Tansu Ciller, who during the campaign had attacked him and his followers as "fundamentalists bent on dragging the country back to the Dark Ages." In exchange for her support, Erbakan agreed to shield her from parliamentary investigations into alleged corruption. He became Prime Minister while she took the portfolios of Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. They agreed to change places in 1998, but not everyone is sure it will work out that way.

Erbakan won the election not by exploiting any latent desire for Islamic rule in Turkey but by becoming a credible alternative to the ossified political elite. After waves of scandal, including a new one implicating officials of past Governments in murder and drug smuggling, Turks are thirsting for moral leadership. Many believe that only Erbakan offers it.

"People are looking for a leader who believes in something," says Semra Galip, a sociologist at Galatasaray University in Istanbul. "Erbakan is the only one who introduces ideas, the only one

Stephen Kinzer is the Istanbul bureau chief for The New York Times. His last article for the Magazine was on Christiane Amanpour.

'I don't believe there will be a coup, but the military will definitely be telling politicians to stay away from religious fundamentalism,' a retired Turkish general says. 'They are taking Afghanistan as a warning of what these people can do if they come to power.'

with a program. He is a reaction to the end of ideology in Turkey."

THE WELFARE PARTY'S AUTUMN CONVENTION, its first since coming to power, looked very different from its past gatherings. Where once the walls were draped with banners honoring radical Muslim movements, Hamas martyrs and Iranian ayatollahs, this time only the Turkish flag could be seen, and the only portrait was Atatürk's.

The party faithful, many of whom consider Erbakan a miracle worker for having led Welfare to power, erupted when he appeared, cheering wildly and chanting: "You are the commander! We are your army!" It took him nearly an hour to make his way through the throng, and when he finally began to speak, the delegates applauded everything he said. They clapped when he swore friendship for the United States and Europe, and even when he described Welfare as "the guarantor of secular rule" in Turkey.

But at one point, after he declared that Turkey was "not changing direction or anything like that," a handful of unhappy delegates began chanting, "God is great," a slogan of militant Islam. Erbakan stopped speaking, pointed at them and sternly warned: "Do not let yourselves be provoked!" The chanting stopped immediately, and there were no further disruptions.

As a campaigner Erbakan had pledged to expel American forces flying surveillance missions over northern Iraq, but they are still at their bases. He said he wanted military and industrial cooperation with Iran but dropped the idea after his generals protested. For years he demonized Israel, but today Israeli warplanes practice maneuvers in Turkish airspace while Israeli military technicians upgrade Turkish fighters.

"Contrary to all our fears and concerns," the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, recently told a Turkish interviewer, "today we are very pleased with Mr. Erbakan's Government."

Leaders of Muslim countries are less enthusiastic. The moderates among them fear that Erba-

kan, by proving that fundamentalism need not be synonymous with radicalism, will give the Islamic movement new respectability among the middle classes. Hard-liners accuse him of selling out. "We are not happy in general about Turkey's foreign policy," the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, told Erbakan to his face when the two met in Tripoli a few months ago. "Turkey's future lies not in NATO, American bases and repressing the Kurds but in its nobility and its past." Despite such rebukes, Erbakan continues to defend not only Libya but also Iran, Iraq and Nigeria.

Not surprisingly, his relations with Washington are less than perfect. The State Department's spokesman, Nicholas Burns, has warned him to stop making "objectionable" remarks and "taking potshots at the United States." When Erbakan said that Libya, far from being a terrorist state, had in fact been the victim of terrorism — a reference to the American bombing of Tripoli

In response to the Sincan incident, he rolled back some of his Government's more controversial proposals and reiterated his support for "pluralist political democracy."

Military commanders don't like to talk politics, but I found one retired general, Ihsan Gurkan, willing to guess what they're thinking. "I don't believe there will be a coup, but the military will definitely be telling politicians to stay away from religious fundamentalism," General Gurkan said. "They are taking Afghanistan as a warning of what these people can do if they come to power. Of course, not everyone in the Welfare Party is like that. Some are moderates, but there are also extremists.

