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### MASSACRE AU KURDISTAN IRAKIEN : UN RAID TURC A TUÉ PLUS D'UNE QUARANTAINE DE CIVILS

**P**LUS d'une quarantaine de civils kurdes ont été tués et une cinquantaine blessés dans un raid aérien mené le 15 août par l'aviation turque au Kurdistan irakien. " Un camp estival abritant des bergers et leurs familles dans le Kurdistan irakien a été visé par un raid de l'aviation turque qui attaquait des cibles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) dans le triangle frontalier entre l'Irak, l'Iran et la Turquie " a affirmé le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), qui contrôle en partie la région. Le PDK a poursuivi en déclarant : " Nous

dénonçons cet acte qui a conduit à la perte de tant de vies innocentes, nous demandons qu'une enquête soit ouverte sur l'incident pour que les victimes soient dédommagées ".

Le ministère turc des affaires étrangères a, le 18 août, reconnu qu'Ankara avait " mené une opération " contre les militants kurdes du PKK basés au Kurdistan irakien le 15 août et " étudie les allégations " des organisations kurdes.

De son côté, l'Irak a affirmé le 21 août qu'il était déterminé à

" riposter " au raid aérien turc : " L'Irak se réserve le droit de riposter à cette agression à l'endroit et au moment opportuns...Nous condamnons vigoureusement ce crime commis par les troupes turques contre des civils irakiens (...) qui constitue un des maillons d'une chaîne d'agressions menées par Ankara contre l'Irak depuis 1991 " a déclaré le porte-parole du ministère irakien des affaires étrangères.

La région d'Erbil fait partie de la zone d'exclusion aérienne imposée par les alliés à l'aviation irakienne pour protéger la population kurde au nord du 36e parallèle après la guerre du Golfe. L'armée turque lance

fréquemment des opérations contre le PKK en violation de toutes les conventions internationales.

La presse turque aussi bien qu'occidentale est restée quasiment muette sur l'évènement. Quant aux responsables occidentaux ou arabes,

ils ont déclaré ne pas avoir suffisamment d'information sur le sujet. En plein mois d'août, et sans doute faute d'images télévisées, le massacre de 40 civils kurdes par l'aviation turque est ainsi passée inaperçue dans l'opinion publique.

inspecteurs, de tout fonctionnaire soupçonné de sympathies islamistes ou pro-kurdes. Le Premier ministre Bülent Ecevit a accusé le président turc d'entraver l'action de l'Etat laïc : *"Le but du décret était d'empêcher l'infiltration de terroristes séparatistes et d'activités anti-laïques au sein de la structure de l'Etat. L'attitude du président peut rendre difficile à l'Etat de remplir ce devoir et de protéger le régime constitutionnel"*. M. Ecevit et sa coalition l'ont accusé d'avoir *"même sans le vouloir, encouragé les ennemis du régime"*. M. Sezer refuse, au nom du respect du droit, de signer un décret inspiré par la puissante armée turque qui considère l'extrémisme religieux comme la principale menace pour l'Etat laïc dont elle se veut la gardienne. Le chef de l'Etat, fait valoir que de telles mesures disciplinaires doivent faire l'objet d'une loi adoptée par le Parlement. *"La présidence n'est pas un bureau d'approbation et de signature de décrets"*, a-t-il sèchement souligné dans une note expliquant son refus : *"Le président n'est pas obligé de signer des décrets qui sont clairement en contradiction avec la Constitution. En fait, il a le devoir de ne pas les signer"*.

M. Ecevit a, quant à lui, répliqué : *"Le refus du président d'approuver le décret du gouvernement montre qu'il existe de claires divergences dans leur compréhension de leurs devoirs respectifs et de la Constitution...Il ne peut y avoir d'harmonie entre le gouvernement et la présidence tant que ces différences ne sont pas aplanies... Nous avons affaire à un sérieux problème"*.

Le Conseil national de sécurité (MGK) qui regroupe essentiellement les principaux chefs de l'armée et dont

## LE PRESIDENT TURC S'OPPOSE AUX PURGES IDEOLOGIQUES DANS L'ADMINISTRATION

**L**ES relations entre le gouvernement turc et le président Ahmet Nejdît Sezer semblent des plus tendues depuis que celui-ci a opposé son veto à un décret du Premier ministre. La crise a éclaté lorsqu'un décret gouvernemental ayant force de loi et envisageant le renvoi des fonctionnaires suspectés de sympathies pro-islamistes ou pro-Kurdes, a été rejeté par le président turc. *"Le train des mesures pour lutter contre les mouvements antilaïcs"* avait été adopté au cours de la réunion "historique" du 28 février 1997 du Conseil national de sécurité (MGK) qui avait mis fin au gouvernement islamiste de Necmettin Erbakan, mais n'avait pas pu être voté au Parlement du fait de l'instabilité gouvernementale. Finalement, obtenant du Parlement le pouvoir d'édicter des décrets ayant force de loi pour une période de six mois, l'actuel gouvernement a élaboré ce décret et l'a présenté au président.

Les partis d'opposition et les syndicats ayant vivement critiqué le texte, le président turc a décidé de proroger sa décision de 17 jours. Malgré l'insistance de Bülent Ecevit, M. Sezer a, le 8 août, renvoyé le texte au Premier ministre en soulignant qu'il n'était pas contre le contenu du décret, mais qu'un tel texte ne pourrait être promulgué que par une

loi votée au Parlement. Dès le lendemain, la coalition gouvernementale a décidé d'envoyer à nouveau le même texte au président et le 10 août, Bülent Ecevit a, au cours d'une conférence de presse, souligné que selon la Constitution le président n'avait aucun pouvoir pour refuser le décret, en insistant sur le fait qu'il était obligé de le signer. Interrogé sur l'éventualité d'un second refus, le Premier ministre turc a déclaré : *"je ne veux même pas envisager cette éventualité"* et a rétorqué que *"s'il ne signe pas il y aura une crise d'Etat"*. De son côté, le président turc a annulé ses réunions hebdomadaires avec M. Ecevit sans aucune explication et s'est envolé pour Istanbul. Soutenu jusque-là par l'opinion publique et la plupart des médias, le président turc qui est l'ancien président de la Cour constitutionnelle, a alors fait l'objet de vives critiques. Finalement, une réunion a eu lieu entre les deux protagonistes le 16 août à la demande du président turc, mais le Premier ministre a déclaré que ce dernier n'avait pas eu le temps d'étudier tous les documents mis à sa disposition.

Le 21 août, le président turc a opposé, pour la seconde fois en deux semaines, son veto au décret gouvernemental qui permet le renvoi à vie, sur la base d'un rapport de deux



les avis sont exécutés à la lettre par les gouvernements en place, a fait savoir le 23 août, que ses membres étaient unanimement tombés d'accord pour éliminer les agents de l'Etat liés aux activités séparatistes des islamistes ou des Kurdes. " Le MGK est unanime sur la nécessité d'adopter d'urgence des mesures pour éliminer rapidement les fonctionnaires impliqués dans des activités islamistes et séparatistes visant à détruire le régime démocratique et laïc ", souligne un communiqué publié au terme de la réunion mensuelle du MGK.

La décision du MGK fait peser plus de pression sur le Parlement, qui va devoir examiner le projet de loi en question dès sa rentrée en octobre. Le passage de texte devant le Parlement rend les choses plus difficiles dans la mesure où celui-ci est dominé par des députés conservateurs et les islamistes. Même si M. Ecevit bénéficie d'une majorité absolue au Parlement, il n'a aucune assurance que sa loi sera adoptée, de nombreux députés, issus de ses propres rangs, y étant opposés en raison de la sensibilité de leurs électeurs.

Ilnur Çevik, éditorialiste du quotidien turc anglophone *Turkish Daily News*, s'interrogeait le 16 août sur l'impatience du gouvernement : " Est-ce que l'Etat s'oppose à une menace immédiate ? Selon le gouvernement, une telle menace existe et doit être contrée par un décret immédiat. Le gouvernement ressent l'urgence et cela ne peut même pas attendre le Parlement qui ouvre sa session en octobre... Le gouvernement croit qu'il peut défier les normes et valeurs démocratiques pour défendre l'Etat. " Défendre l'Etat " contre toutes les agressions a été le leitmotiv de la Turquie au cours des

dix dernières années. Si vous voulez enfreindre les règles démocratiques, vous n'avez qu'à dire que l'Etat est sous la menace et vous pouvez alors entreprendre toutes les actions antidémocratiques. Dans le passé, on nous a expliqué que la Turquie faisait face à la menace communiste. Une fois la menace communiste passée, les autorités ont utilisé la menace du

séparatisme pour retarder les actions démocratiques. Plus tard, ils ont ajouté l'Islam à leur justification pour continuer leur système d'atteinte aux droits et libertés... Ce que le gouvernement et certaines personnes ...ne comprennent pas c'est que l'intérêt supérieur de l'Etat est de servir son peuple et satisfaire les citoyens au lieu de les étiqueter comme des ennemis ... ".

### BERLIN TAPIS ROUGE POUR LE PRESIDENT IRANIEN

**L**E Président Khatami a effectué du 10 au 12 juillet une visite d'Etat à Berlin où il a été reçu avec les honneurs militaires par son homologue allemand Johannes Rau et le Chancelier Gerhard Schröder.

Après l'Italie et la France, M. Khatami a voulu, par cette visite dans un pays où la République islamique est encore largement perçue comme un Etat théocratique et terroriste, ouvrir une nouvelle page dans les relations germano-iraniennes et poursuivre le processus de normalisation des relations de l'Iran avec les pays occidentaux.

L'Allemagne est le premier partenaire industriel de l'Iran, il a tout au long du conflit irano-irakien entretenu un commerce très fructueux avec Téhéran et prône " un dialogue critique " avec le régime islamique. Cette coopération sans complexe et fructueux n'a pas empêché le régime iranien de poursuivre sur le sol allemand sa croisade meurtrière contre ses opposants. Ainsi, en septembre 1992, le secrétaire général du PDK iranien, Dr Sadegh Cherefkendi et trois de ses collaborateurs ont été assassinés dans un restaurant de Berlin, en marge

d'un congrès de l'international socialiste auquel ils participer. La justice allemande a établi que ce quadruple assassinat avait été organisé " par le plus haut sommet de l'Etat iranien ". Cette décision judiciaire avait suscité une crise diplomatique entre Berlin et Téhéran. Ce dernier avait rétorqué en arrêtant et faisant condamner à mort un homme d'affaires allemand, Helmut Hofer pour " relation sexuelles avec une femme musulmane ". En avril dernier, deux journalistes et un interprète iranien de retour d'un colloque organisé par la Formation Heinrich-Boell, proche des Verts à Berlin, avaient été emprisonnés.

Mettant en avant, est le fait que le régime iranien n'a, à ce jour présenté aucune excuse pour les actions terroristes menées sur le sol allemand, 175 députés allemands ont signé une pétition contre la visite du président iranien. Plusieurs milliers d'opposants iranien - 7.000 selon la police 20.000 selon les organisateurs - ont manifesté contre la visite du chef d'un " Etat terroriste ". Le commerce avec les mollahs fait fi des droits de l'homme " pouvait-on lire sur leurs banderoles que le président Khatami, qui fut en 1978 imam de la mosquée de Hambourg, n'a pu voir car pour lui

éviter de tels désagréments ses hôtes avaient organisé tous ses déplacements par hélicoptère.

Répondant à ces contestations, le Chancelier allemand a déclaré que le moment était venu de tourner la page, de donner " un nouveau départ " aux relations germano-iraniennes et de soutenir le camp réformateur iranien.

Le président Khatami a environ 80 % de la population derrière lui selon les résultats des élections libres. Ces gens jeunes ont des espoirs de réforme, et, de son côté, déclaré Joschka Fisher, ministre allemand des Affaires étrangères qui s'était récemment rendu à Téhéran pour préparer le voyage du président iranien. " Ne pas soutenir les réformateurs qui entourent Khatami ou même les isoler signifierait en réalité faire le jeu des radicaux ".

Dans une conférence de presse donnée après son premier entretien avec le Chancelier allemand, le Président iranien, tout en exprimant son attachement à la liberté de parole et aux droits démocratiques, a affirmé que l'Allemagne avait raison de traiter l'organisation d'opposition iranienne Mujahidin Khalq comme une menace terroriste dangereuse parce que ce groupe avait mené une série d'attentats en Iran et s'employait maintenant à renverser son régime de l'extérieur. " L'opposition a le droit d'exprimer son opinion et je ne protesterai pas si quelqu'un a une opinion différente et l'exprime pacifiquement. Mais vous ne pouvez pas essayer de vous emparer du pouvoir par la terreur dans le pays et aller à l'étranger prétendre être des démocrates. "

Ce que M. Khatami n'a pas dit, c'est que, passe encore les partis d'opposition laïque, comme le PDKI,

iranien, toujours interdits en Iran, nombre de ses partisans déclarés, des intellectuels et des journalistes iraniens sont jetés en prison après des procès sommaires pour avoir pacifiquement exprimé leurs opinions sans que tout président élu qu'il est ne puisse s'y opposer.

Au terme de cette visite – la première d'un chef d'Etat iranien en Allemagne depuis 1967 – le Chancelier Schröder s'est dit très satisfait notamment pour les perspectives de relations

économiques libérales. Les garanties publiques à l'exportation seront ainsi portées de quelques 100 millions d'euros à près de 500 millions, de " grands projets " seront engagés et une commission économique bilatérale, qui ne s'était pas réunie depuis 1991 siègera bientôt.

Il reste " des différences d'opinion, notamment sur les droits de l'homme ", il faut chercher à les réduire par le dialogue, conclut le communiqué commun.

### L'EX PREMIER MINISTRE ERBAKAN INTERDIT À VIE DE LA POLITIQUE

**L**A Cour de cassation a confirmé, le 5 juillet, une peine d'un an de prison contre l'ex-Premier ministre islamiste turc Necmettin Erbakan pour " incitation à la haine raciale ou religieuse ", ce qui l'exclut de politique à vie.

Il avait été condamné en mars par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat de Diyarbakir pour des propos sur la religion et les Kurdes formulés en 1994, lors d'une campagne électorale de son parti de la Prospérité (Refah), dissous en janvier 1998 pour " activités anti-laïques ". À 74 ans, il a encore un ultime recours contre la décision de la cour d'appel, à laquelle il peut demander de corriger sa sentence. Mais ce recours a très peu de chances d'aboutir. Son avocat, Me Yasar Gurkan, a annoncé, sur la télévision NTV, que si ce recours n'aboutissait pas, il saisirait la Cour européenne des droits de l'Homme.

Necmettin Erbakan, leader historique de l'opposition islamiste modérée devra purger près de cinq mois de prison par le jeu des remises de peine, dans un établissement pénitentiaire encore indéterminé.

Premier chef de gouvernement islamiste de Turquie, il avait dû démissionner en juin 1997 sous la forte pression des généraux et du Conseil national de sécurité.

Il avait dirigé le pays pendant un an à la tête d'une coalition avec le chef du parti de la Juste Voie (DYP), Mme Tansu Ciller. Avec la dissolution du Refah, M. Erbakan et plusieurs de ses adjoints avaient été déchus de leur mandat de député et interdits d'activités politiques pour cinq ans. Ils font également l'objet de poursuites judiciaires pour des accusations de corruption.

Le Fazilet, qui a succédé au Refah, est devenu le troisième parti au Parlement à l'issue des élections législatives d'avril 1999. Il est actuellement menacé d'interdiction par la justice. Une procédure d'interdiction a été lancée en mai 1999 par le procureur général de la Cour de cassation Vural Savas, qui accuse le Fazilet d'avoir " agi en violation de la loi sur les partis politiques " interdisant à une formation d'être la continuation d'un parti dissous.

M. Savas l'accuse également d'exploiter les sentiments religieux du peuple et avait comparé le Fazilet à un "vampire". Il a dans le même temps réclamé l'interdiction de politique pendant cinq ans de tous les dirigeants du Fazilet, dont son chef Recai Kutan, et le retrait de mandat de ses cent trois députés. Le Parlement turc compte au total 550 sièges.

Le Premier ministre turc Bülent Ecevit s'est ému de la condamnation de Necmettin Erbakan en déclarant : " Nous sommes bien évidemment respectueux des décisions de la cour. Nous y sommes d'ailleurs obligés. Cependant je voudrais souligner que je ne me sentirais nullement heureux de voir M. Erbakan emprisonné suite à un discours d'il y a six ans. D'autant plus que le parti qu'il présidait à l'époque du discours incriminé a été depuis longtemps dissous ". Cependant M. Ecevit attaque et condamne le parti Républicain du Peuple (CHP) et le parti de la Démocratie du peuple (HADEP) sur la base des seuls renseignements fournis par les services secrets turcs (MIT). Embarrassé du dialogue instauré entre le CHP et le HADEP, tous deux mis à l'écart du Parlement turc du fait du seuil national de 10 %, Bülent Ecevit a, le 5 juillet 2000, déclaré : " J'avais transmis à mon vieux et respectueux ami, Altan Öymen, des informations provenant des services secrets à ce sujet, en espérant qu'il ferait attention. Cependant les dernières déclarations de M. Öymen et de ses amis, ont clairement montré ces derniers jours que le CHP et le HADEP étaient en relations sérieuses et en collaboration, du moins en dialogue. De plus, pour un parti qui se nomme CHP, je trouve qu'une telle relation est triste et nuisible au régime en Turquie (...). Rappelant

les précédents événements à la suite de la collaboration entre le SODEP et le HEP, qui avait conduit à l'élection d'une vingtaine de députés kurdes, M. Ecevit a indiqué : " De sérieux problèmes avaient surgis à cause de cela. Je souhaite que l'on se souvienne de cette expérience ".