"In his heart, I don't think Erbakan supports the Ataturk vision of Turkey. He is trying to find a middle way between Ataturk and fundamentalism, but that is not possible. They are two ideologies diametrically opposed to each other."

Although Turkey is 99 percent Muslim, it is very different from radical Islamic countries like Iran and Sudan. Most Turks still believe that religion should have no direct influence on public life, but Erbakan's ascent has stirred a complex of emotions and raised questions that many thought had been resolved generations ago.

"There is a huge battle going on in this country between modernizers and conservatives," one of Ankara's wisest foreign diplomats told me. "People here are about to make a very big decision. The outcome will be crucial to the

West because so much of our political, economic and military planning in this part of the world hinges on Turkey."

Many Turks believe it is nonsense to imagine that their country can emerge as the leader of a new bloc of Muslim nations strong and united enough to negotiate a new world order with the titans of the G-7. Religion may unite these countries, but deep social, political and economic differences divide them. For all his talk of brotherhood, Erbakan is a Turkish nationalist who puts his own country's interests first. So are the heads of other Muslim governments.

"These are dreams," scoffed Kamran Inan, a leading opposition figure in Parliament. "We have to accept the fact that money doesn't have a religion. Interests have no religion. The present government especially is daydreaming. If there was solidarity among the 52 Muslim nations, the world balance would be different. Two hundred and fifty thousand Bosnians wouldn't have been killed."

Although Erbakan's dream of worldwide Muslim solidarity is hardly realistic, he strikes a responsive chord when he complains that the West is treating Turkey unfairly. For more than a centu-



PHOTOGRAPH BY BURHAN OZBILICI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

To the party faithful, Erbakan is considered a miracle worker.

in 1986 — Burns was irate. "Terrorism, democracy, allied cohesion and loyalty," he said, "are important issues that I think the Turkish Prime Minister needs to be reminded of."

Never is Erbakan more deferential than when dealing with Turkey's military commanders, who, with three coups to their credit since 1960, are not shy about intervening when they feel the country's stability is threatened. They sent a clear message earlier this month when they ordered a column of tanks through the streets of Sincan, a town only 25 miles from Ankara. Their muscle flexing followed a rally at which the Iranian Ambassador gave a speech calling for implementation of Sharia, the strict Islamic legal code.

Erbakan is well aware of the army's power and respects its role as guardian of the secular state. Although he dares not defy military commanders on important matters, he lodges a symbolic protest now and then. Before one recent meeting of the National Security Council, for example, the commanders announced that they would propose the dismissal of 59 officers suspected of fundamentalist leanings. Erbakan showed his displeasure by staying away from the session but appeared later and signed the decree.

ry Turks have sought to live up to Western standards, only to have the doors slammed in their faces, most recently by the European Union, which for years has resisted their efforts to join. Erbakan plays skillfully on this resentment.

"Turkey has been a European country for centuries, and it is a European country today," he insisted. "Five hundred years ago our territory stretched to the outskirts of Vienna, and Istanbul was the largest city in Europe. Today part of our territory is geographically in Europe. But unfortunately, for a long time European policy toward us has been very wrong. Turkey has been in NATO for more than 40 years, but the West is constantly pushing us away. They treat us unjustly, and then they blame us."

For the last decade, European leaders have been giving Turkey some direct advice. If you want to join our club, they say, stop torturing prisoners, stop throwing journalists and politicians in jail and stop your war against Kurdish insurgents. Erbakan rejects these suggestions just as completely as did his secular predecessors.

"There is no particular human rights problem in Turkey," he said. "Western countries shouldn't talk to us about human rights. It's like an old record. When Western diplomats or cabinet ministers come to visit us, they take out this old record and play it. It has no meaning."

Erbakan also repeated the official line on the Kurdish conflict, which has cost more than 20,000 lives over the last 12 years and shows no

signs of abating. He described it as "not a war but a fight against terrorism" and said a negotiated settlement was out of the question.

ERBAKAN CLEARLY HAS A NEW VISION for Turkey. He is already looking forward to the next election — which he may call in a year or two — when he hopes to win enough votes to govern without a secular partner. Under Turkey's complex electoral system, that would require him to win about 39 percent of the popular vote, which will mean grabbing about a third of the non-Islamist vote.

The Turkey of Erbakan's dreams would probably be a nationalist democracy, a society that tolerates secular voices but is at heart religious, conscious of history and infused with a God-given sense of earthly mission. In other words, a kind of Muslim Israel rather than another Iran.

On the campus of Istanbul University, once the home of the Ottoman defense ministry, I met Toktamis Atis, a popular professor and commentator. When I asked him how frightened he is for his country's future, he smiled as if he wanted to come over and put his arm around my shoulders. "The secular forces in Turkish society are strong enough to defend themselves," he assured me. "If Erbakan tried to challenge them directly, there would be great conflict in Turkey, maybe even civil war. He knows that. Maybe, in his heart, he really would like to wipe away the secular state, but he's not so stupid as to try." ■

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1997

US says Iran does support

PKK

Talabani, leaders of the two major Iraqi Kurdish factions, KDP and PUK, respectively, department spokesman Nicholas Burns

said "we don't believe in any salvation to be found in Tehran by anybody including Iraqi Kurds. Salvation won't be found in Baghdad or Tehran. It's going to be found in Washington and Ankara."

On secularism

When asked about the Administration's views on secularism, Burns said "since 1923 United States has been admiring the secular foundation of Turkish society." Ataturk, who abolished both Sultanate and the Khalifate, declared Turkey a Republic on October 29, 1923. The day is observed as a national holiday.

State Minister Abdullah Gul, on the other hand, always maintained he admires secularism as implemented in the United States, a journalist commented. "Do you think the US

Washington- Turkish Daily News

■ In the debate on the intentions of Iran, the U.S. State Department came down on the side of the Turkish military and said, yes, Iran does provide aid and comfort for the PKK.

The Islamist senior coalition partner Welfare Party (RP) officials maintain that that is mere hearsay and that Iranians maintain the purest of motives towards its "Muslim brothers" in Turkey.

"Iran provides safehaven to elements of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)," an official State Department statement said, and described the PKK as a "Turkish separatist group which has conducted numerous terrorist attacks in Turkey and throughout Europe." Until now, State Department always referred to the PKK as a "vicious terror organization," not as a "Turkish separatist group."

When asked how he interpreted visits to Tehran of Massoud Barzani and Jalal

has a different sort of secularism than Turkey?"

"I'm not gonna give advice," Burns said diplomatically. "Turkish tradition and foundation for the [last] 70 years has been quite consistent. Turks have already made a decision on their own secular foundation and we made ours 210 years ago."

"The Turkish people have already decided on Turkey's secular democracy. We think that's a good decision for the Turkish people to maintain," Burns said.

On Crete

A Greek journalist wanted to know if the Wall Street Journal story about Turkish General Staff raising questions on Aegean islands as far east as Crete, Burns said: "As far as I know, we are not aware of any specif-

ic Turkish claims in the Aegean apart from Imia/Kardak. That's the only one we talked to Turks about last year. No other islands."

TRNC in EU?

Fifteen EU countries, with the exception of Greece, have decided to invite Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to the accession talks together with Greek Cyprus. What did the State Department have to say to this development, someone else asked.

"EU has to make its own decisions," a non-committal Burns said. "United States is not going to comment publicly on the announced positions. It's up to them to decide what to do."