Altan Öymen, quant à lui, a déclaré que les commentaires du Bülent Ecevit, n'était nullement du ressort d'un Premier ministre et ni conformes à la démocratie. Cengiz Çandar, éditorialiste au quotidien turc Sabah, écrivait le 8 juillet : " Quelle sorte de Premier ministre est-il pour critiquer le Parti républicain du Peuple (CHP) pour ses liens avec le parti de la Démocratie du peuple (HADEP) ? HADEP est-il un parti illégal ? Un Premier ministre peut-il violer aussi grossièrement les lois ? Et de quel droit ? ".

La condamnation de M. Erbakan suscite de nombreuses réactions au sein de la classe politico-médiatique et nombreux sont ceux qui demandent la réforme ou encore l'abrogation de cette loi. Melih Asik, journaliste au quotidien turc Milliyet, qui dénonce à son tour le 7 juillet 2000 le verdict de la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat, n'oublie pas de dénoncer certaines réactions conjoncturelles. De nombreux hommes politiques et intellectuels ont été condamnés en vertu de cet article ; de Yasar Kemal, Esber Yagmurdereli, à Akin Birdal...

" Nous trouvons la condamnation de Necmettin Erbakan lourde. Nous adhérons à la déclaration des membres du parti de la Vertu (Fazilet-islamiste) selon laquelle " il n'y a aucun lien entre ce verdict et la démocratie, les droits et les libertés des droits de l'Homme, et ni les normes européennes auxquelles on essaie d'accéder "... Cela dit, la démocratie n'est pas une notion dont

on se rappelle lorsque l'on est dans l'embarras. Contemplez le tableau... Au cours des six premiers mois du gouvernement du parti de la Prospérité (RP) en 1997, 617 personnes ont été jugées, 550 condamnées, sur le fondement de l'article 312 qui condamne aujourd'hui Erbakan. Il n'y eut aucune réaction du Refah.

Les membres du Fazilet annoncent aujourd'hui qu'ils auront recours à la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme lorsque toutes les voies internes seront épuisées. Est-ce que quelqu'un va se lever et leur répliquer à ce moment-là :

- Durant la coalition gouvernementale entre le parti de la Prospérité (RP) et le parti de la Juste Voie (DYP), votre ami et ministre de la justice Sevket Kazan avait déclaré à Strasbourg " Je ne fais pas confiance à cette Cour car elle ne rend pas de verdicts juridiques mais politiques ".

Pourquoi avez-vous soudain changé d'opinion ?

Et que vont-ils répondre ?...

Ils étaient restés muets lors de la dissolution du parti de la Démocratie (DEP). Et puis, lorsque le parti de la Prospérité a été interdit à son tour, ils ont accusé les parlementaires européens de mutisme et d'employer un double standard. À l'époque le député belge Gérard Deprez vous avait ri au nez et répliqué : " Lorsque nous avons critiqué la dissolution du DEP, vous nous avez rétorqué : " la justice est indépendante en Turquie, ne vous ingérez pas dans nos affaires intérieures ". Écoutant vos conseils, nous restons aujourd'hui silencieux. Et vous êtes demeurés coi.

Un mot que l'on ne doit jamais oublier en politique : " la Démocratie et le droit peuvent vous être utiles un jour, à vous aussi ... ".

## RETOUR CONDITIONNEL ET RISQUÉ DANS LES VILLAGES KURDES

**P**LUS de 45 000 familles kurdes ont fait appel à l'association culturelle des migrants et d'aide sociale (GÖÇ-DER) pour pouvoir rentrer dans leurs villages où un calme relatif est retrouvé. Près d'un an après l'annonce de l'arrêt des combats par le PKK, le retour des populations évacuées de leurs villages, malgré une demande de plus en plus forte, reste sporadique et risque de rester conditionnel. Le feu vert de l'administration qui gère les 10 provinces, toujours ou à peine sorties de 13 ans d'état d'urgence, se fait attendre et les 378 355 " migrants forcés " recensés en 1997 dans un rapport parlementaire [ndlr : le nombre de déplacés de la région kurde est estimé par différentes organisations de défense des droits de l'homme à plus de 3 millions] ne croient guère au miracle.

L'association comme le parti de la Démocratie du peuple (HADEP) qui recueillent les demandes des familles ne jouissent pas d'une très bonne image auprès des autorités turques qui les taxent de séparatisme. Interrogé sur la question, Gökhan Aydiner, gouverneur chargé des 10 provinces sous administration spéciale, déclare qu'il est certain que " tous les villages et hameaux ne seront pas rouverts " et que les plus éloignés ne pourraient profiter des services de l'Etat : " Seuls les formulaires déposés individuellement auprès des autorités locales seront examinés au cas par cas ". M. Aydiner, avoue volontiers le manque de volonté des autorités turques dans ce projet de

retour en déclarant que renvoyer tout le monde dans les montagnes signifierait " revenir au point de départ " c'est-à-dire au déclenchement de la lutte armée. Il dit avoir accordé 64 000 autorisations de retour sur 131 000 cas, et enregistré 26 000 retours depuis huit ans.

Les familles, désœuvrées dans les banlieues des grandes métropoles turques, se trouvent souvent dans une misère intolérable. [ndlr : Selon une étude du Centre d'enfance et de jeunesse de Beyoglu qui a réalisé une enquête sur les 23 districts d'Istanbul entre 8 mai et 8 juin sur 905 enfants (Milliyet du 2 juillet 2000). 99 % des enfants qui vendent des mouchoirs, des chewing-gums, ou encore des cireurs de chaussures, sont issus de ces familles déplacées (...). À Istanbul 38 % de ces enfants sont originaires de l'Est et 31 % du Sud-Est, alors que 18 % sont originaires de la région turque de Marmara, 5 % de la Mère Noire, 4 % du Centre, et 4 % de la Méditerranée. Par ailleurs, les enfants déclarent à 35 % exercer une seconde profession.] Les familles, exilées souvent de force, avouent très volontiers ne pas disposer de moyens suffisants pour rentrer chez elles et réclament à ce titre de compensations financières. Mahmut Özgür, président de GÖÇ-DER, déclare au journal turc Milliyet du 5 juillet que " pour le retour d'une famille, seul le camion revient à 400 ou 500 millions de livres turques " (5 500 FF, le revenu minimum est de 950 FF) et que la plupart des familles vivent sous des bâches à leur retour. Saadettin Tantan, ministre turc de l'Intérieur,

déclarait fièrement le 27 juin 2000 que le Conseil national de sécurité (MGK) avait décidé dans le cadre du " plan d'action de l'Anatolie de l'Est et du Sud-est ", consacrer 2,8 trillions de livres turques (30 millions de francs).

Par ailleurs, les villages repeuplés à partir de zéro semblent introuvables, alors que trois bourgs (Çatak-Konalga et Dikbiyik près de Van et Kaymakamçesme, à Sirnak) réservés aux clans de gardiens de villages, milices pro-gouvernementales, ont été inaugurés en juillet par le Premier ministre Bülent Ecevit. Les villages reculés qu'occupent ces gardiens demeurent inaccessibles sans autorisation spéciale malgré la levée des restrictions légales dans plusieurs provinces. Les affrontements sont à " un niveau proche du zéro ", affirmait pourtant dès septembre 1999 le chef d'état-major Hüseyin Kivrikoglu. Près de 65 000 miliciens, les trois-quarts rémunérés par les autorités turques, sont officiellement au service du " maintien de la sécurité ". La question de leur désenrôlement est régulièrement évoquée, avec la disparition progressive de l'insécurité, et une loi votée le 30 juin 2000 par le Parlement restreint fortement les conditions d'appartenance à la milice (obligation de savoir lire et écrire), et pose des limites à sa liberté d'action, jusque-là totale. Le quotidien turc Hürriyet du 2 juillet titrait la nouvelle ainsi : " Le règlement des protecteurs est arrivé : Bat mais ne tue pas ". La nouvelle loi charge aussi le sous-gouverneur de les désarmer et de les mettre à pied en cas d'abus. " Il n'est pas question de s'en débarrasser " déclare pourtant Gökhan Aydiner.

## LA VISITE DU COMMISSAIRE EUROPÉEN VERHEUGEN EN TURQUIE TROUBLE LE MONDE POLITICO-MÉDIATIQUE

**L**A visite effectuée début août en Turquie par Gunther Verheugen, commissaire européen chargé de l'élargissement, avait, dans un premier temps, de quoi réjouir Ankara. M. Verheugen a promis pour l'année en cours 180 millions d'euros (\$ 168 millions) à la Turquie pour mieux préparer son accession à l'Union européenne. Il s'est également engagé à œuvrer pour débloquer les 450 millions d'euros promis lors de l'accord douanier signé entre la Turquie et les

Cependant le monde politico-médiatique s'est très vite déchaîné lorsque le commissaire européen à l'élargissement a soulevé les questions politiques. La presse turque a annoncé que M. Verheugen avait remis un document de partenariat à l'accession contenant des conditions préalables telles que le droit à l'éducation et aux médias, y compris la télévision, en kurde, une plus grande liberté d'expression et la réforme du Conseil national de sécurité (MGK) actuellement dominé par l'armée.

À l'issue d'un entretien avec Gunther Verheugen, le Premier ministre turc Bülent Ecevit a assuré que la Turquie remplira les conditions d'adhésion " plus tôt que prévu ". Mais il a également indiqué que l'Union européenne avait accepté la Turquie comme candidat tout en sachant combien elle était sensible sur certaines questions : " Ils ont approuvé la candidature turque tout en sachant notre sensibilité ". L'UE a réagi par la voie de Jean Christophe Filori, porte-parole de M. Verheugen, en déclarant : " Comme nous

connaissions la sensibilité de la Turquie sur des sujets tels que laisser aux Kurdes la liberté de jouir du droit de diffusion télévisuelle et l'éducation en kurde, nous n'avons jamais utilisé ce mot (...) Au cours de ses entretiens, M. Verheugen ne s'est pas attardé sur les citoyens turcs d'origine kurde... Lorsque nous parlons des droits, nous n'avons pas de fondement ethnique à l'esprit, notre approche est de prendre en considération tous les citoyens turcs ". M. Filori a précisé qu'il y a, en Turquie, un certain nombre de restrictions sur les langues non turques et qu'ils étaient contre ces restrictions.

Le débat semble assez houleux au sein même du gouvernement tripartite. Mesut Yilmaz, leader du parti de la Mère patrie (ANAP), tout fraîchement blanchi par le Parlement pour corruption et abus de pouvoir, qui vient d'intégrer le gouvernement comme vice-Premier ministre chargé des affaires européennes, est à couteaux tirés avec son partenaire gouvernemental, le parti ultranationaliste de l'Action nationaliste (MHP), qui n'avait pas hésité à voter en majorité pour le renvoi de M. Yilmaz devant la Haute Cour de justice. Le quotidien turc *Hurriyet* du 19 juillet 2000, titrait en sa Une la déclaration de Mesut Yilmaz " Il est temps de faire des pas ". Le leader de l'ANAP soulignait que " dans le passé, nous ne pouvions pas faire certains pas à cause du terrorisme. Le terrorisme est aujourd'hui au niveau zéro. Le temps est venu pour nous de faire des pas que nous avons planifiés et ciblés ". M. Yilmaz a poursuivi en déclarant que " le protocole de la coalition contient des dispositions claires et

nettes sur le fait de faire des pas et d'entreprendre des réformes afin d'adhérer à l'Union européenne... En fait nous devrions trouver des solutions sans avoir besoin de l'intervention de l'UE. Dans le passé, nous avons mené une longue lutte contre le terrorisme. Rien n'était possible à l'époque. Mais aujourd'hui la terreur est au niveau zéro... ". Devlet Bahçeli, chef du parti MHP, a de suite critiqué les propos de M. Yilmaz et s'est opposé à l'idée de l'éducation et de la télévision en kurde en soulignant que " l'on discute des choses qui ne se feront pas ".

Enfin, le quotidien turc *Sabah*, dans son édition du 19 juillet 2000, sous le titre de " 52 promesses à l'Europe ", fait état d'un calendrier de démocratisation remis à Gunther Verheugen, commissaire européen chargé de l'élargissement, lors de sa visite en Turquie. Voici, selon *Sabah*, " la carte de la route qui va vers l'Europe " :

**Avant la fin de l'année 2001 :** Par des modifications du code pénal, du code de la procédure pénale turcs mais aussi des lois anti-terreur, des réformes, dans différents domaines signalés par l'Union européenne, seront entreprises : la liberté de pensée, la liberté de la presse (réforme du cadre des infractions de la presse et baisse des sanctions), nouvelle disposition relative à la peine de mort (projet législatif dans le but de moderniser, de rendre plus compréhensif et applicable les différentes dispositions relatives à l'exécution), projet législatif imposant aux procureurs de la république le respect des jugements de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, signature et ratification du Pacte civil et politique et du Pacte des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels de l'ONU, signature du Protocole

additionnel n° 6 relatif à l'abolition de la peine de mort.

#### **Avant la fin de l'année 2002 :**

Des réformes seraient engagées dans les domaines suivants : Le droit à la vie (des modifications de la loi relative aux compétences administratives de la police), la liberté de diffusion (réformes de la loi 3984 relative à la création et l'émission des radios et télévisions), amnistie générale en faveur des journalistes et écrivains, la liberté syndicale, les libertés d'association, de réunion, de manifestation, des dispositions en vue d'harmonisation avec les sociétés démocratiques, création d'une présidence des droits de l'homme

attachée au Premier ministre et d'un comité consultatif des droits de l'homme, statut légal au Haut comité à la coordination des droits de l'homme, réforme de la législation relative au régime d'exception (OHAL), projet de loi mettant fin au jugement des civils par les tribunaux militaires, modification de la composition du Conseil national de sécurité (MGK) au profit des civils (en y intégrant les vices-Premiers ministres et les ministres du Budget et de la Justice), dédommagement en cas de torture (projet de loi pour se conformer aux différentes conventions internationales signées par la Turquie).

avec le PDK de M. Barzani connaissent un certain refroidissement. Les autorités turques n'apprécient pas que l'administration kurde d'Erbil se comporte en un quasi-Etat, avec des titres (Premier ministre, ministres, président du Parlement, etc) et des symboles (l'usage de plus en plus répandu des drapeaux kurdes), qui déplaisent profondément à Ankara.

De plus, un parti turcoman irakien proche d'Ankara qui voulait former une milice armée a récemment été sévèrement rappelé à l'ordre par la police kurde d'Erbil. Le ministère turc des Affaires étrangères a convoqué le représentant à Ankara du PDK pour demander des "explications" et le gouvernement turc, par la voix d'Ismail Cem, a promis de "protéger nos frères turcomans".

### **LA VISITE À ANKARA DE J. TALABANI ACCROIT LE RISQUE D'AFFRONTEMENTS ENTRE L'UPK ET LE PKK**

**D**E retour de Washington, le leader kurde irakien Jalal Talabani a effectué, le 25 juillet, une visite remarquable à Ankara où il a notamment été reçu par le Premier ministre turc Bülent Ecevit et par des responsables militaires turcs.

De source turque, on indique que J. Talabani a informé les autorités turques des activités du PKK au Kurdistan irakien. L'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) de J. Talabani affirme avoir, "depuis avril dernier", créé des zones tampon autour des bases du PKK dans le Mont Qandil, à la frontière irako-iranienne, afin d'empêcher les attaques du PKK contre la Turquie. M. Talabani a également indiqué au Premier ministre que les guérilleros du PKK étaient disposés à déposer leurs armes si Ankara s'engage à ne pas les poursuivre. B. Ecevit s'est contenté d'écouter attentivement les propos de son hôte kurde. Très allergique aux

mots kurde et Kurdistan, il a, à l'issue de l'entretien, remercié "M. Talabani et son organisation (sans nommer celle-ci qui comporte le mot "Kurdistan") de leurs efforts pour bouter l'organisation terroriste PKK hors de l'Irak."

Officiellement Ankara se dit "satisfait" de "la nouvelle politique anti-PKK" de l'UPK tout en restant "prudent" en raison "des engagements antérieurs non respectés" du chef kurde. De son côté, J. Talabani, dont c'était la première visite en Turquie, depuis 18 mois, s'est montré élogieux sur "la coopération avec nos frères turcs" à qui il a demandé de "l'aide" sans préciser la nature de celle-ci. Il a ajouté que le vice-président américain Al Gore lui avait recommandé de "rester dans la ligne de la politique turque".

La visite de J. Talabani intervient à un moment où les relations d'Ankara

La visite à Ankara de J. Talabani a suscité une vive tension entre son organisation et le PKK. Les médias turcs ont annoncé que Talabani s'était engagé à "nettoyer sa région du PKK". Le PKK, qui maintient plusieurs bases armées au Kurdistan irakien et refuse de les évacuer, parle, dans ses médias, d'une "déclaration de guerre" faisant partie d'un "complot international ourdi par Washington contre le PKK". Des opérations militaires du PKK, très réduites ces derniers mois, ont repris dans la région. Des commandos du PKK venant d'une base près de Mossoul, sous contrôle irakien, ont lancé des attaques surprises contre des positions du PDK tuant une quinzaine de Peshmergas. Des attentats contre des civils, attribués au PKK, ont également repris. Le PDK y voit la "main des services irakiens qui soutiennent le PKK et qui s'en servent pour déstabiliser le Kurdistan irakien". Le risque d'une confrontation armée d'envergure entre l'UPK et le PKK se dessine

également. L'Iran, allié traditionnel de l'UPK et du PKK va-t-il intervenir pour éviter un sanglant conflit entre ses protégés ? Ou, va-t-il pousser le PKK à s'en prendre à l'UPK pour punir celle-ci de son flirt poussé avec Washington et Ankara ?