Çiller "meets" Albright

Burns also brought a clarification to the earli-

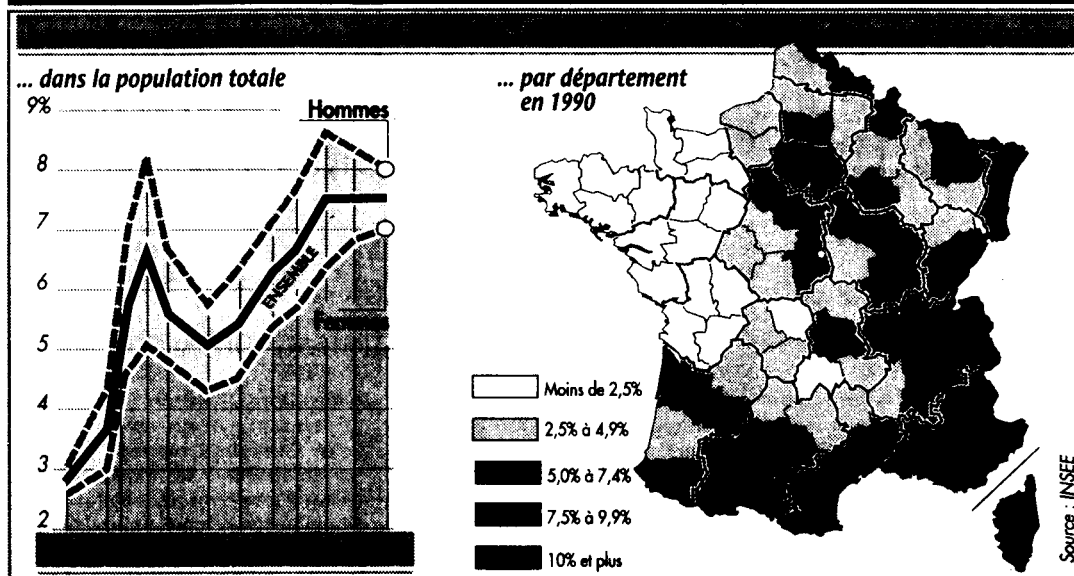
er Turkish press reports that Foreign Minister Tanrıçiller has "met" with her American counterpart Madeleine Albright during the NATO meeting both attended in Brussels.

"They met at the NATO hall in Brussels," Burns said. "Mrs. Çiller came to Secretary Albright and said 'Isn't it wonderful now that two of us, two women together? Welcome to the Club!' Çiller was very nice. Albright appreciated."

The "meeting" in question was apparently a private chat along the corridors of NATO headquarters.

"After the NATO sessions a week ago yesterday (Feb 25) Çiller and Albright had a four-or-five-minute conversation alone. It was a private discussion, obviously, standing in the hall," Burns said.

Un flux en stagnation depuis 1975



La part des immigrés dans la population française n'a pas augmenté depuis vingt ans

OÙ SONT LES IMMIGRÉS dans le débat sur l'immigration ? Comme à chaque fois que la France s'enflamme sur ce sujet passionnel, les hommes et les femmes disparaissent derrière les mécanismes juridiques, les stratégies politiques et les anathèmes. Le mérite de l'étude publiée par l'Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (Insee), jeudi 27 février, est de réintroduire les dimensions humaines, trop souvent absentes des actuelles controverses. A travers des chiffres publiés à point nommé apparaissent des réalités plus complexes et, parfois, moins déprimantes que celles reflétées par les discours ambiants.

A sa manière, ce document de l'Insee est un événement. Depuis quinze ans, les discussions sur l'immigration sont alimentées par des statistiques basées sur un critère unique, fondamentalement républicain, celui de la nationalité. On disserte donc sur les étrangers, et non sur les immigrés. C'est plus qu'une affaire de nuance : quelque 100 000 étrangers acquièrent la nationalité française chaque année et disparaissent des statistiques sans que la réalité sociale qu'ils incarnent n'en soit, pour autant, bouleversée. La catégorie des « immigrés », elle, reflète cette dynamique et rend mieux compte du phénomène, sans toutefois inclure la « deuxième génération », née en France. Elle a été appréhendée grâce à une exploitation

spécifique des recensements de la population et à une enquête de l'Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) sur l'insertion sociale.

Est « immigrée » toute personne née étrangère dans un pays étranger et qui vit en France. Plus des deux tiers des immigrés sont des étrangers, tandis qu'un tiers a acquis la nationalité française, soit deux fois plus qu'au début du siècle. Au total, la France comptait 3,6 millions d'étrangers et 4,2 millions d'immigrés au recensement de 1990. Ces derniers représentent 7,4 % de la population totale, chiffre resté stable depuis le recensement de 1975, c'est-à-dire depuis le moment où il a été décidé de stopper l'appel à de la main-d'œuvre immigrée.

NATURALISATIONS

En réalité, l'immigration, essentiellement familiale, n'a jamais cessé : longtemps stabilisée aux alentours de 100 000 entrées par an (familles, réfugiés et quelques travailleurs), elle diminue fortement depuis 1992 et n'a pas dépassé 68 000 en 1995. Mais ce flux d'entrées est compensé par un fort mouvement de naturalisation. Tandis que de nouveaux immigrés s'installent légalement, d'autres, parmi les plus anciens, deviennent français. Ce mouvement démontre la vigueur du mécanisme d'intégration : quelque 100 000 étrangers acquièrent la nationalité française

chaque année. Ainsi, sur les 56,7 millions d'habitants de la France recensés en 1990, 1,3 million, soit 2,3 %, sont des immigrés devenus français.

Les origines des nouveaux arrivants ont largement varié. Alors que près de 80 % des immigrés étaient d'origine européenne dans les années 60, avec une large domination des Italiens (32 %), les Européens ne forment plus que la moitié du total actuel. Aujourd'hui, les Portugais sont les plus nombreux (14,4 %), suivis par les Algériens (13,3 %), les Italiens (11,6 %), les Marocains (11 %) et les Espagnols (9,5 %). La place des Africains noirs n'est que de 6,6 %, mais elle a doublé en trente ans.

La population immigrée est atypique puisque les jeunes y sont presque absents, par définition. Elle l'est aussi, de manière plus inattendue, par la forte présence de personnes âgées. Le phénomène est particulièrement frappant dans l'immigration d'origine européenne, où les plus de soixante-cinq ans forment plus de 30 % du total (14,8 % dans la population d'ensemble). Ces courants anciens se sont taris, tandis que les nouvelles générations, nées en France, disparaissent du paysage de l'immigration.

Philippe Bernard

★ *Les immigrés en France*. Collection « Contours et caractères ». 140 p., 78 F.

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La tragédie kurde

Débat « transméditerranéen » avec Danielle Mitterrand et Kendal Nezan demain au théâtre

Le fait est qu'après avoir reçu Mgr Pierre Claverie, évêque d'Oran, quelques jours à peine avant son assassinat du 1er août dernier, et Mgr Henri Tessier, archevêque d'Alger – c'était le dimanche 9 – le « festival transméditerranéen » s'apprête à recevoir demain samedi Danielle Mitterrand, présidente de l'association « France-Libertés » et Kendal Nezan, qui est le président de l'Institut kurde de Paris.

Un débat, présenté l'autre jour à la cafétéria du théâtre par Francis Riolacci et des élus de la Municipalité comme Ange Rovere maire-adjoint et Paule Graziani, tandis que M. Paul Euzière, président du F T M s'attardait plutôt sur la personnalité des deux brillants intervenants de demain.

Il s'agira, vous l'avez compris, de la « question kurde » qui intéresse quatre millions de dissidents sur un peuple de vingt millions qui a éclaté sur cinq pays – la Turquie, l'Irak, l'Iran, et à un degré moindre la Syrie et le Caucase – après le démantèlement de l'Empire Ottoman aux alentours de 1920.

« Après le carrefour des solidarités en juin dernier et récemment le colloque sur la « laïcité, l'Islam et la République » il ne m'appartient pas précisément de parler de la qualité de ces débats, précisait pour sa part l'élu communiste, mais de vous confier que nous désirons les multiplier autour des pro-

blèmes qui se posent dans le pourtour méditerranéen. Ça nous donne un éclairage nouveau pour explorer des pistes concernant la situation compliquée de la Corse par exemple.

Demain, il sera question des droits de l'homme, des droits des peuples qui se voient bafouer comme le droit à l'existence du peuple kurde, en Turquie notamment. »

Pour le président du Festival « Danielle Mitterrand n'est pas « que » la femme du président de la République.