Plusieurs dizaines de cadres du PKK, y compris des ex-commandants de certaines régions militaires, contestant " la nouvelle stratégie " de leur parti ont récemment fait défection. Certains ont pu se réfugier auprès de l'UPK. D'autres, de 30 à 50 selon les estimations, ont été arrêtés et seraient menacés de mort par le PKK. Qualifiés de " traîtres " par Öcalan lui-même, qui, dans un texte publié par le journal *Serxwebûn* (indépendance) du PKK, demande que l'on les punisse avec les rigueurs de temps de guerre. Ces dissidents ont fait appel à des ONG internationales pour leur protection. Plusieurs ONG européennes, des partis kurdes de Turquie regroupés dans la Plateforme du Kurdistan du Nord, mènent campagne pour la libération de ces dissidents. Plusieurs députés allemands, dont Mme. Claudia Roth, présidente de la Commission des droits de l'homme du Parlement allemand, demandent à la direction du PKK de libérer ces dissidents et de respecter la liberté d'expression dans ses rangs. " Au moment où, au nom des principes démocratiques, nous demandons la vie sauve pour Öcalan, comment celui-ci et ses collègues peuvent-ils menacer de mort leurs propres dissidents ou des militants d'autres mouvements kurdes ? " s'interrogent des défenseurs occidentaux des droits de l'homme.

Et puis quelle peut être la crédibilité de " la nouvelle stratégie de paix et de démocratie " du PKK si après avoir " abandonné définitivement la lutte armée " en Turquie, il maintient

de force des bases militaires au Kurdistan irakien et continue de mener des actions armées contre les autorités légitimes de cette région déjà dévastée et éprouvée par des décennies de guerre et protégée par l'ONU ? La question posée avec de plus en plus d'insistance par les amis occidentaux des Kurdes semble

désormais troubler les dirigeants du PKK qui ont de plus en plus de mal à tout expliquer par " le complot international contre le PKK " et qui mesurent toute la difficulté de tenir des discours différents, et contradictoires, suivant qu'ils s'adressent aux Européens, aux Turcs, aux Kurdes et à leurs propres militants.

## AINSI QUE

• **LA TURQUIE SIGNE DEUX CONVENTIONS DES NATIONS UNIES : DES RÉSERVES SONT À PRÉVOIR.** Le ministère des affaires étrangères turc a, le 16 août 2000, annoncé la signature par la Turquie de deux conventions des Nations Unies sur les droits de l'homme. Ankara a précisé que qu'il étudiera d'éventuelles réserves à apporter à ces documents en vue de les soumettre au vote du Parlement.

Selon un communiqué publié par le ministère, " la Turquie a signé le Pacte sur les droits civils et politiques et le Pacte sur les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels mardi à New-York. " Les deux conventions promeuvent la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion, condamnent la torture et garantissent aux minorités la liberté d'expression culturelle et linguistique. Le communiqué indique que le refus d'Ankara de signer ces textes avait conduit à une " désapprobation dans la communauté internationale ", et " la non-adoption de ces pactes était considérée comme un défaut pour (le) pays, qui est candidat à l'adhésion à l'Union européenne ".

Le communiqué précise cependant que ces conventions se seront soumises au Parlement pour ratification après une étude approfondie des deux textes en vue

d'établir d'éventuelles réserves sur certains articles. Le gouvernement turc a toujours refusé d'accorder aux Kurdes des droits culturels spécifiques, comme un enseignement ou une télévision dans leur langue. Le Parlement semble peu propice à faire des réformes en ce sens d'autant plus qu'il est composé à majorité de nationalistes (DSP), voire d'ultra-nationalistes (MHP).

Par ailleurs, on sait que la Turquie est co-signataire de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme ainsi que la Convention contre la torture du Conseil de l'Europe. Ces signatures ne semblent guère gêner le régime turc de violer d'une façon récurrente et massive les droits de l'homme garantis et protégés par ces conventions, quitte à payer de temps à autre, des " dédommagements " symboliques à certaines victimes qui ont le courage, la persévérance et les moyens de saisir la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme.

• **LA COUR EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME CONDAMNE À NOUVEAU LA TURQUIE POUR " TORTURE ".** La Cour européenne des droits de l'homme a, le 11 juillet, condamné la Turquie pour des actes de " torture " sur un détenu soupçonné d'appartenir à un mouvement d'extrême gauche. Soupçonné d'avoir commis des actes



de violence au nom d'un groupe d'extrême gauche, Devrimci-Sol (la gauche révolutionnaire), celui-ci avait été arrêté le 10 février 1992 et interrogé pendant 16 jours par la section antiterroriste de la Sûreté d'Istanbul avant d'être présenté à un juge. Un médecin de la prison où il avait été transféré avait relevé une vingtaine de traces de coupures, écorchures et éraflures sur ses membres. Selon la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, les violences commises sur le détenu " ont revêtu un caractère particulièrement grave et cruel " et " méritent la qualification de torture ". Le requérant avait été battu, immergé dans une eau glacée, pendu des bras, reçu des chocs électriques et un simulacre d'exécution avait été organisé dans une forêt.

Dans un arrêt rendu à l'unanimité, la Cour estime également que les autorités d'Ankara ont, dans la même affaire, violé l'article 5§3 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme qui garantit le droit de toute personne arrêtée d'être traduite aussitôt devant un juge. La Turquie devra verser 200 000 FF pour préjudice moral et 10 000 FF pour frais et dépens au requérant, Metin Dikme, qui se trouve toujours emprisonné.

La procédure visant Metin Dikme est toujours pendante, sa condamnation, en 1998, ayant été annulée par la Cour de cassation. La plainte qu'il avait lui-même déposée contre les policiers responsables de sa garde-à-vue s'est soldée par un non-lieu, en 1993.

• **LE RAPPORT 1999 DE L'UNDP : LA TURQUIE EST AU 85 ÈME RANG POUR SON DÉVELOPPEMENT HUMAIN.** Selon le rapport annuel sur " le développement humain " du

Programme de développement des Nations unies (UNDP), la Turquie se situe au 85e rang sur 174 pays étudiés en termes de développement humain. Le rapport est issu de l'évaluation des statistiques des différents pays selon l'espérance de vie, mais aussi l'alphabétisation et le revenu national par habitant. Le rapport révèle que l'espérance de vie moyenne en Turquie est de 69,3 ans, le taux d'alphabétisation est de 84 % et le taux de personnes enregistrées en primaire, secondaire, et en études supérieures se situe à 61 %. Le revenu national par habitant est de \$6 422. Selon le même rapport, l'Iran se situe au 95erang et la Syrie 111e.

• **LA TURQUIE POSSÈDE LA SIXIÈME ARMÉE AU MONDE.** Un rapport annuel du Département d'état américain [Turkish Daily News du 23-08-00] a placé la Turquie au sixième rang mondial de la liste des pays ayant la plus importante défense militaire. Le rapport tient compte de l'effectif de l'armée pour faire son classement. La Chine avec 2,6 millions de soldats, suivie des États-Unis, de la Russie, et de la Corée du Nord, forment la tête de liste. La Turquie avec 820 000 soldats se situe au sixième rang. Par comparaison la Grèce est au 27ème rang, et la Turquie dépasse de loin des pays comme la France, l'Allemagne, l'Italie, la Grande-Bretagne et l'Iran.

Le rapport révèle également que la Turquie se situe au sixième rang des pays importateurs d'armes entre 1995 et 1997. Le premier de cette liste est l'Arabie Saoudite avec \$ 31,3 milliards pour la même période, suivi de Taiwan, du Japon, de l'Égypte et du Koweït.

• **200 ORGANISATIONS CIVILES DEMANDENT UNE NOUVELLE CONSTITUTION EN TURQUIE.** 200 organisations non

gouvernementales turques, venant d'horizons très divers, ont signé un texte pour demander la révision de la Constitution turque (Turkish Daily News le 11-07-00) : " Nous ne nous sentons pas complètement sécurisés pour notre avenir et sommes sans espoir à l'heure où nous entrons au XXIe siècle. La structure politique, administrative, et légale de la Turquie est corrompue ; ceci est devenu obsolète et empêche les progrès et la modernisation du pays. Le chemin de la Turquie devrait être éclairci, mais ceci dépend de plusieurs facteurs. Le premier point est que la démocratie devrait être effective avec toutes ses lois et ses institutions. Deuxièmement, il devrait avoir un système basé sur les droits de l'homme et le principe de l'Etat de droit. Il est largement admis à tous les niveaux de la société que le principal obstacle de la démocratisation est la Constitution de 1982. C'est pourquoi nous avons besoin d'une nouvelle Constitution. "

Parmi les signataires, on compte notamment : Plateforme pour une démocratie urgente, Association des hommes d'affaires Lions d'Anatolie, Association des jeunes hommes d'affaires, Volontaires pour l'environnement, Groupe Ari, Initiative pour la lumière une minute d'obscurité, Fondation Cekul, Programme de la république démocratique, Association de la transformation démocratique, Association des principes démocratiques, DEMOS, Fondation de solidarité des employés de théâtres, opéra et ballet d'Etat, DISK, Association environnementale méditerranéenne de l'Est, Association de solidarité des amis, Institut des professionnels de l'industrie, Fondation de solidarité et de culture Haci Bektas Veli, Chambre des architectes d'enquêtes de carte et de



cadastre, Association des citoyens Helsinki, Association des droits de l'homme, Association des accords humains, Association du conservatoire d'Etat de l'Université d'Istanbul, Association des employés pharmaceutiques d'Istanbul, Institut kurde d'Istanbul, Fondation des diplômés des sciences politiques d'Istanbul, Chambre des guides touristiques d'Istanbul, Présidence de la chambre des vétérinaires d'Istanbul, Association des diplômés de l'Université de Marmara et Etudiants en commerce avancé d'Istanbul, Association KADER, Fondation pour le respect des travailleurs féminins, Femmes pour les droits des Femmes, Plateforme de la Mer noire, Mouvement Greenpeace de Chypres, Association des libraires, Mouvement libéral, Ingénieur mécanique-chambre d'Istanbul, Centre culturel Mesopotamia, Association des diplômés de METU-branche d'Istanbul, Initiative autonome du Conseil de l'art, Association culturelle Pir Sultan Abdal, SOS volontaires pour la plateforme de l'environnement, Union des organisations de la société civile, Association des volontaires des enfants de la rue, SODEV, TESEV, Union des critiques de théâtre, TOMEK, Chambre des Ingénieurs géologiques, Union des chambres d'ingénieurs et d'architectes de Turquie (TMMOB), Fondation de recherche socio-légale, Association de mouvement de transparence sociale, TUREB, REVAK, TUGIAD, Union turque des dentistes, Associations turque des libraires, Association turque des ingénieurs de l'installation, Fondation turque des informaticiens, Fondation turque pour la liberté des enfants, Fondation des droits de l'homme de Turquie, Fondation de recherche économique et financière de Turquie, TURMOB, TUSES, TUSIBAK, Association Université Faculté.

• **REGAIN DE LA RÉPRESSION AU KURDISTAN : 15 NOUVELLES ARRESTATIONS DANS LES RANGS DU HADEP.**

Les autorités turques ont au cours des dernières semaines intensifié leurs efforts de démantèlement des organisations de la société civile kurde. Après la fermeture des sections de Diyarbakir et de Van de l'Association des droits de l'homme et des associations des étudiants de ces deux villes universitaires kurdes, le centre culturel Dicle pour les femmes de Diyarbakir, le centre culturel Meteris spécialisé dans des activités de théâtre et de musique ont été également fermés sur ordre du Superpréfet de la région. Enfin l'une des rares fondations indépendantes basées à Diyarbakir, la Fondation pour l'aide humanitaire et le développement, spécialisée dans la formation et l'aide aux populations déplacées, a été interdite par la justice turque au prétexte qu'elle " n'aurait pas assez de ressources pour réaliser tous les objectifs énumérés dans ses statuts ". Cette décision a été ratifiée avec une célérité exceptionnelle en 35 jours par la Cour de cassation. À ses dirigeants médusés, les juges ont dit qu'il n'y pouvait rien " car l'ordre vient de très haut, de l'état-major des armées qui ne veut pas d'organismes servant d'interlocuteurs aux visiteurs occidentaux ".

En fait, le régime turc qui estime avoir vaincu militairement la guérilla du PKK cherche par tous les moyens à éviter la politisation du problème kurde, et écrase tous ceux qui peuvent servir de porte-parole pacifiques et légitimes à la population kurde et à ses revendications culturelles.

La répression contre le HADEP s'inscrit dans cette stratégie d'ensemble d'étouffement et d'écrasement. Depuis avril 2000 plus

de 500 responsables et membres de ce parti ont été arrêtés sous des prétextes divers. Certains ont été relâchés, après avoir été avertis et menacés, d'autres comme les dirigeants des fédérations d'Agri et de Van de ce parti sont toujours derrière les barreaux.

Le 11 juillet, 15 nouvelles arrestations ont eu lieu à Diyarbakir pour " organisation de manifestation illégale ". Plus d'un millier de personnes étaient réunies le 10 juillet à Diyarbakir pour commémorer la mort de Vedat Aydin, responsable local du parti du peuple (HEP), enlevé et exécuté par un escadron de la mort de la police turque il y a neuf ans.

• **242 CASSETTES DE CHANSON INTERDITES POUR " DÉLIT DE KURDITÉ "**. Selon le quotidien turc *Milliyet* du 21 août, le superpréfet de la région sous état d'urgence (OHAL) a interdit 242 cassettes audio, majoritairement chantés en kurde ou encore par des Kurdes. Les autorités turques ont motivé leur décision par le fait que la Direction générale des droits d'auteur du ministère de la culture, avait annulé " le certificat de gestion de l'œuvre ".

Selon le journal, " le plus grand nombre de cassettes interdites en Turquie appartient à Sivan Perwer, qui vit aujourd'hui en Europe et qui chante principalement des chansons sur la nature et l'amour ". Ahmet Kaya, musicien kurde chantant en turc, voit également ses œuvres sous le coup de l'interdiction. Le plus étonnant est que des musiciens comme Emin Arbeni chantant de la pop music en kurde, se voient également interdits.

• **LE BUREAU DE L'ASSOCIATION TURQUE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME À**

### DIYARBAKIR N'A EU DROIT QU'À UNE DEMI-HEURE D'OUVERTURE.

L'Association turque des droits de l'homme (IHD) proteste contre la fermeture de ses bureaux à Diyarbakir. Nazmi Gür, le secrétaire général de l'IHD a déclaré que le bureau de l'Association a été fermé le 12 août pour une nouvelle période de trois mois en raison d'un "danger pour la sécurité publique... La fermeture est intervenue une demi-heure après que les représentants de l'IHD eurent repris leurs activités, suite à l'expiration d'une interdiction de trois mois imposée précédemment pour les mêmes raisons".

Les décisions prises par les autorités de l'état d'urgence, qui contrôlent la plus grande partie des régions kurdes, ne peuvent faire l'objet d'un recours en justice. "Nous demandons au gouvernement de lever cette interdiction, contraire au récent processus de démocratisation et (de respect) des droits de l'Homme qui doit nous permettre de rejoindre l'Union européenne" a souligné M. Gür.

L'IHD avait ouvert un bureau à Diyarbakir en 1987, trois ans après le début de la lutte armée du parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK). Malgré une existence très précaire, les responsables annoncent qu'il y a eu plus de 10 000 recours de citoyens victimes de la répression auprès de ce bureau. La Turquie a déclaré l'état d'urgence dans la plupart des provinces kurdes en 1987 et a adopté une loi spéciale conférant de larges pouvoirs aux autorités chargées d'appliquer l'état d'urgence, y compris le droit de fermer des associations.

### • BILAN DE L'ANNÉE 1999 POUR LES COURS DE SÛRETÉ DE L'ÉTAT : 64 % DES

### AFFAIRES NON ÉLUCIDÉES.

Selon la direction générale des casiers judiciaires et des statistiques du ministère turc de la Justice, 63,4 % des dossiers relevant de la compétence des huit cours de sûreté de l'Etat et 27 % des affaires des parquets des districts et des provinces sont restés "non élucidés" pour l'année 1999. Selon les données, ces dossiers se répartissent comme suit : Pour la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat (DGM) d'Adana : 27,3 % ; DGM d'Ankara : 41,4 % ; DGM de Diyarbakir (Kurdistan) : 82,2 % ; DGM d'Erzurum (Kurdistan) : 71,3 % ; DGM d'Istanbul : 0,8 % ; DGM d'Izmir : 11,8 % ; DGM de Malatya (Kurdistan) : 65,4 % ; et DGM de Van (Kurdistan) : 77,1 %.