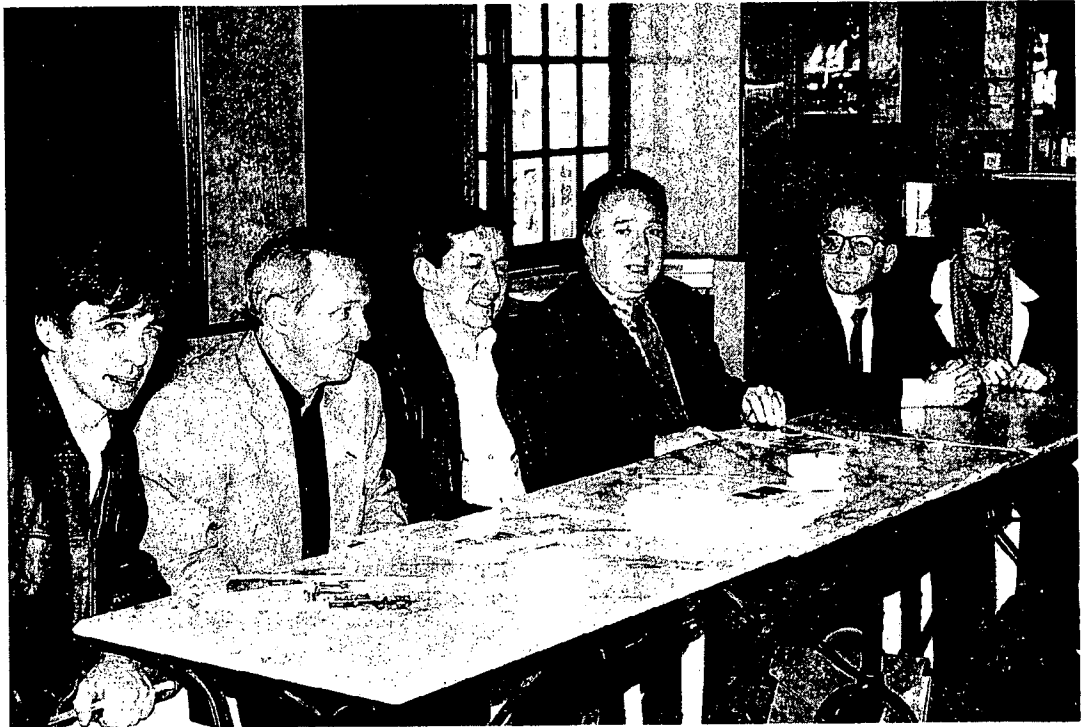
Ce serait réducteur puisqu'engagée dans la Résistance à 14 ans le problème des Kurdes est sa préoccupation principale.

Quant à Kendal Nezan, né en plein cœur du Kurdistan turc et

docteur en physique nucléaire ! il est déchu de sa nationalité par le gouvernement d'Ankara, qui emprisonne les députés comme Leyla Zana.

Ainsi la première femme du parlement a siégé deux minutes avant d'être emprisonnée pour quinze ans ! Pour avoir parlé... kurde ! »

A.B



Les partenaires du « Festival » pendant la présentation du débat

(Photo Emmanuel Manfredi)

•Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997 •Le Monde - mercredi, 26 février 1997

Des performances scolaires proches de celles des enfants d'ouvriers

AU CLICHÉ selon lequel les enfants d'immigrés font « baisser le niveau » scolaire, le document de l'Insee oppose le tableau plus nuancé d'élèves, certes handicapés socialement et culturellement, en difficulté à l'école élémentaire, mais qui, dans l'enseignement secondaire, surmontent les obstacles et réussissent aussi souvent que les enfants d'ouvriers nés en France.

Reprenant une étude de l'éducation nationale portant sur les enfants d'immigrés entrés en sixième en 1989 (3 % de l'effectif total), celle de l'Insee dresse la liste des difficultés spécifiques aux enfants d'immigrés au regard de l'institution scolaire. Ils sont issus de familles ouvrières (66 %) et nombreuses (plus de quatre enfants dans 68 % des cas), leurs parents n'ont aucun diplôme (68 %). Ils ont connu tardivement notre langue et ont rarement fréquenté un cycle complet à la maternelle.

Résultat : la moitié des enfants d'immigrés redoublent à l'école (36 % des enfants d'ouvriers nés en France) et ils obtiennent globalement de faibles résultats aux épreuves d'évaluation.