En 1992, on avait enregistré 5 040 affaires non élucidées par les Cours de sûreté de l'Etat, 8 230 dossiers en 1993, 11 593 en 1994, 13 665 en 1995, 15 321 en 1996, 19 962 en 1997, 18 390 en 1998 et 18 639 en 1999. Quant aux autres parquets, 722 390 dossiers sont restés "non élucidés" en 1999. Avec 11 348, c'est à la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat de Diyarbakir où s'entassent le plus d'affaires "non élucidées", suivi de Van avec 3 327 dossiers, puis Erzurum avec 1 605 dossiers.

### • UN MEDECIN POUR 7 602 HABITANTS DANS LE KURDISTAN TURC.

Un rapport intitulé "La situation en Anatolie du Sud-est selon les indicateurs socio-économiques" réalisé par le député de Van Hüseyin Çelik, publié dans *Turkish Daily News* du 4 juillet, révèle que le système de santé dans la région kurde accuse un large retard sur le reste du pays.

Selon le document, le Sud-Est kurde se contente d'un médecin pour 7 602 habitants et l'Est un pour 5 309. La moyenne nationale est d'un médecin

pour 2 141, soit de trois à quatre fois supérieure à celle des provinces kurdes. Le rapport, basé sur les données de l'Institut des Statistiques de l'Etat (DIE), l'Organisation de l'Etat à la planification (DPT), la Banque mondiale et l'UNICEF, révèle que l'écart est encore plus important s'agissant des dentistes. Au Sud-Est, on compte 1 dentiste pour 21 504 habitants et à l'Est 1 pour 17 448, alors que la moyenne nationale est d'1 pour 5 453.

Le rapport indique également que la province kurde d'Erzurum se situe la première pour son important taux de mortalité infantile, suivi de Diyarbakir. La ville turque de Bursa avec un taux de 59,3 % est la première ville du pays pour le nombre d'enfants vaccinés. Ce taux descend à 23,5 % à Diyarbakir et à 18,6 % à Erzurum. Hüseyin Çelik souligne que la plupart des centres médicaux de la région kurde ne fonctionnent pas correctement et que pour la plupart ils n'ont même pas de médecins dans leurs services. Quant à Hakkari et à Sirnak, deux des plus importantes villes défavorisées, les hôpitaux publics n'y fonctionnent qu'avec des généralistes. La situation n'est guère plus rose pour ce qui est des hôpitaux de sécurité sociale (SSK). À l'hôpital SSK de Van, il n'y a que huit médecins alors que le nombre devrait être de 40.

### • VISITE DU CHEF D'ÉTAT-MAJOR FRANÇAIS EN TURQUIE.

Le chef d'état-major français de l'armée de terre, Yves Crène, s'est rendu du 8 au 11 juillet en Turquie, alors que la France, l'Allemagne, les Etats-Unis et l'Ukraine sont en concurrence pour la fourniture à l'armée turque d'un millier de chars pour un montant de 7,1 milliards de dollars. L'hebdomadaire allemand *Der Spiegel* estime que la France est favorite pour emporter ce contrat.

Par rapport à ses partenaires européens, la France fait beaucoup d'efforts diplomatiques pour ne pas indisposer Ankara. Rares sont les critiques officielles concernant les violations des droits de l'homme en Turquie. Le président Chirac en personne était intervenu pour que le Sénat français n'examine pas un projet de loi portant reconnaissance du génocide arménien adopté en première lecture par l'Assemblée nationale.

**• LU DANS LA PRESSE TURQUE : LE TRAITÉ DE LAUSANNE PRÉVOIT LA LIBRE EXPRESSION DE L'IDENTITÉ KURDE.** Voici de larges extraits de l'article de Sükrü Elekdag, ancien ambassadeur turc à Washington, paru le 31 juillet dans le quotidien turc *Milliyet*, consacré aux obligations turques découlant du traité de Lausanne, signé en 1923, qui fonde la légitimité de la Turquie en droit international :

*" Je l'avais déjà écrit une fois dans mes colonnes, sous le titre de " Brisons les tabous " (Milliyet 10-09-1999) : Selon le traité de Lausanne, tout citoyen turc est libre d'utiliser la langue qu'il souhaite, par exemple le kurde, dans le cadre des émissions de radio ou de télévision ou bien pour des publications écrites. C'était la première fois que cette disposition du traité de Lausanne avait été portée à l'attention du public. Et pourtant, nos médias n'y ont pas donné beaucoup d'échos à l'époque. Cela étant, lors de la visite à Ankara, de Gunther Verheugen, commissaire européen chargé de l'élargissement, la question des publications et des émissions en kurde a été à l'ordre du jour l'année d'après. Et la situation a soudainement changé. De nombreux journalistes ont soutenu*

*que nos citoyens de langue kurde pouvaient bénéficier de ces droits et ont cité des dispositions du traité de Lausanne.*

*Cependant, certains de nos amis académiciens, nous ont prévenu que notre " interprétation " du traité était erronée. De plus, il nous a été signalé que tel était le point de vue officiel. C'est pourquoi nous considérons qu'il serait intéressant de soulever à nouveau le sujet.*

*Les paragraphes 4 et 5 de l'article 39 du traité de Lausanne disposent : " Aucune restriction ne devrait être imposée dans la libre utilisation par un national turc de la langue de son choix dans les rapports privés, dans le commerce, la religion, dans la presse, ou dans les publications de quelque sorte que ce soit ou encore dans les réunions publiques.*

*Bien que l'Etat dispose d'une langue officielle, des facilités adéquates devraient être mises à la disposition des nationaux turcs parlant une langue autre que le turc pour l'utilisation orale de leur langue devant les tribunaux ".*

*Comme on peut le voir, le paragraphe 4 est clair et sans équivoque, ne nécessitant aucune interprétation. Il est vrai qu'il n'y avait aucune référence dans le paragraphe aux média radiophoniques et télévisuels, puisque à l'époque la radio était limitée et la télévision inexistante. Cela étant, le paragraphe devrait être interprété selon notre époque. Ainsi, cela veut dire que tout national turc est libre d'émettre à la radio ou à la télévision dans la langue qu'il souhaite.*

*Penchons-nous à présent sur les justifications de nos amis académiciens :*

*Comme nous le savons, la section III du traité de Lausanne, sous le titre de " Protection des minorités ", n'accorde le statut de minorité qu'aux citoyens non musulmans. En d'autres termes, la " norme religieuse " (Musulman / non-Musulman) est pris comme le fondement du concept de minorité, et non la race ou bien la langue.*

*Dans la section III, les articles 38-44 comprennent des dispositions relatives à la " protection des minorités ". Et c'est l'article 39, paragraphe 4, qui procure " à tout national turc " certains droits, comme cela est cité ci-dessus.*

*Nos amis académiciens mettent l'accent sur ce point et soutiennent que le fait de placer cette disposition, aménagée pour garantir certains droits aux citoyens turcs, dans cette section du traité, crée un conflit du point de vue des mécaniques générales du traité de Lausanne. Ils soutiennent également que comme le traité ne reconnaît que les non-musulmans comme des minorités, on ne pourrait aboutir à la conclusion que certains droits (la liberté d'émission et de publication dans la langue parlée) sont accordés à certains groupes qui ne jouissent pas du statut de minorité.*

*Nous insistons sur le fait que ce point de vue n'a aucun fondement, en fait la règle générale de l'interprétation des traités est que " le traité doit être interprété en bonne foi conformément au sens ordinaire des termes du traité dans leur contexte et à la lumière de son objet et de son but " (La Convention de Vienne sur les traités, article 31)*

*Partant de ce principe, lorsqu'on donne leur sens ordinaire aux termes de l'article 39, paragraphe 4, le sens des dispositions demeure*

pleinement clair et, par conséquent, ces termes n'ont nul besoin de plus d'interprétation. En fait, les procès-verbaux du traité de Lausanne corroborent ce point de vue.

La question des minorités a été vivement débattue au cours des négociations de Lausanne. En prenant en considération l'article 5 du Pacte national d'Ankara, qui promet que les droits accordés aux minorités par des traités européens devront être donnés mot à mot aux minorités en Turquie, les Alliés ont longuement essayé d'obtenir de la délégation turque la reconnaissance des minorités sur la base de la race et de la langue...

En fait, il a été décidé au cours de la Première Commission en présence d'Ismet İnönü que les minorités en Turquie devraient avoir les garanties comparables à celles existant dans les traités européens (Première Commission, N° de minute : 14, le 31 décembre 1922)

Cette décision a été inversée lors de la Sous-commission des Minorités où Dr. Rıza Nur représentait la Turquie. Notre représentant a refusé jusqu'au bout le principe de protection des minorités fondé sur la race ou la langue...

Comme on le verra, le traité de

Lausanne n'a pas conduit au séparatisme en ne garantissant pas aux Kurdes le statut de minorité. Tout au contraire, il leur a accordé, sur le fondement d'une loi et des droits individuels, le droit d'utiliser leur propre langue dans les publications et des émissions de radio et de télévision, et, dans ce contexte, d'adopter leur propre identité.

Je pense que cela sera énormément bénéfique si M. Mesut Yılmaz et M. İsmail Cem expliquaient les considérations ci-dessus au peuple turc. "

# INTERNATIONAL PEN Writers in Prison Committee

## HALF-YEARLY CASELIST to 30 June 2000

### TURKEY

*Killed (In 1998 – body discovered 2000)*

**Konca KURIS (f):** pro-Islamist feminist writer. Kidnapped in Mersin on 16 July 1998 by Hezbollah militants. Kuris had been the focus of criticism within fundamentalist Muslim circles for her reformist views. Her body was found in February 2000 in mass grave on Hezbollah premises in Konya. Evidence suggests that she was subjected to severe torture before being killed around two weeks after her abduction. Around 33 other bodies have been found in similar sites around Turkey. Turkish authorities have launched an investigation and arrested hundreds of alleged suspects.

*Killed: investigation ongoing*

**Suleyman YETER:** Died in custody, reportedly as a result of torture on the night of 6/7 March 1999. He and four other colleagues were arrested on 5 March 1999. They were taken from the offices of the newspaper

they worked for – *Dayanisma [Solidarity]*– and placed in neighbouring cells at the Anti-Terror Branch of Istanbul Police Station. The next day, Yeter relayed from his cell that he had been stripped and beaten, sprayed with cold water and forced to lie on ice. That night other detainees heard the cries of some one under torture; on the following morning the Fatih State Prosecutor reported that Yeter had died in custody. Lawyers were allowed to inspect his body on March 8 and saw marks on his body that they believed had been caused by torture. Yeter was among 15 detainees whose claim that they had been tortured in detention on a previous occasion – in early 1997 – was being officially investigated, after a State Security Court Forensic Institute issued a report confirming their story. Yeter had faced several previous detentions and threats as a result of this investigation. His wife reported that on the occasion of his last detention, police said, “This time you are released alive, but the next time you will not manage to survive.” On March 24 1999, the Istanbul Bar Association expressed concern that Yeter’s death was in direct retaliation for his attempt to bring to justice those who had tortured him in 1997. The Human Rights Association reported that the autopsy revealed that he died of suffocation after suffering intense pressure and damage to the neck area. The investigation continues.

*Killed: Case Concluded*

**Metin GÖKTEPE:** age 27. Journalist for leftist newspaper ‘Evrensel’ [Universal]. Detained in Istanbul on 8 January 1996 when he was covering the funeral of two political prisoners who were beaten to death in custody. Medical reports confirm Göktepe was himself beaten to death. Fifteen police officers were suspended from police duty around 25 January 1996 after an investigation by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. Around 8 February 1996 it was agreed to launch a trial against fourteen of the officers who had been dismissed. Eleven police officers were eventually indicted of which five were on 19 March 1998 found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to seven and a half years in prison each; the other six were acquitted. This verdict was then overturned by the Supreme Court which ruled that the trial had been flawed. A retrial took place Afyon Heavy Penal Court, consisting of several hearings. In May 1999 six of the police officers accused were found guilty of “involuntary homicide” (manslaughter). Five were sentenced to seven-and-a-half years in prison (Murat Polat, Suayip Mutluer, Saffet Hizarci, Fedai Korkmaz and Metin Kusat) and one, Seydi Battal Kose, who was the senior officer on whose orders the beating took place, received 7 years in prison. With remission and pre-trial detention the time actually served will be around 18 months. An appeal hearing took place on 25 November 1999 at which the Security Chief Seydi Battal Kose said that high-rank administrators of the Istanbul Security Directorate had put him forward as a defendant “in order to save themselves”. In September 1999, the State Council had ordered the Ministry of the Interior to pay

Goktepe’s mother the sum of 500 millions Turkish pounds (about US \$1,200) compensation for her son’s death. On 20 January 2000 the 7 1/2 year sentences against the five police officers was upheld. However, on 21 April 2000, officer Kose’s sentence was reduced on appeal to one year and eight months.

*Main cases*

#### \*Akin BIRDAL:

**Profession:** former President of the Turkish Human Rights Association and writer. **Start of detention:** 3 June 1999. Released on medical grounds September 1999. Re-imprisoned 28 March 2000. **Sentence:** one year. **Expires:** December 2000. **Details of trial and charges:** Sentenced under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code for “inciting racial hatred”. The charges are linked to a speech he made in 1996 in which he called for “peace and understanding” on the Kurdish issue. **Health:** Birdal was the victim of an assassination attempt in May 1998, while on trial. His health is extremely fragile, leading to the decision to release him on medical grounds three months into his sentence in September 1999. However, in March 2000, his health was deemed to be sufficiently recovered to enable him to be returned to jail. **Professional details:** In June 1999, Birdal was forced to resign from his post as President of the THRA, a legal requirement linked to his conviction. He was also forced to withdraw his membership of the organisation. During the first stage of his imprisonment, Birdal has written short stories and an account of his imprisonment, as yet unpublished. He is also the author of a number of publications on human rights issues. **Place of detention:** Ankara Prison. **Other:** On 23 June 2000, the Supreme Court upheld sentences ranging from 10 months to 18 years against 9 persons said to have been involved in the assassination attempt against Birdal, acquitting two others.

#### Esber YAGMURDERELI

**D.o.b:** c. 1945 **Profession:** Playwright and lawyer **Date of Arrest:** 1 June 1998 **Sentence:** 22 years and six months (remainder of a life sentence, calculated at 36 years, 14 of which served from 1978 to 1991. One month of which served before execution of the sentence suspended on 9 November 1997 until 8 November 1998. Suspension rescinded on 18 January 1998 and he was ordered to return to prison. Lived in hiding before being re-arrested and returned to jail on 1 June 1998. **Sentence expires:** 5 November 2020 (may have to serve an additional 10 months to September 2021) **Details of trial:** Sentenced to 10 months in prison on 26 June 1997 for a speech he made at an IHD human rights meeting in Istanbul on 8 September 1991. In his speech, Yagmurdereli talked about Kurdish prisoners and oppression and the Kurdish struggle for democracy and freedom. He was charged under the ‘Anti-Terror Law’ with ‘disseminating separatist propaganda’. Sentences quashed in early 1995, but appeal court overturned this decision and ratified the original sentence in mid-May 1995. An appeal against this decision was overruled on 25 August 1997, and again by the Supreme Court on 16 September 1997. As the new “offence” broke the conditions of his release from a previous term of political imprisonment, he will have to also serve the remaining sentence as well. He was imprisoned on 20 October 1997 but three weeks later, on 9 November, he was temporarily released on “health grounds” for a year, to return on 8 November 1998. On 18 January 1998, the Chief Prosecutor announced that Yagmurdereli’s medical reports had been reviewed and he was no longer considered to be in poor health. His immediate return to prison was ordered. Yagmurdereli lived in hiding until his return to prison on 1 June. **Previous political imprisonment:** Yagmurdereli was imprisoned from March 1978 to August 1991 on a life sentence. **Professional details:** Practised as a lawyer in the 1970s in Samsun when he became known for his defence of political prisoners. Editor of a number of political and cultural magazines. Wrote short stories and a play about censorship in Turkey. **Place of detention:** Çankiri Prison, near Ankara **Other details:** Has been blind since the age of ten. In November 1997, minor heart ailment and bronchitis diagnosed. In October 1999, his family and friends reported that he suffered from hypertension. **Honorary member of:** Swedish, Slovak, Norwegian, Czech, San Miguel, German, Scottish and Canadian PEN Centres.

*Investigation cases*

\***Kazim ASLAN:** journalist for *Özür Bakis* in Izmir. Arrested 3 May 2000 and remanded in custody by Malatya State Security Court. Believed to be charged with “disseminating an illegal organisation’s propaganda”.

\***Leyla ARÇIL (f):** journalist for *Vatan*. Reported on 8 February 2000 to be detained as of December 1999 in Antakya. Said to have been moved from her wing on 7 February following her statement that she had been forced to serve as an agent within prison. She also claimed torture as a means to get her to testify against friends.

**Medeni AYHAN:** Sentenced to 2 years in prison and a fine of TL 500,000,000 by the State Security Court NO. 2 in Ankara for “propaganda of separatism” in an article appearing the review *Ozgur Bilim*

[Free Science], of which he is chief editor. He was convicted under Article 8.1 of the anti-terrorism law. After the sentence's confirmation by the Court of Cassation, he was sent to Ankara prison on the 10 March 1999.

**Mehmet Ali ASLAN and Emin Yıldız:** staffers with Izmir office of Ozgur Halk (Free People) detained on 3 August 1999 in Incirliova, Aydin and remanded in custody on 7 August on the charge of "membership of an illegal organisation". Unclear if still detained.