Pourtant, cette tendance négative se renverse au collège : 65 % des enfants d'immigrés parviennent en quatrième sans avoir redoublé au collège. Une performance inférieure à celle réalisée par l'ensemble des élèves nés en France (74 %), mais supérieure à celle des enfants d'ouvriers (62 %), dont ils sont les plus proches socialement. « Les difficultés initiales

se résorbent peu à peu », résume l'Insee, en pointant cependant la propension du système scolaire à diriger les enfants de l'immigration vers les classes de relégation, comme les « sections d'éducation spécialisée », qui accueillent 8 % d'entre eux, contre 4 % des enfants d'ouvriers.

Les attentes des familles immigrées à l'égard de l'école contribuent sans doute à expliquer ces

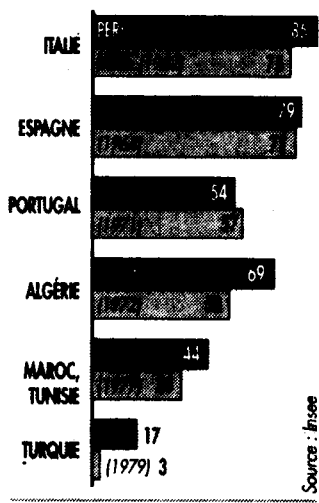
performances. Ainsi 78 % des parents d'élèves immigrés « souhaitent que leur enfant poursuive ses études jusqu'à vingt ans et plus », alors que ce désir n'est partagé que par 67 % des familles ouvrières autochtones. Pourtant, domine le sentiment d'éloignement par rapport à l'institution scolaire. La difficulté à maîtriser le français y est pour beaucoup, surtout pour les représentants des vagues d'immigration les plus récentes, et tout particulièrement pour les mères. La moitié des mères algériennes (19 % des pères) déclarent parler difficilement ou pas du tout le français, le taux est encore de 30 % chez les Portugaises et monte à 100 % chez les Turques.

Nul étonnement, donc, à constater qu'une large majorité des parents maghrébins, turcs et même portugais disent se sentir « très souvent dépassés pour aider » leur enfant dans ses devoirs. De même, les contacts avec les établissements sont rares : 38 % des immigrés d'origine portugaise, mais 24 % des originaires d'Algérie, ne rencontrent pas les enseignants (15 % chez les Français). Pourtant, l'abandon progressif de la langue d'origine et le choix du français pour converser avec les enfants apparaît comme un signe d'intégration : c'est le cas de 85 % des pères italiens, de 69 % des Algériens, de 54 % des Portugais, de 44 % des Marocains et Tunisiens, mais de 17 % des Turcs, derniers arrivants.

Ph. B.

La pratique des langues en famille

IMMIGRÉS QUI ONT CESSÉ DE PARLER PRINCIPALEMENT LEUR LANGUE D'ORIGINE À LEURS ENFANTS (en fonction de leur date d'arrivée) :



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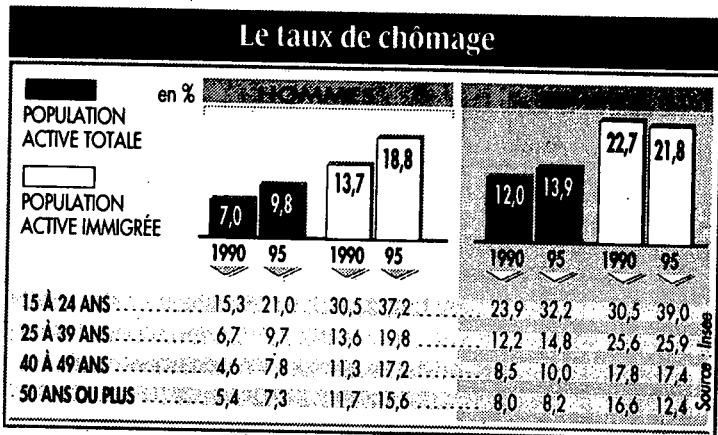
En première ligne pour le chômage

CRISE OBLIGE, le « travailleur immigré » ne correspond plus nécessairement au stéréotype de l'ouvrier à la chaîne ou du balayeur. S'ils demeurent massivement des ouvriers (46 %), les immigrés travaillent très majoritairement dans le secteur des services (61 %), un phénomène

qui résulte en partie de la large féminisation de cette population. Leur surreprésentation est nette non seulement dans l'automobile (10 % des actifs) et la construction (16,5 %), deux secteurs qui emploient à eux seuls la moitié des hommes, mais aussi dans les services aux particuliers et les activi-

tés immobilières où sont concentrées les femmes. En revanche, ils sont peu présents dans les secteurs de l'énergie, de la finance et de la fonction publique.