\***Lütfiye AYGÜN, Ibrahim BOZÇELİK, Sevilay CALISKAN, Halil ÇELİK, Volga CIVAK, Sevket DALBOY, Derya DUMAN, Özgül EMRE, Selma KUBAT, Özlem KÜTÜK, Nazmi SAZ and "SULTAN":** all said to be reporters (although some may be non-reporting staff) for *Yasadigimiz Vatan* (Our Motherland). Arrested during a police raid on their Istanbul office on 9 March 2000.

\***Dr Fikret BASKAYA:** writer. Sentenced to one year in prison on 13 June 2000 by the Istanbul State Security Court in June 2000 for an article published in *Özgür Bakis* on 1 June 1999. Charged under Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law. Not clear if detained.

**Mesut BOZKURT:** Journalist for *Atilim* [Élan]. Arrested 19 June 1995 under Article 168 (2) of the Penal Code. Sentenced on 17 October 1996 to 12 years 6 months. Accused of membership of an illegal organisation. Only evidence said to be possession of copies of the journal, although said not to be illegal.

**Metin BULUT:** Adana Representative of the Kurdish journal *Azadiya Welat* [Freedom of the Homeland] detained along with Fasih AKYOL and Nihat AKKUYU (their role is unclear) in Adana on 17 October 1999. They were interrogated for three days and then remanded in Iskenderun on 22 October 1999. Unclear what charges are being pressed against them. Bulut was also briefly detained in July 1999.

\***Yasar CAMYAR:** editor-in-chief of *Alinterimiz*. Arrested in Ismir on 6 March 2000 on accusation of "aiding Turkish Revolutionary Communists Union".

\***Cihan ÇAPAN, Haydar ERGÜL:** editor-in-chief of *Özgür Bakis* and writer respectively. On trial in April 2000 on charges of "aiding and abetting the PKK" by publishing an article on 8 November 1999, author Haydar Ergül. Charged under Article 169 of the Penal Code.

**Arzu DEMİR (f):** One of five journalists detained in Istanbul following the closing session of the OSCE summit meeting in November 1999. The others were released, but Demir was reported still to be detained. She is a reporter with the daily *Ozgur Bakis* [Free Outlook]. Apparently the journalists were pressurised to sign a statement that they had distributed leaflets without permission, but they refused to do so.

**Faruk DEMIREL:** editor-in-chief of the local daily *Sandikli Postasi* [Sandikli Post] which is published in Sandikli District of Afyon. He was remanded on 11 July 1999 with his friend on the accusations of

"insulting the prosecutor" after they had a dispute with the Public Prosecutor.

**Erdal DOĞAN:** Journalist for *Alinteri* [Toil]. Arrested 10 July 1995 under Article 168 (2) of the Penal Code. Sentenced on 23 January 1996 to 12 years 6 months. Accused of membership of an illegal organisation, the Revolutionary Communists Union of Turkey, for which *Alinteri* is seen as a mouthpiece. Was last heard of in Bursa Prison, but no updates on current situation.

**Yılmaz EKSI:** owner of *Devrimci Emek*. Reportedly arrested on 6 December 1999. Details unclear. Said to have suffered a brain haemorrhage during a previous spell in detention.

\***Ihsan ELAÇIK:** journalist reportedly sentenced to a year in prison on 27 January 2000. Said to have been convicted under Article 312/2 of the Turkish Penal Code in connection with speeches made at a meeting in Kayseri on 13 June 1998. Not known if detained.

\***Ekrem ERDEM:** reporter for *Alinterimiz*. Arrested while protesting conditions in Istanbul on 23 April 2000.

\***Mustafa GÖÇMEN, Servet ÖZDEMİR:** reporters for Antep Office of the journal *Alinterimiz* [Our Toil]. Both arrested on 28 April 2000. No details. Özdemir had previously been detained in November 1999 for a brief period.

\***Ibrahim GÜMÜS:** editor-in-chief of *Kizil Bayrak*. Reported arrested at his Istanbul offices 3 February 2000. Not clear if still detained.

\***Manolya GÜLTEKİN, Ayça TASKAYA, Seval UZUN, Sakine YALÇIN:** journalists for *Alinterimiz* and *Özgür Barikat*. All arrested in Istanbul on 7 April 2000. Gültekin was subsequently freed, only to be re-arrested following a protest at prison conditions in Istanbul on 23 April 2000.

**Serpil GÜNES (f):** former editor of *Alinteri*, now defunct. Imprisoned 9 September 1996. Convicted under Article 7 of the Anti-Terror Law with "propagandising on behalf of an outlawed organisation" and Article 312 of the Penal Code of "inciting racial hatred" for articles published in his paper. Is also charged under Article 168 of the Penal Code for "membership of an outlawed organisation", she was not subject to the amnesty for editors of 15 August 1997 and remained in Usak Prison. The WiPC is seeking an update to her situation.

**Mehmet GÜVEL:** journalist for *İşçi Hareketi* [Workers' Movement]. Arrested 1 August 1995 under Article 168 (2) of the Penal Code. Sentenced on 17 December 1996 to 18 years and 9 months. Accused of membership of an illegal organisation, the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front. The court admitted that the charges were based solely on material seized. Güvel additionally sentenced for being a leading member of the Front with "special administrative duty to the organisation". Claims to have been tortured while in detention. In Bayrampasa Prison as of March 1998. The WiPC seeking clarification of his situation.

**Ali Rıza HALIS:** Director of the now defunct daily *Ozgur Gundem*. Detained on 9 September 1999 and formally imprisoned on 10 September when his 3 year 9 months' imprisonment given him by the Istanbul SSC was upheld by the Supreme Court. He had previously been detained for about 6 months in connection with this trial and is accused of aiding the PKK.

\***Senel İLHAN:** owner of the pro-Islamic *Feyz*. Detained in Tokat on 10 February 2000. Not clear if still detained. He and 15 other of his staff were previously briefly detained on 6 February.

**Kamber İNAN:** Journalist for *Kurtulus*. Arrested 21 July 1995 under Article 168 (2) of the Penal Code. Sentenced on 17 December 1996 to 12 years 6 months. Accused of membership of an illegal organisation, the

Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front. Case currently under appeal to the Supreme Court. Evidence against him said to be based on statements made under alleged torture, and his work for his newspaper. Believed held in Afyon Prison.

**Gulistan KADER:** owner of *Mücadele Birliği* (Union for Struggle) arrested in front of Ümraniye Prison on 23 December 1999. No other details.

\***Cengiz KAPMAZ:** journalist for *Özgür Bakis*. Arrested c. 16 February 2000 while reporting on demonstrations in Istanbul marking the 1<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the arrest of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan.

**Nabi KİMRAN:** reporter for *Atilim*. Imprisoned in August 1997 on charges under Articles 7 and 8 of the Anti-Terror Law and Article 312 of the Penal Code for news articles published while editor of the paper. The charges suspended under the August 1997 decision not to penalise editors of articles. However also charged with "membership of an outlawed organisation" under Article 168 of the Penal Code, he was not freed with others under the August 1997 amnesty and remains detained in Sakarya Prison. Specifically accused of membership of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party and possessing a fake identity card.

**Yalçın KÜÇÜK:** writer and researcher. Journalist for left-wing weekly *Hepileri* [Always Forward]. Arrested on 29 October 1998 as he returned to Turkey after living for some years in France. Serving several sentences, not all of which are clear to the WiPC. Said to be outspoken in his support for the PKK. i) Sentenced to 3 years and 9 months for a speech he delivered on 25 September 1993 during Ankara Kecioren People's Culture Festival. In September 1999 it was reported that this sentence was reviewed by the Supreme Court and upheld. ii) Charged with "disseminating separatist propaganda" on 30 November 1998 at the Ankara State Security Court No. 2. for two speeches he made, one on Med TV. On 22 March 1999, he was sentenced to 4 years and 6 months in jail under article 169 for "easing the activities of the PKK by naming its acts as a sacred struggle and thus making propaganda for the organisation." Küçük told the court that he had not received an indictment and was unaware that charges were pending against him on his return to Turkey. In May 2000 the sentence was upheld by the Supreme Court. iii) Convicted on 5 February 1999 for insulting Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic in an article published in the April-May 1994 issue of the journal *Marxist Damar* [Marxist Vein]. The trial was held at Ankara Penal Court of First Instance No. 2. iv) Convicted on 14 May 1999 in connection with a speech broadcast on MED TV on 19 November 1995 and sentenced to 1 year and 4 months in prison and fine of TL 137,000,000 under the Anti-Terror Law for "disseminating separatist propaganda". v) Sentenced to 1 year and 6 months' imprisonment in a trial at Malatya SSC that ended on 2 September 1999 for a speech he delivered in Iskenderun in 1993. vi) In July 1999 a trial launched against Küçük under article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code on the claims of "insulting the army" in an interview with writer Sofia Yordanida in Greece in 1998. The indictment seeks an imprisonment term from 1 to 6 years. The trial shall be heard by Ankara Heavy Penal Court. One or more of these charges are thought to have been suspended in line with the 1999 September press crimes amnesty, but he remains detained in Gebze Prison.

**Hasan KUCUKOBA:** editor of the newspaper *Ozgur Ulke* [Free Country], arrested on 14 January 1999, sentenced to 13 months in prison under article 8 of the anti-terrorist law and 20 months under article 159 of the penal code following two trials. He has also been ordered to pay 60 billion Turkish pounds in fines before September for 300 press offences. If he cannot pay, he faces another three years in jail.



\***Kemal ONAR**: reporter for *Özgür Halk*. Arrested on 7 April 2000 in Batman on accusation of being a member of the PKK.  
**Bülent ÖNER**, **Fatma HARMAN**(f) and **Mesut BOZKURT**: Journalists for *Atilim* in Mersin. Each sentenced to 12 years and six months in prison on 17 October 1996 under article 168 of the Penal Code. Accused of being members of an illegal organisation, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. Were originally detained on 15 June 1995. Indictment against them included posting placards protesting the kidnap and killing, allegedly by police, of a leading member of the MLKP, distributing leaflets and documents seized from the *Atilim* offices. Öner is in Kırkköler Prison, Adana. Bozkurt and Harman are in Sakarya prison.

#### **Hasan ÖZGÜN**

**Profession**: Reporter for *Özgür Gündem* in Diyarbakir. **Date of Arrest**: 9 December 1993 **Sentence**: 12 1/2 years. **Details of trial**: Reported to have been formally charged at Diyarbakir State Security Court with 'membership of an armed group'. Reportedly sentenced on 16 January 1996 to 12 and a half years in prison for membership of the PKK under Art. 168/2 of the Penal Code. Defence alleged little firm evidence was produced at trial regarding allegations that Ozgun had arranged medical treatment for PKK guerrillas or had communicated with PKK prisoners in detention. Part of the evidence said to relate to interview with PKK leader published in 'Özgür Gündem'. Defence says the interview was run in other Turkish newspapers without charges being brought. Sentence of 12 and a half years was upheld on appeal around 23 October 1996. **Health**: In November 1997 there were reports that Ozgun was having health problems including a stomach ulcer and possible TB. **Place of detention**: Aydin E Type prison. **Other Information**: On 10 February 1998, representatives of the German organisation Assistance for Journalists, had their request to meet Özgün in prison rejected. With remission, he could have been released, taking into account his pre-trial detention, but the WiPC has received no confirmation.

**Yazgül Güder ÖZTÜRK** (f): Reporter for *Kurtulus*. Arrested 21 July 1995 under Article 168 (2) of the Penal Code. Sentenced to 12 years 6 months. Accused of membership of an illegal organisation. Conviction said to be based solely on statements she made allegedly under torture, and her work for her newspaper. In Bayrampasa Prison as of December 1999.

**Ramazan PEKÖZ**, **Faysal SARIYILDIZ**: journalists for *Özgür Bakis*. Arrested at their office in Urfa on 7 March 2000 with several other staffers.

**Nureddin SIRIN**: journalist for the Islamic weekly *Selam* [Greeting]. Arrested on 6 February 1997. Sentenced 18 December 1998 by the Istanbul State Security Court No 1 to 20 months in prison under Article 312 of the Penal Code. Accused of "inciting hatred and racial discrimination" for an article published July 1997 which allegedly called for Islamists to support Kurds even if they are not Muslim. The article was entitled, "We have to be with the Oppressed, even if they are Atheists." He is reported to be in Bandirma Prison.

\***Ahmet TASGETİREN**: journalist for *Yeni Safak*. Sentenced to one year in prison on 19 January 2000 for his role in a conference in Malatya in 1998. (See Abdurrahman Dilipak below). Believed not to be detained.

**Özgür TÜZÜN**: journalist for *Özgür Halk* had his 4-year and 6 month sentence on charges of insulting Atatürk upheld by the appeal court. Linked to an article entitled "The Republic crumbling in its 73rd Year" published in June 1996. Tüzün is detained in Bartın prison on other charges.

**Cemal YASAR**: Owner of the newspaper *Özgür Karadeniz* [*Free Black Sea*]. Imprisoned at Erzurum Special Type Prison. Reportedly started a hunger strike with two fellow prisoners on 19 May 1999 on the demand of transfer to another prison.

**Nuray YAZAR** (f): Editor in chief of fortnightly *Proleter Halkın Birliği* [Proletarian People's Union]. Arrested by police on 24 June 1999 on orders of the prosecutor of the state security court who confirmed a sentence she had been given in absentia to one year, three months and ten days imprisonment under articles 7 and 8 of the anti-terror law. Presently in Bakirkoy jail for women and children.

\***Muharrem YIGİTŞOY**: Maltaya representative of *Özgür Gelecek* arrested on 12 January 2000. No further details.

**Nazan YILMAZ** (f), **Sadık ÇELİK**: Journalists for *Kurtulus*, Zonguldak. Arrested 29 December 1995 under Article 168 (2) of the Penal Code. Sentenced on 17 October 1996 to 12 years 6 months. Accused of membership of an illegal organisation. Supporters claim there is no evidence to back this charge. Charges against Çelik based on his own confession with no other supporting evidence. Yılmaz was last heard of in Sakarya Prison, Çelik in Bursa Prison.

\***Solmaz YILMAZ**: reporter for *Devrimci Demokrat*. Arrested in Ankara around 8 June 2000 following raids on the newspaper. Not clear if still detained or reason for arrest.

\***Isik YURTCU**: editor-in-chief of the now banned *Özgür Gündem*. Detained in Istanbul on 5 April 2000. Said to be connected to long-standing arrest warrants issued in absentia and not deleted from police records.

**Asiye Güzel ZEYBEK** (f), **Sultan SEÇİK** (f), **Ferhat AKÇAY**, **Mukkaddes ÇELİK** (f), **Zabit İLTEMUR**, **Cuma MERAL**.; journalists and writers arrested 21 or 22 February 1997 during a demonstration protesting alleged links between Mafia and government. Secik is also Executive Board member of the Istanbul Branch of the Progressive Journalists' Association. Formally charged on 7 March 1997. Zeybek, editor-in-chief of *Atilim*, is specifically accused under Article 168 of the Penal Code with connections with the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. The indictment dated from 21 June 1994 accused her of running and distributing the MLCP journal *İşçinin Yolu* [Worker's Path]. During a trial hearing on 8 October 1997, Zeybek claimed to have been raped while under interrogation at the Istanbul Security Directorate Political Department. On 24 October 1997, 8 policemen were brought to trial on charges of raping Zeybek. Zeybek is held in Gebze Prison. In a hearing of the case on 1 December 1999, all those charged were reported to be remanded in custody. **Zeybek is an Honorary Member of: Swedish PEN**

*Free, but either sentenced and awaiting imprisonment, or sentenced pending appeal, or free but facing charges:*

**Fatih ALTAYLI** and **Dogan SATMIS**: A columnist and the chief editor respectively of the daily *Hürriyet* [Liberty]. A trial was launched against them by the Ankara Public Prosecution office, demanding prison terms between 6 months and 3 years on accusations that Altayli had insulted the members of the Supreme Election Board in one of his articles. Fatih Altayli faces fresh charges for "insulting the state minister A. Sami Türk" in his column in December 1999.

\***Özden ARIKAN**: translator. On trial in January 2000 for his translation of Philip Roth's *Portmoy's Complaint*. Details of the accusation not available to PEN. Arikan is quoted as telling the Istanbul Penal Court that it was a mistake to ban this novel which was "among the best novels of the century". The co-ordinator of the Ayrinti Publishing house, Ömer Faruk Farsakoglu, is also standing trial for the publication. At a trial hearing in May 2000, Arikan's defence lawyer referred to the fact that the book has already been translated into 21 languages. The case continues.

**Diran BAKAR** and **Yetvart ÖZUZUN**: Chief editor and columnist respectively of the weekly *Agos*, a journal published in Armenian in Istanbul. Trial opened on 26 February 1999 in Istanbul State Security Court for "disseminating separatist propaganda" in the November 13 issue, where Özuzun criticised the Law on Property Tax. Indictment demands 1 to 3 years in jail.

**Vedat BAKIR**: Sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment and this sentence was upheld by the Supreme Court on 3 June 1999. He is expected to go to jail on 7 July 1999 to serve his sentence. Bakir is the News Director of Radyo Karacadag which broadcasts in Urfa. He was sentenced by Diyarbakir SSC under Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law in connection with a speech he delivered on MED TV.

\***Cengiz BEKTAS**, **Siyami ERDEM**, **Atilla MARAS**, **Erdal ÖZ**: among 16 writers, artists and intellectuals on trial for the publication of the book *Freedom to Thought 2000*. On trial in May 2000, though not detained. Bektas and Maras are chairpersons of the Turkish Writers' Union and Writers' Association respectively. The booklet, published in April 2000, includes excerpts from a banned book and 60 articles. Trial proceedings were launched in mid-May 2000 on charges of "publishing banned articles, "inciting people to hatred and enmity", "aiding the PKK", "disseminating separatist propaganda" and "violating the Press Law". Terms of between 7 and 15 years are being asked by the prosecution. *See also Sanar Yurdatapan below.*

**Özgür CEBE**: journalist for *Emek* [Labour]. Standing trial for an article published on 23 March 1998. On 10 September 1998, the Diyarbakir State Security Court held a hearing of the charges against him under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code for "inciting people to enmity". On 3 December the court hearings were postponed until 30 December in order to ascertain whether Cebe was indeed the author of the article which led to the charges. Also, as the Diyarbakir representative of *Evrinsel* daily, was detained for some hours on 24 January 1999 on the grounds that he "insulted and made unfounded accusations" against the Diyarbakir Governor. Once released, Cebe stated that he had been threatened while in detention.

**Gulsum CENGİZ** (f): Poet and writer, sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment by Istanbul SSC on 21 May 1999 for having incited the people to "hatred and enmity" in an article she wrote which was published in the now defunct paper *Emek* on 21 March 1998. The editor and owner of *Emek* were also fined (see under Ahmet Ergin below).

**Vedat CETİN**: Sentenced to 1 year and 8 months in prison and a fine of 2,500,000 in a trial that ended 15 May 1999. He was charged in connection with his article "Women Should be Free" in the (now closed down) daily *Gündem* on 10 March 1998. Not detained as of June 2000.

**Murat DEGER**: Journalist; Batman representative of the newspaper *Azadiya Welat*. He was detained in Batman on 27 June 1999, remanded in custody, and then released in a hearing held at Diyarbakir SSC on 15 September 1999. His is still on trial accused of "membership of an

illegal organisation".

**Abdurrahman DİLİPAK:** Islamist writer and journalist facing many charges. i) He is being tried along with two lawyers in Malatya under Article 159 of the TPC for "insulting the court" during a meeting. ii) He is also charged with "inciting the people to enmity" in an interview published in *Le Figaro*. The Istanbul SSC had acquitted him but the Supreme Court overturned this decision. iii) On 7 October 1999, the Malatya State security court ordered his arrest after he failed to appeal in court to face charges for a speech he made in October 1998 urging people to join protests against the banning of headscarves from female students at universities. He was accused of violating article 312 of the penal code

by propagating "separatist propaganda on religious grounds" and faces between one to three years' imprisonment term on this charge. On 19 January 2000 he was sentenced to one year in prison on this charge. Believed to remain free. Currently a columnist for Islamic daily *Akit*.

**Koray Düzgören:** Journalist, sentenced along with Nilufer Akbal, a singer, to 2 months in prison and a fine of TL 1,520,000 for his connection with the ninth booklet of the "Freedom to Thought" campaign. In the booklet, Düzgören had expressed support for a conscientious objector, in prison for refusing to do military service. Düzgören's trial ended on 9 March 1999 at the Military Court of General Staff Office. The sentence was confirmed on 25 May and on 21 July 1999 he was ordered to go to prison. However, the prison term was reprieved for 3 years in the September 1999 press crimes amnesty. He is also facing charges under Article 159 of the TPC for a statement he made at a meeting in Sanliurfa on 20 December 1998 to the effect that torture methods inherited from the Ottoman empire are systematic in Turkey. The first hearing of this trial took place in February 1999. He is also a founding member of the Foundation for the Research of Social Problems (TOSAV). Currently in Britain.

**Zeynel ENGİN:** Editor-in-Chief and owner of the journal *Halkın Günlüğü* [People's Diary], sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment and fined 2,300,000 for "disseminating separatist propaganda and praising illegal organisations". Four articles published in his paper were cited as evidence. The trial ended at Istanbul SSC on 16 June 1999 and the journal was ordered closed for one month. He was also sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment by the state security court no. 3 for publication of an article in 16 August 1998 edition of the paper. In July 1999 Ergin was sentenced to 6 months in prison and fined TL 456,690,000 by Istanbul SSC.

**Muzaffer İlhan ERDOST:**

**D.o.b:** 1932 **Profession:** Writer and publisher. Author of *Uc Sivas (Three Sivas)* and about 19 other titles, including poems and non-fiction. **Date of Arrest:** Not yet arrested. His sentence was ratified in March 1999. The Chief Prosecutor of the Supreme Court appealed against the sentence, but the General Penal Board of the Supreme Court again upheld the sentence on 20 April 1999. **Sentence:** 12 months in prison and a fine of 100 million Turkish lira. **Details of trial:** He was convicted of "spreading propaganda which questions the indivisible integrity of the Turkish State" under the Anti-Terror Law. His sentence was ratified by the Supreme Court of Appeal despite reservations expressed by the Attorney General's office on his case. The charges were based on his book *Three Sivas*, which examined three occasions in recent history when there were killings of civilians in the town of Sivas. His sentence was confirmed by the Supreme Court in late 1999 but as yet he has not been required to enter prison. **Professional details:** Erdost is one of Turkey's most prominent opposition activists in the literary arena. Many of his books question the Turkish authorities' human rights record. He has written columns in many newspapers. **Previous political imprisonment/problems:** Erdost was imprisoned for three years during the 1970s for his publishing activities with Sol Publishing House. In 1980, he was re-imprisoned with his brother, the director of Onur Publishing House and witnessed his brother being beaten to death (see extract in the PEN anthology *This Prison Where I Live*).

**Bilgesu ERENUS (f):** A trial was launched against Bilgesu Erenus, a writer, along with her publisher, Hüseyin Çevirgen, on the charge that "people were incited to hatred and enmity" in Erenus's book *A scenario: Dersim 38*. A hearing was held on April 7 1999 at the Istanbul State Security Court, and the prosecutor called for a sentence for them of between 2 and 6 years' imprisonment under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code.

**Ahmet ERGİN:** Editor-in-chief of the daily *Emek*. 1.) Sentenced to 20 months in prison and fined TL 2,000,000 under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code for "inciting people to enmity" in a news story published in the 23 July 1998 issue of the paper. 2.) Also sentenced to 2 years in prison for a story published on 6 July 1998, but this sentence was commuted to a fine, then the fine was reprieved on 24 March 1999. 3.) Also on trial for a story published in *Emek* covering a statement made by the lawyer Zeki Ruzgar after Ruzgar had had his house raided by police in Adana on 28 January 1998. 4.) Sentenced to 20 months for a story

published on 8 August 1998 issue of the paper, but this was also commuted to a fine. The story in question was entitled "Kurdish Workers in Detention in the Black Sea". 5.) In May 1999, sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment and fined TL 135,712,500 in another trial connected to articles published in *Emek* on 5 December 1997. 6.) Fined TL 590,000,000 for a story written by poet-writer Gulsum Cengiz in *Emek* on 21 March 1990 in a trial that ended on May 21 1999 in which Cengiz and the *Emek* paper were accused of inciting the people to "hatred and enmity." 7.) Sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment and fined 118,037,000 for an article published in *Emek* on 11 July 1998 in a trial that concluded on 25 May 1999. This sentence was commuted to a fine.

**Dr Haluk GERGER**

**D.o.b:** 1948 **Profession:** Journalist, writer, political scientist **Details of trial:** i) Sentenced to 20 months in prison under Article 7 of the Anti-Terror Law on 6 October 1995 for "making terrorist propaganda" re article in 18 December 1993 edition of *Özgür Gündem*. Sentenced reduced to 13 months. On 10 December 1997 his sentence was finalised by the Supreme Court. Released on appeal on 16 September 1998. In March 1999, the Supreme Court again upheld the sentence. The article in question was entitled "Who is the Real Loser of the War?". ii) 20-month sentence related to an article published in 1995 analysing Operation Provide Comfort and the emergency regulations in force in Kurdish areas was finalised on 30 May 1998 and added to the 10-month sentence he was already serving. Released on appeal on 16 September 1998. iii) Another trial launched on 31 March 1998 regarding speeches made to the then Belgium based MED-TV station on 19 November 1995. Charged with "deliberately aiding the PKK". He was acquitted of this charge on 14 May 1999. iv) Trial started on 4 November 1997 alongside Ayşe Nur Zarakolu (see below) for book *Letters to the Labourer: The Turkish Order and the Kurdish Question*. Gerger claims that charges linked to articles published 4-5 years before. v) Trial started on 4 June 1998 at Ankara Penal Court on charges related to a speech made by Gerger on 27 May 1997 in Canberra, Australia entitled "Democracy in Turkey and the Kurdish Question". Charged under Article 159 of the Penal Code. vi) On 2 April 1998 the Ankara State Security Court launched a trial against a number of persons, including Gerger, accused of co-operating in the production of a booklet *Freedom to Thought-2* containing writings by Esber Yagmurdereli and others. Terms of up to 7 1/2 years are being sought. **Professional details:** Freelance journalist on nuclear weapons and strategy, the United Nations and international issues. Founding member of Turkish Human Rights Association. **Previous political imprisonment/problems:** Detained from June 1994 to October 1995 for statement expressing solidarity with the families of political prisoners executed in the early 70s. **Honorary member of:** Austrian, Canadian, Norwegian, and Swedish PEN Centres.

**Yasar KAPLAN:** Journalist for the daily *Akit*. Arrested on 6 March 1998 for not appearing at a court hearing at Ankara State Security Court. Held in a military prison until 21 April 1998 when he was freed pending trial. On 21 May 1998 a trial started against him under Article 95 (4)(5) of the Military Penal Code and Article 153 of the Penal Code on charges of "destruction of the military relations between the superior and the inferior" and "inciting soldiers to unlawfulness and violating their duty". The charges are based on a speech he delivered on the Commemoration Day of martyrs held at Altınpark, Ankara, on 23 February 1997. On 14 July 1998 he was given a 14-month sentence. On 1 October 1998 he was acquitted of the charges but a sentence of three years is still being asked under Article 312 of the Penal Code for the same speech. In early February 1999, the Supreme Court overturned the 1 October 1998 acquittal; then, in November 11 November 1999 an arrest warrant was issued against him in absentia for failing to appear at the Ankara SSC to give his testimony in the fresh trial.

**Ferzende KAYA:** journalist. On trial on 30 June 2000 for his role in *Freedom of Thought - 41*. Postponed due to lack of necessary documents. (see Sanar Yurdatapan).

**Huda Kaya:** A reporter with the weekly newspaper *Selam*, sentenced to 20 months in prison for 'inciting people to hatred and enmity' under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code because of one of his articles. The trial concluded on 4 February 1999.

**Tulay KOCAK (f):** Editor-in-chief of journal *Ezilenlerin Kurtuluşu İcin İsci (Workers for the Liberation of the Repressed)*. Remanded in custody on accusations of disseminating separatist propaganda but released on 6 May 1999 at Ankara State Security Court. The trial is continuing, allegedly in camera.

**Aydin KORAL:** journalist for the pro-Islamic *Selam*. Sentenced to 20 months in prison by the Istanbul State Security Court on 24 November 1998 for an article published May 1997 entitled "Land of Scandals". Charged with "inciting people to enmity" under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code. Thought to be free on appeal. Previously sentenced on 5 March 1998 to one year and eight months in prison for an article entitled "Secular-Militarist Oligarchy and Zionism Occupancy of Jerusalem", published in his paper on 16 May 1997. This sentence was



subsequently commuted to a fine.

**Aydin KORKMAZ:** Owner and editor-in-chief of a local newspaper in the Cesme District of Izmir. Sentenced to 18 months in prison by the Izmir State Security Court under Article 312 of the Penal Code in connection with an article he wrote on May Day, 1997. In April 1999 his sentence was confirmed by the Supreme Court; however there are no reports that he has yet been imprisoned.

**Nadire MATER (f) and Semih SOKMEN:** b. circa 1949. Writer and journalist facing imprisonment for her book *Mehmed's Book*. The book, which went into four editions, was banned in June. It includes interviews with soldiers who did their military service in the emergency region in the southeast. She was accused under Article 159 of the Penal Code of "insulting the army" and faces up to 6 years in jail. The publisher of the book, Semih Sokmen of Metis Publishers, is also similarly charged. Mater appeared in Beyoglu Crown Court No. 2 in Istanbul on 29 September when the trial against her opened. A second hearing took place 26 November 1999, when the judge revealed that she and Sokmen had had another trial launched against them under Article 159 of the TPA and that the two trials would be combined; they could now face another 6 years - bringing the total to 12 years - if convicted on this fresh count as well. On 19 January 2000 the case was postponed to 8 March as a specialist due to comment on the book did not turn up. It was postponed

again on 6 May, the next hearing due on 7 July 2000. She and Sokmen are free pending an outcome of the trial. **Honorary Member:** PEN Center USA West, Catalan, Swedish and Canberra PEN

\***Hüseyin Gazi METIN:** writer. Trial launched against him c. 28 April 2000 for the book *Man, God, Religions and the Alwewite Religion*. Charged under article 312 of the Penal Code with "inciting people to hatred and enmity". At a hearing on 19 June 2000, the prosecutor referred to the fact that the trial had started before the book had reached the bookstores and thus demanded a lesser term of 1-2 years in prison.

\***Ahmet ÖNAL:** owner of the Peri Publishing House. On trial in June 2000 at the Istanbul Beyoglu Heavy Penal Court No. 2 for publishing a book by Mahmut Baksi *Bir Kürt Isadami: Hüseyin Baybasin (A Kurdish Businessman: Hüseyin Baybasin)*. Charged under Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law for "disseminating separatist propaganda". The book is an account of the businessman's role in alleged drug smuggling. Both the author, Baksi, and the businessman, Baybasin, live abroad.

\***Nevzat ONARAN:** Facing charges along with Sanar Yurdatan (see below) for "Freedom of Thought - 38". He is Chairperson of the Progressive Journalists Association Istanbul branch. On 1 February 2000 he and Yurdatan were convicted to 2 months in prison. Both are free pending appeal.

### Ünsal ÖZTÜRK

**Profession:** Owner of Yurt Publishing House **Details of arrest:** Has an accumulation of 62 court actions in connection with 41 books published by him between July 1991 and November 1993 deemed to be in breach of the Anti-Terror Law. Served a one-year prison term which was completed in December 1996 but was not freed as unable to pay accompanying fine. Freed in March 1997 after his fines were paid by visiting delegation of international writers. **Details of trial:** Two years in accumulated prison terms have been served against him along with sizeable additional fines. Ratification of other sentences against Öztürk still pending. On 26 March 1997, a two year and two month prison term for publishing 15 books by İsmail Besikçi was converted into a fine by the Supreme Court, ratified in July 1997. **Professional details:** Books which have led to prosecution include: *State Terror in the Middle East* by İsmail Besikçi which led to a 50,9000 lira fine. Publication of Besikçi's book *Polluted Concepts: Science, Equality, Justice* led to a six month prison term in a trial in March 1996. A further book by Besikçi *An Intellectual, an Organisation and the Kurdish Problem* led to a further huge fine in May 1996. Other huge fines levied against him for further books by Besikçi and Yasar Kaya which Öztürk says he is unable to pay so may have to face substitute prison terms.

**Erhan PALABIYIK:** Owner of the local daily Demokrat Baykan, published in Baykan, Siirt. A trial was launched against him in March 1999 on accusations of "insulting police officers" in an article published in the daily. The trial is to be heard at Iskenderun Heavy Penal Court for "security" reasons.

**Fatih POLAT:** editor in chief of *Evrensel*. Arrested around 8 December 1999 with several others for holding an "unauthorised demonstration" commemorating the death of journalist Metin Göktepe. Freed pending trial due.

**Mehmet Salih TASKESEN:** Editor-in-chief of the journal *Azadiya Welat*, published in Kurdish. Sentenced to 1 year in jail and a fine of TL 50 million under article 7 of the Anti-Terror Law. The charges were based on a photograph published in the 123rd issue of the journal. The sentence was handed down at Istanbul State Security Court in January 1999.

**Sendogan YAZICI:** Owner and editor-in-chief of the journal *Özgürlük Dunyasi*, sentenced to 2 years in prison and fined TL 1,500,000 for "inciting people to enmity" in an article published in the August 1997 issue of the journal entitled "The direction of the development in Kurdish provinces and the labour movement." The trial ended on January 14 1999 at Istanbul State Security Court.

\***Güler YILDIZ(f):** editor-in-chief of the weekly *Cinar*. Indicted on 26 June 2000 in Mersin on charges under Article 159 for "ridiculing and insulting the state". She is accused in connection with articles in her newspaper in which she discussed Nadire Mater's book *Mehmet's Book* (see Mater above). Trial due to start on 24 September 2000.