Des spécificités nationales apparaissent : 27 % des personnes d'origine portugaise travaillent dans le bâtiment, 17 % des immigrés d'Algérie dans les « services aux parti-



culiers » (8 % des Français), 8 % des natifs du Maroc dans l'agriculture (contre 5 % des Français). Globalement, les immigrés, qui représentent 7,4 % de la population occupée, 7,1 % des emplois.

Chômage, précarité : l'immigré est en première ligne. Dans un cas sur cinq, le « travailleur immigré » est d'ailleurs un... chômeur. Le taux moyen de chômage, qui excède de huit points la moyenne nationale, est particulièrement élevé chez les jeunes et les femmes, avec une aggravation nette depuis 1990. Plus de 37 % des actifs immigrés âgés de quinze à vingt-quatre ans sont sans travail.

LES PORTUGAIS PLUS ÉPARGNÉS

Le chômage frappe aussi les immigrés dans la force de l'âge : entre 25 et 39 ans, un homme sur cinq et une femme sur quatre n'ont pas de travail. Les originaires de Turquie et du Maghreb sont davantage touchés que les immigrés d'Afrique noire. Les Portugais, avec un taux minimum de 8,9 %, sont les plus épargnés, mieux même que les Français. Plus souvent que la moyenne, les immigrés occupent des emplois temporaires (8,7 % contre 7,6 %). Ils ne travaillent pas plus souvent que d'autres pendant les week-ends ou le soir. Mais 11 % des hommes employés dans le secteur de la santé travaillent durant la nuit, alors qu'ils ne forment que 5 % des travailleurs du secteur.

Pour les immigrés de la première génération âgés aujourd'hui de quarante à cinquante ans, l'ascenseur social n'est pas totalement en

panne, mais il est d'une lenteur désespérante. Neuf sur dix d'entre eux ont commencé leur carrière comme ouvriers. Ils le restent à 74 % après vingt ans de carrière. Le contraste est rude avec les personnes nées en France : 55 % sont ouvriers en début de carrière, mais ils ne sont plus que 31 % après deux décennies. Alors que la moitié des natifs de France ayant débuté comme ouvriers quittent cette catégorie en cours de carrière, ce n'est le cas que d'un immigré sur cinq. « Les possibilités de mobilité professionnelle en cours de carrière ont donc été moindres pour les immigrés, constate l'Insee. Néanmoins, les mouvements de promotion existent. » Ainsi, parmi les immigrés qui ont changé de catégorie en cours de carrière (53 % du total), 58 % ont eu un parcours ascendant, passant d'un poste d'ouvrier non qualifié à un emploi d'ouvrier qualifié ou d'indépendant.

La mobilité des immigrés mesurée plus généralement dans l'échelle sociale n'est guère plus aisée. Fils d'agriculteurs ou d'ouvriers pour 80 % d'entre eux, ils ne sont plus, pour aucun d'entre eux, agriculteurs à l'âge de la quarantaine, mais ouvriers à 80 %. Seuls 2 % des fils d'ouvriers sont cadres tandis que 10 % ont grimpé dans les professions intermédiaires (contre respectivement 9 % et 25 % pour les personnes nées en France).

L'enquête, en pointant l'avantage très net de ces dernières, tend à confirmer, en creux, ce que d'autres études ont montré : alors que la promotion sociale est rare pour la génération de l'immigration, pour ainsi dire « sacrifiée » les enfants issus de cette immigration et nés en France bénéficient de possibilités d'ascension autrement plus larges.

Ph. B.