### Sanar YURDATAPAN

**Profession:** Composer and peace/freedom of expression activist. Organiser of freedom of expression challenge in the form of a book, *Freedom for Expression in Turkey* which was first published in March 1995. Yurdatan and over 1,000 other Turkish intellectuals and writers signed as responsible editors of the book of articles which had been banned or whose authors had been sentenced. Some 184 went on trial for 'disseminating separatist propaganda', including Yurdatan. On 3 November 1997, the trial proceedings were suspended for three years following the application of a law that disallows imprisonment of those who have edited rather than written articles. However, he continues to publish more issues of the book and faces an array of charges for these activities, along with many other individuals who have joined him in this campaign. Most recently a trial hearing against *Freedom of Thought - 41* was held on 30 June 2000 but postponed due to lack of necessary documents. (see also Ferzende Kaya). **Previous political imprisonment/problems:** i) Legal proceedings under Penal Code article 159 are under way against Yurdatan and two others accused of membership of the Collective Work for Peace which in January 1996 went to visit a mass grave of supposed victims of police violence. Accused of "insulting the state security forces" for making a public complaint attributing the deaths to police officials. On 3 February 1998, he was sentenced to ten months in prison on these charges. His final appeal against the sentence was heard on 6 January 1999 and on 24 February 1999 the Supreme Court overturned the original verdict. The trial is now to be reheard at the Istanbul Heavy Penal Court No. 4. ii) Further charged on several counts for a series of Freedom of Expression booklets which Yurdatan is publishing in order to specifically challenge Turkey's laws restricting freedom of expression. iii) On 9 February 1999, he was convicted for republishing in *Freedom of Thought 16*, an article by Saruhan Oluc, fined TL 1,250,000 and sentenced to two months in prison. iv) In April 2000, Yurdatan was among 23 writers and activists who published another edition of the *Freedom of Expression* booklet including excerpts from a banned book and 60 articles. See Atilla Maras and Cengiz Bektas above. v) Accused of "insulting the military" under Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code because of an interview he gave to the BBC which was transmitted in December 1998. vi) A trial was launched against him on 10 November 1999 for *Freedom of Thought - 38* at the Military Court of Istanbul First Army Corps. He was accused of "alienating the public from the institution of military service". Tried along with him for the same book is Nevzat Onaran. On 1 February 2000, both were given 2 months in prison. They are currently free on appeal. vii) is among 16 writers, artists and intellectuals on trial for the publication of the book *Freedom to Thought 2000*. On trial in May 2000, though not detained. The booklet, published in April 2000, includes excerpts from a banned book and 60 articles. Trial proceedings were launched in

mid-May 2000 on charges of "publishing banned articles, "inciting people to hatred and enmity", "aiding the PKK", "disseminating separatist propaganda" and "violating the Press Law". Terms of between 7 and 15 years are being asked by the prosecution. (see also Cingiz Bektas et al above) **Other details:** Lived in exile in Germany from 1980 to 1991. He was deprived of Turkish citizenship because of his criticism of the government which seized power in the 1980s. **Honorary Member:** German PEN.

**İsmet YURTSEVER:** Owner and editor-in-chief of journal *Dayanisma*, sentenced to 1 year and 8 months in prison and fined TL 2,500,000 for "inciting people to enmity." The charges were based on articles published in the 40th issue of the journal. The trial concluded on 12 January 1999 at the Istanbul State Security Court.

**Ayse Nur ZARAKOLU (f):** Publisher. Has been tried and sentenced to fines on a number of occasions for publishing books which fell foul of the Anti-Terror Law. It is thought that a number of legal processes remain outstanding. Recipient of the 1997 Hellman/Hammett award for free expression. Recipient of the 1998 International Freedom to Publish Award at the Frankfurt Book Fair. **Honorary member:** of Swedish, East German, Danish, Ghana, American, USA West and Canadian PEN.

### Briefly Detained

\***Hayrettin CELIK:** journalist for *Yeni Gündem* in Adana. Arrested on 14

June 2000 apparently under anti-terror legislation. Freed the next day.

\***Kamil Tekin SÜREK**: General Executive Board Member of the Labour Party and journalist for *Evensel*. Arrested in Ankara on 24 June 2000 after a meeting of the Youth Commission of the People's Democracy Party (HADEP). Thought to be linked to the non-payment of a fine for a previous conviction. Released two days later.

\***Necati TANIYAN**: owner of the now closed *Yeni Politika*. Arrested at Istanbul's Ataturk Airport c. 30 March 2000 on his return from Germany. Not clear at this stage what the charges are but said to face 6 different penalties levied by the Istanbul State Security Court. He was released on 3 April.

**Ayşe TUSUN (f)**: A reporter with the daily *Özgür Bakis*. Detained on 5 July 1999 in Adana while covering an incident. The authorities accused her of complicity in an alleged terrorist act planned by the Kurdistan Workers' Party. She was held until 7 July 1999 and reported on her release that she was beaten in detention, threatened, sexually harassed, and forced to listen to loud music. Rearrested in Adana on 18 February 2000 for an article reporting on alleged torture against a detainee in November 1999. Released a day later.

#### Tortured

\***Ayfer KAPTAN (f)**: journalist for *Alinterimiz*. Claims to have been tortured while briefly detained in Izmit on 1 April 2000 alongside actress Meliha Yildiz and a street peddler. Kaptan claims to have been beaten on the legs resulting in broken toes and to have been sexually harassed.

#### Threatened

\***Ilyas GÜR**: editor in chief of the fortnightly *Firtina*. Reportedly threatened by the former mayor of Iyidere in northern Turkey following articles alleging corruption. The former mayor is said to have threatened "Watch out or I'll cut your legs off. Then we'll see how you walk around town".

#### Released

**Ismet BAKAC**: In February 1999, a trial was launched against Bakac, the Diyarbakir representative of the now defunct daily *Ozgur Gundem* on

charges of "acting in contravention of the State of Emergency Law." The charges were based on his putting the daily into circulation in Diyarbakir, from where it had been banned under the State of the Emergency provisions. Acquitted on 23 February 2000.

**Nazmi GÜR**: General Secretary of the Human Rights Association. Trial launched against him in January 2000 for an article published in September 1999 in the Human Rights Bulletin titled "It is not difficult to go for the peace". The Ankara State Security Court pointed to a phrase from the article - "the struggle for the peoples of this country, based on the principles of equality and solidarity..." - was a "slogan of the PKK". He was prosecuted under Article 169 of the Penal Code and Article 5 of the Anti-Terror Law. He was acquitted on 3 February 2000.

**Yılmaz ODABASI**: Eminent poet and writer. Entered prison on 8 March 2000 to serve a seven months sentence on charges of contempt of court. Freed early on 2 June 2000 under a system that allows for release after 40% of a sentence is served, although will be required not to "re-offend" during the remaining four months of his sentence.

#### Case closed

**Celal Aslandogan**: Editor-in-chief of the journal *Ozgur Gelecek* [Free Future]. Detained in Istanbul during a raid on the newspaper's office on 16 March 1999. Case closed due to lack of further information.

**Nazim BABAÖGLÜ**: Journalist for *Özgür Gündem*. Disappeared in March 1994. Reports suggest no police investigation has been initiated into the disappearance, despite requests from his newspaper. Case closed due to lack of progress.

**Huseyin Çetin**: Staff member of the Mersin Representative of the journal *Ozgur Halk*; detained on 21 June 1999. Case closed as presumed no longer detained.

**Eylem KAPLAN (f)**, **Ayşe OYMAN (f)**, **Ali Kemal SEL**: Correspondents, Malatya, for *Ülkede Gündem*. Arrested 19 November 1998 with around 12 others following raids on the newspaper's offices. In February 1999, the trial against them was launched under Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law. Case closed due to lack of further information.

**Serpil KAPLAN (f)**, **Nurettin TEMEL**: reporter and editor-in-chief of *Mücadele Birliği* [The Struggle Alliance]. Arrested on 28 September 1998. Case closed as presumed held for short period only.

**Ahmet KIZILTAS**: editor-in-chief of the Islamic *Akit*. Arrested 12 October 1998 with two other editors on charges of "inciting religious hatred". The other two were freed. As of 15 October, Kiziltas was still detained. The charges are said to relate to articles protesting the decision to ban headscarves in universities, and for their participation in these demonstrations. Case closed as not clear if subsequently released.

**Fatma SESLİ (f)**: Staffer for *Kizil Bayrak* on 24 May 1999 to serve a 3 month prison sentence that she had received previously. Presumed freed at end of sentence.

**Turan TASCI**: Izmir representative of the journal *Kurtulus*. Trial commenced against him on 15 April 1999 at Izmir Penal Court of First Instance. He was accused of "threatening the police officers when they wanted to carry out a search in the office and keeping illegal documents in the office." As of April 1999, was reported to be on remand at Mugla Prison. Case closed due to lack of further information.

**Sakine TOPOĞLU (f)**: journalist for *Özgür Gündem*. Arrested 11 April 1995 under articles 6, 7 and 8 of the Anti-Terror Law for publications in her newspaper, now closed. Also accused of membership of the PKK under article 168 of the Penal Code and was thus not eligible for release in August 1997 with changes to the Anti-Terror law. Case closed due to lack of further information.

**Hatun YILDIRIM (f)**: editor of *Partizanin Sesi* [Voice of Partisan]. Sentence of 2 years 6 months ratified on 18 January 1997. Presumed no longer detained.

**Mehmet Can YÜCE**: author of article published in *Ozgur Halk* in January 1994 received a two year prison term and TL 40 m. fine for the article on 27 April 1997. Already in prison for another offence since the late 1980s. Author of several books and columnist for *Özgür Politika*. Case closed due to lack of further information.

**Ali ZEREN**: editor in chief of *Demokrasi*. On 3 May 1997 he was convicted to a prison term of 20 months plus a fine of TL 700,000 for articles seen to "incite enmity". Thought no longer detained.

# Europe-Turquie : coup de froid

L'armée turque n'est pas prête à lâcher du lest sur la question kurde pour entrer dans l'Europe. Récemment, le secrétariat du Conseil national de sécurité (MGK), une instance dominée par les représentants de la hiérarchie militaire, a ré-



agi très vivement à la publication d'un rapport gouvernemental consacré aux « mesures à prendre à la lumière des critères de Copenhague » sur le respect des droits de l'homme et la démocratie. Le MGK s'est notamment opposé à toute reconnaissance de l'identité kurde, comme à l'extension des droits culturels des Kurdes. Il juge certaines des exigences des Européens inadaptées à la « réalité turque ». Ces remarques, que le gouvernement ne pourra pas ignorer, risquent de jeter un froid sur les relations entre Ankara et Bruxelles. D'autant que le MGK, institution suspecte aux yeux des Européens, n'envisage pas de réduire ses attributions. Il pourrait, tout au plus, admettre en son sein davantage de représentants des autorités civiles.

## Iraq's Kurdish Parties Reportedly Fail To Resolve Dispute at Washington Meeting

Al-Hayah 03 Jul 00 by Muwaffaq Harb from Washington

[FBIS Translated Text] The United States has failed in its efforts to bring closer the views of the Kurdistan Democratic Party [KDP] and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK] in preparation for announcing the revival of their Washington agreement whose implementation has stalled.

The US administration sought earnestly all last week to make the two sides reach an agreement that would show public opinion and Congress that it is seriously dealing with the Iraqi opposition issue. These efforts followed the severe criticism leveled against it during meetings that members of the Iraqi National Congress [INC] held last week. Informed Kurdish sources said: Lack of trust between the KDP and PUK and their dispute over sharing the financial revenues collected in the northern areas they control are the reasons preventing them from reaching an agreement despite US pressures.

Kurdish and US sources confirmed that Jalal Talabani's PUK is demanding Mas'ud Barzani's KDP to pay almost \$22 million, which are the financial arrears that have accumulated since the Washington agreement in 1998. They added that the KDP is daily collecting \$1.5 million at the Ibrahim al-Khalil border point from trade in commodities and smuggled Iraqi oil. Kusrat Rasul, Latif Rashid, and Ibrahim Salih represent the PUK in the talks even though Talabani is in Washington and took part in the INC's meetings, including one with Vice President Al Gore several days ago. Najirvan Idris Barzani leads the KDP delegation that also includes Political Bureau Member Sami Abd-al-Rahman and Hushyar Zibari (Official in Charge of Foreign Relations).

US National Security Adviser Sandy Berger was due to meet the two delegations last meeting, had things proceeded as Washington wanted. But the meeting was cancelled when the two Parties' talks failed. The KDP and PUK held separate meetings last week with Elizabeth Jones, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs, who is in charge of the Kurdish desk at the State Department. They also met with Thomas Pickering, who is the Acting Secretary of State due to Madeleine Albright's absence abroad.

The Kurdish sources said: The meeting ended following a heated argument between Kusrat Rasul and Najirvan Barzani and this prompted the latter to leave a joint meeting with Jones last Friday. The PUK accused the KDP of attempting to "suffocate it financially", particularly as the PUK is still having old financial problems.

Washington's ability to pressure Barzani seems to be limited, especially its ability to convince him to give the PUK a share of the revenue. At the same time, Washington does not want to embarrass Barzani because of its strong ties with him and the services and facilities he has given and is giving to it. US sources said that efforts are continuing to make the two sides reach an agreement, or at least not to make them public at this stage.

The US administration fears a renewal of the military conflict between the two sides following Kusrat Rasul's warning to the US side that the PUK cannot wait without a timetable or guarantee the patience of fighters whose salaries are in arrears.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR

29 JUIN - 5 JUILLET 2000 /

**MONDE**

De notre envoyé spécial à Téhéran, Gilles Anquetil

# IRAN

## LA CONTAGION DE LA LIBERTÉ

*La stratégie de l'apaisement adoptée par les « réformistes » après leur victoire électorale a déstabilisé le camp conservateur. La démocratisation de la société, escomptent-ils, prendra de vitesse l'islam des mollahs*

« **L**a jeunesse iranienne ? C'est le feu sous la braise. Elle paraît calme et disciplinée, mais aujourd'hui, à bout de patience, un rien peut l'enflammer », confiait, il y a un mois, un professeur de littérature. Le lendemain, 4 000 étudiants se réunissaient à l'intérieur de l'université de Téhéran pour célébrer le troisième anniversaire de la victoire du président Khatami. La tension dans l'air était palpable. Sevrés de leurs journaux préférés, indignés par les manœuvres du Conseil des Gardiens qui s'obstinait toujours à ne pas valider le résultat des élections législatives, ils ne pouvaient, en dépit des appels au calme des leaders réformistes, cacher leur exaspération.

Les slogans, ce jour-là, étaient sans ambiguïté : « *Mort au shah, Akbar Shah !* », en référence aux premiers slogans de la révolution islamique et au surnom d'Akbar Hachemi Rafsandjani, l'homme politique le plus honni par la jeunesse ; « *Le peuple s'est réveillé, il déteste Hachemi !* » ; « *La fermeture du moindre journal est le martyre de la pensée* » ; « *Ha-*





*chemi-Pinochet, l'Iran ne sera jamais le Chili ! » ; « Nous sommes des partisans de l'imam Hossein et des amoureux de Khatami ! » Ce jour-là, on a frôlé la catastrophe. Mais, au dernier moment, les étudiants ont renoncé à manifester dans la rue où les attendaient les troupes des gardiens de la révolution et des bassidji prêts à en découdre. « On l'a échappé belle, admet un étudiant. Mais nous avons retenu la leçon des émeutes de juillet 1999. Malgré notre colère contre les sabotages de la droite religieuse, nous sommes condamnés à être raisonnables. Mais Dieu que cette partie d'échecs politique est lente et éprouvante pour les nerfs ! »*

Un mois plus tard, le climat a changé à Téhéran et la « stratégie du calme » prônée par les réformistes a déstabilisé des conservateurs qui ont été contraints, après de multiples tractations en coulisse, d'enterrer la victoire des partisans de Khatami. Aujourd'hui, le VI<sup>e</sup> Parlement – certes encore incomplet – se met au travail. Une trentaine de députés enturbannés, toutes tendances confondues, ont survécu à la grande lessive réformatrice.

**Téhéran, juin 2000. « L'Iran est une vieille maison très difficile à réparer. La mémoire de 2 500 ans de régime autoritaire, République islamique comprise, ne s'efface pas d'un seul coup », affirme un cinéaste.**

La grande majorité du Majlis est composée de nouveaux députés qui se considèrent comme les porte-parole de la société civile. Leur travail va être délicat, car, pris par une frénésie de vengeance, le précédent Parlement a légiféré jusqu'au dernier jour et voté un grand nombre de lois ou d'amendements liberticides, dont la loi sur la presse. « Pour les réformateurs, c'est maintenant que les vrais problèmes commencent, explique un journaliste. Ils doivent à la fois répondre aux légitimes attentes des électeurs, surtout dans le domaine économique et social, et éviter que leur coalition composée de dix-sept groupes se fracture à la première épreuve ; ils doivent aussi s'abstenir de braquer, par une politique trop audacieuse,

*une droite somnée mais toujours menaçante, et de décevoir leurs partisans par trop de compromis. »*

Le chant de la réforme est encore aujourd'hui bien incantatoire. La nouvelle majorité avance sur des œufs. Les grands ténors réformistes, de Saïd Hajarian – dont le rétablissement, après la tentative d'assassinat dont il a été victime, est spectaculaire – à Abbas Abdi, donnent de la voix pour expliquer qu'il faut se prémunir contre toute précipitation et tendre vers les réformes à un rythme mesuré. Sinon, disent-ils, tout risque de capoter. Leur stratégie consiste maintenant à entretenir la flamme de l'espoir en des vrais changements politiques tout en disant que le chemin sera long et difficile.

Même s'ils sont privés de la majorité de leurs journaux, les Iraniens sont bombardés chaque jour de nouvelles, bonnes et mauvaises. Dans un pays où la politique est devenue la distraction numéro un de la population, tout se sait à une vitesse incroyable et le lancement de rumeurs souvent paranoïdes est le nouveau sport national. A droite comme à gauche, on voit des complots partout.

## Les combats de Makhmalbaf

*« Mon unique espoir, je le place dans la génération qui est née après la révolution, dit le grand cinéaste iranien. Ces millions de jeunes sont en train de se forger une culture démocratique qui va devenir contagieuse »*

A 43 ans, le grand cinéaste iranien, Mohsen Makhmalbaf, a décidé de faire une pause artistique et de s'occuper à plein temps de son école de cinéma, dont sa fille Samira - grand prix du jury à Cannes cette année - et sa femme Marzieh sont les élèves les plus couvés. Cet ancien militant islamiste à l'époque du shah est aujourd'hui un démocrate convaincu qui, à la suite des meurtres politiques de ces dernières années qui l'ont « écœuré », a choisi de prendre du recul. « Mon silence cinématographique actuel, explique-t-il, est une protestation contre l'intolérance qui règne en Iran. Mon unique espoir, je le place dans la génération qui est née après la révolution. Ces millions de jeunes sont en train de se forger une authentique culture démocratique qui va devenir contagieuse. C'est pourquoi je pousse ma fille Samira à faire des films. Son exemple prouve qu'une jeune fille, à 20 ans, peut prendre son destin artistique en main. La liberté ne vous est jamais offerte sur un plateau. Il faut se battre



Mohsen Makhmalbaf

pour l'obtenir. L'Iran est une vieille maison très difficile à réparer. La révolution a cassé beaucoup de choses. La mémoire de 2 500 ans de régime autoritaire, République islamique comprise, ne s'efface pas d'un seul coup. Les conservateurs me font penser à ces

enfants qui refusent de prendre des médicaments parce qu'ils ont mauvais goût. C'est à nous de trouver un moyen pour leur faire accepter les médicaments de la liberté. Cela prendra du temps, mais nous y arriverons. Les femmes iraniennes m'impressionnent par leur pugnacité et leur détermination. Je suis farouchement féministe. La société iranienne changera grâce au combat des femmes. Ce sont elles qui nous aideront à guérir de cette maladie de la violence et de l'intolérance qui gangrène le pays. Notre histoire est celle d'une longue maladie. Apprenons à la regarder en face. L'Iran d'aujourd'hui a besoin d'un impuissable check-up. » Pour l'heure, le docteur Makhmalbaf s'est mis à l'écriture d'un nouveau scénario. Il était temps. Les Iraniens ont besoin de sa voix. G.A

C'est, pour les conservateurs, le complot permanent des « ennemis de l'intérieur » et des « faux amis » de la République islamique et, pour les réformistes, celui des juges. Il est vrai que les juges en Iran ne chôment pas. Sous les prétextes les plus fallacieux, les multiples tribunaux islamiques se débloquent sans compter pour terroriser, emprisonner ou poursuivre intellectuels, avocats et journalistes.

L'avocate Mehranguiz Kar et l'éditrice Shahla Lahiji, arrêtées et emprisonnées en avril, viennent deux mois plus tard d'être libérées contre une caution de 500 millions de rials (60 000 dollars). Le journaliste Akbar Ganji est, lui, toujours en détention provisoire à la suite de la grotesque affaire de la conférence de Berlin, qui prouve qu'en Iran le ridicule judiciaire ne tue pas. Cette affaire continue de pourrir l'atmosphère politique. Lundi 26 juin, Ezzatollah Sahabi, dirigeant du Mouvement de libération de l'Iran, organisation des « religieux-nationaux » interdite mais tolérée par le régime, a été arrêté pour sa participation à la conférence berlinoise du mois d'avril jugée « anti-islamique » par la justice iranienne. L'ancien responsable du quotidien « Fath », Emadeddine Baghi, attend dans la prison d'Evin son procès. Son crime ? Avoir critiqué la peine de mort, ce qui est considéré comme une atteinte aux valeurs sacrées de l'islam. Le leader étudiant Mahmoud Shushtari a, lui aussi, été arrêté à la suite de la manifestation de soutien au président Khatami à l'université de Téhéran. Beaucoup y voient les premiers effets de la vengeance de Rafsandjani, copieusement conspué lors de ce meeting. On ne compte plus les conseillers de Khatami sommés de se présenter devant les tribunaux pour répondre de crimes aussi vagues qu'« abominables ».

La presse de droite - que d'ailleurs personne ne lit et que les Téhéranis boycottent avec conviction et malice - est toujours à l'affût du plus minuscule « scandale » réformateur. Il y a quelques jours, elle s'en prenait à sa bête noire, Ataollah Mohadjerani, ministre de la Culture et de l'Orientation islamique, qui avait osé comparer la marche des réformateurs au vol élégant des oies sauvages et celle des conservateurs à un troupeau de buffles qui pié-

tinent tout sur leur passage. Il est fort probable que bientôt le vaillant ministre, qui a donné sa démission sans vraiment la donner - histoire de faire tourner en bourrique ses adversaires -, troque, à la suite d'un remaniement ministériel, son portefeuille contre celui si important de l'Éducation dans un pays qui compte 20 millions d'élèves et d'étudiants. Abdolvahed Mousavi Lari, actuel ministre de l'Intérieur, qui s'est battu avec une belle pugnacité contre le Conseil des Gardiens qui rêvait d'invalider les élections, prendrait sa place. Pour l'heure, les services de Mohadjerani mettent la dernière main à un projet de loi visant à la suppression de toute censure préalable pour les livres, les pièces de théâtre et les scénarios de cinéma.

Un journal, « la Nouvelle Vie », dirigé par le député réformateur de Téhéran, Hadi Khamenei, frère du Guide suprême, vient de paraître la semaine dernière. Cent cinquante députés ont déposé une motion pour abolir « d'une manière urgente » les dispositions antipresse votées en avril par le précédent Parlement. Cent cinquante et un parlementaires ont adressé le 18 juin une lettre ouverte à Mahmoud Hachemi Shahrودي, le très puissant chef de la Justice iranienne, dénonçant le caractère « arbitraire », « politique » et « illégal » de la répression contre la presse et les journalistes. De son côté, le très populaire nouveau député de Téhéran et ancien journaliste, Ahmad Bourghani, a déclaré haut et fort au Majlis que toute fermeture d'un journal est aussi néfaste au pays que celle d'une école. La semaine dernière, le président Khatami a adressé « un message en forme de mise en garde constitutionnelle » au chef de la Justice pour qu'il cesse de bâillonner la presse. En guise de réponse à tous ces appels solennels Mahmoud Hachemi Shahrودي a ordonné, dimanche 25 juin, la fermeture du quotidien « Bayan », dirigé par un conseiller du président, faisant ainsi monter la tension d'un nouveau cran. La guerre des nerfs n'est pas près de s'arrêter.

Il y a pourtant de petits signes qui ne trompent pas. Le climat est à une légère décrispation annuelle. Lors de deux séances « privées » mais annoncées dans la presse, un film interdit de Bahram Bezaï, « la Mort de Yazdaberg », a été présenté à la

cinémathèque de Téhéran sans provoquer de scandale. Cet artiste courageux est détesté par les intégristes parce que ses parents sont bahais, religion jugée apostate en Iran. Il vient de tourner un film, « Tuer le chien », actuellement au montage, après des années d'interdiction de travailler pour le cinéma, le théâtre ou l'université, dont il a été chassé au début des années 80. « Pour la première fois depuis dix-huit ans, une de mes pièces est actuellement jouée au Théâtre de la Ville de Téhéran. Mais ma situation d'artiste non-protégé par le régime reste très difficile. Cependant, je ne perds pas espoir. J'ai lutté sous le shah. Mon combat continue. De toute façon, ma place est ici et nulle part ailleurs. » Le « retour » de Bezaï, artiste intègre et respecté, sur la scène culturelle est une bonne nouvelle. D'autres suivront-elles ? La libération anticipée de deux grands clercs, héros des réformateurs, Mohsen Kadivar et Abdollah Nouri, dont respectivement la sœur et le frère ont été triomphalement élus à Téhéran, est annoncée comme imminente. « En Iran, la société civile va plus vite que l'islam », explique, en substance, Beyrouz Afghami, un cinéaste qui vient d'être élu au Parlement. Son film « Shokaran » (la ciguë), qui raconte une audacieuse histoire d'adultère maquillée en mariage temporaire à la sauce chiite et évoque l'avortement, la drogue et la prostitution, bat tous les records d'entrées dans les grandes villes. Le coup d'Etat culturel organisé par les conservateurs en avril a bien échoué. Le retour dans les kiosques d'une presse libre est une question de semaines ou de mois et la pénurie actuelle est vécue stoïquement comme provisoire.

Etrange République islamique où, dans les rues des grandes villes, on ne voit plus aucun mollah. Si l'un d'eux s'enhardit à vouloir prendre un taxi, il faut qu'il se fasse une raison : personne ne le prendra. Les mollahs, en Iran, on ne les voit que dans les villes saintes, Qom et Mashad, et... à la télévision. Image fugitive : un matin de juin, une jeune fille en uniforme islamique d'étudiante descendait avec grâce une rue de Téhéran en rollers. Tout voile dehors, libre comme le vent, elle semblait danser. Mieux, flotter. Qui serait capable de l'arrêter ?

GILLES ANQUETIL



## LA GUERRE DES RAPPORTS : DÉBAT SUR LA DOSE DE DÉMOCRATISATION EN TURQUIE

Voilà déjà six mois que la Turquie est candidate officielle à l'Union européenne et les institutions turques s'affrontent sur les critères de démocratisation à adopter. Sur fond d'avis relatif au rapport préparé par le Haut secrétariat à la coordination pour les droits de l'homme du Premier ministre, le Conseil national de sécurité (MGK), l'état-major des armées turc, et le ministère des affaires étrangères, s'opposent ouvertement. En coopération avec plusieurs ministères, le Haut secrétariat a mis en lumière la nécessité d'entreprendre des changements légaux pour se conformer aux critères de Copenhague. La première version du document, préparée par Gürsel Demirok, demandait la levée des obstacles devant la liberté de l'expression, l'autorisation d'émettre des programmes en langue kurde, l'enseignement de la langue kurde, l'augmentation des membres civils au sein du Conseil national de sécurité (MGK) et la nomination d'un civil au poste de secrétaire général du MGK. Face aux critiques, G. Demirok a dû démissionner et un rapport édulcoré, mijoté par le ministre d'état Rüstü Kazım Yücelen a été préparé. Le document final ne faisant aucune référence à la composition du MGK.

Le quotidien turc Radikal dans son édition du 14 juin 2000 a révélé le rapport du MGK relatif aux critères de Copenhague. Ce texte de cinq pages du Secrétariat général du MGK, daté du 11 mars, affirme, en conclusion qu'"au vu des réalités turques, les demandes et conditions excessives de l'Union européenne ne pourront être réalisées". Organe exécutif par excellence, composé principalement des chefs de l'armée, le MGK a un rôle prépondérant dans la vie politique turque. "Nous savons que les rapports de l'Union européenne qui soulèvent les lacunes en Turquie en matière de démocratie, de la suprématie du droit, des droits de l'homme, sont, pour une grande part, réalisés par des organes partiels, ayant des préjugés à l'égard de notre pays, émettant des opinions subjectives. C'est pourquoi, il a été évalué de ne pas se conformer à des exigences excessives et injustes de l'Union européenne portant atteintes à l'intégrité nationale de la Turquie, à sa forme d'État unitaire, et à ses réalités propres. Il est préférable d'oeuvrer pour que les demandes inconvenantes ne soient plus mentionnées dans les rapports de l'UE". Le rapport annonce également que "la question des droits des minorités en Turquie a été réglée avec le traité de Lausanne (de 1923). Ainsi, en Turquie, il n'y a que des Rûms (Grecs de Turquie), des Juifs, des Arméniens, et une minorité bulgare. Autrement dit, il a été décidé par un traité international de la paix de Lausanne, que nos citoyens d'origine kurde ne forment pas de minorité ( ). Des recommandations conduisant au séparatisme et portant atteinte à notre intégrité territoriale, telles que la reconnaissance de l'identité kurde ou alors l'autorisation d'émettre en kurde, sont considérées comme étant impertinentes. La meilleure chose pour cela est de faire prévaloir le 'nationalisme d'Atatürk' (ndlr : qui nie farouchement l'existence même des Kurdes) établi dans la Constitution".

Par ailleurs, le Conseil national de sécurité (MGK), suggère que "l'article 143 de la Constitution relatif aux cours de sûreté d'État (DGM) soit révisé et que ces cours soient remplacées par des tribunaux spéciaux compétents sur les atteintes portées contre la sécurité de l'État". Le MGK trouve acceptable qu'"en dehors des périodes de loi martiale ou de guerre, les civils ne soient pas jugés par des tribunaux militaires", et se prononce pour l'abolition de la peine de mort en suggérant la signature du protocole n°6 des Nations Unies.

Le rapport précise également son opposition à toute possibilité d'"appel des décisions du Haut conseil militaire", qui décide de l'évolution des carrières des officiers supérieurs et qui périodiquement exclut de l'armée les officiers jugés "suspects" pour l'idéologie nationaliste d'Atatürk. Le MGK, tout en se prononçant favorablement pour l'augmentation des membres civils en son sein, déclare qu'"il n'y a aucune violation des droits de l'homme, ni des principes démocratiques dans le fait que le secrétaire général, responsable d'une institution compétente sur la sécurité nationale, soit un militaire".

Parallèlement à ce rapport, le ministère turc des affaires étrangères a rendu public un autre rapport, toujours sur la même question, mais qualifié de "courageux" par le quotidien Radikal du 19 juin 2000. Le ministère se prononce à l'instar de la France pour l'intégration du "principe de citoyenneté constitutionnelle inclusive". Il a également déclaré qu'il était favorable à l'enseignement et à la formation des langues maternelles, de même qu'au droit de publication dans la langue désirée et à la levée de tout obstacle devant la liberté de l'opinion. Le rapport aboutit à la conclusion qu'il faut prendre en considération non pas "l'homogénéité des individus composant l'État-nation mais leur différence" et ainsi mettre l'accent sur "le droit à la différence". "Les individus qui jouissent du droit à la différence bénéficient naturellement de la liberté de promouvoir et de sauvegarder leurs différences ethnique, linguistique, religieuse, ou alors culturelle, dans la société où ils vivent". Contrairement au MGK, le ministère des affaires étrangères prend en considération l'article 39 alinéa 4 du traité de Lausanne [NDLR : aucune restriction devrait être imposée à un national turc sur sa liberté d'utiliser une langue dans le cadre de l'enseignement privé, dans le commerce, dans la religion, dans la presse, ou encore dans des publications ou des réunions publiques ].

La presse turque a largement soulevé l'opposition des institutions dans ses colonnes. Sami Kohen (Milliyet 20 juin 2000) relatant les propos d'un diplomate déclarait : "les critères de Copenhague ne sont pas un 'menu' dans lequel on peut prendre et choisir certaines matières". Toujours le quotidien Radikal le 20 juin, titre : "les militaires étaient divisés sur la question de l'Union européenne" et souligne : "l'état-major a adopté une ligne modérée, Contrairement au conseil national de sécurité (MGK), le ministère des affaires étrangères et le Haut Secrétariat à la coordination des droits de l'homme se marquent par une attitude libérale".



1-2 JUILLET 2000

# Deux célèbres avocats victimes des luttes factionnelles en Iran

## Chirine Ebadi et Mohsen Rahami ont été écroués

C'EST UNE AFFAIRE comme savent en concocter les Machiavels de la faction la plus dure du pouvoir en Iran : deux des plus respectés avocats de la République islamique, Chirine Ebadi et Mohsen Rahami, ont été arrêtés, mercredi 28 juin, et placés en détention provisoire. D'après la version officielle, ils seraient mêlés à une affaire de « fausses cassettes vidéo » accusant des personnalités du régime d'être impliquées dans des activités terroristes.

L'affaire des « fausses cassettes vidéo » est un nouvel épisode de la guerre que les durs livrent aux partisans du changement et des scan-

dales qui couvent au sein du pouvoir iranien. Karim Lahidji, président de la Ligue pour la défense des droits de l'homme en Iran (LDDHI), la résume ainsi : quelque temps après la révolte des étudiants de juillet 1999, le dénommé Amir Farchad Ebrahimi, qui est l'un des responsables de l'organisation ultraviolente des Ansar-e-Hezbollah (Compagnons du Parti de Dieu) - auteur de l'attaque contre les dortoirs de l'université de Téhéran - était allé confier son « repentir » à M<sup>me</sup> Ebadi, avocate célèbre dans son pays et à l'étranger, militante très efficace et courageuse des droits de l'enfant et de ceux de la femme dans le respect de l'islam.

Toujours selon M. Lahidji, M<sup>me</sup> Ebadi, qui est l'avocate de la famille de l'un des étudiants victimes de l'attaque des Ansar-e-Hezbollah, en a informé son collègue, l'hodjatoleslam Rahami, défenseur d'une autre victime de la même attaque. Ensemble, ils ont enregistré la déposition d'Ebrahimi, dans laquelle ce dernier a révélé les identités de dirigeants impliqués dans des actes de violence.

Au nombre de ces violences, une agression physique dont ont été victimes le ministre de la culture, Ataollah Mohadjarian, et l'ancien ministre de l'intérieur, Abdollah Nouri, aujourd'hui en prison pour pensée politiquement non correcte. Les *hezbollahis* envisageaient également, selon lui, un attentat contre le vice-ministre de l'intérieur, Ali Tajzadeh. Les deux avocats transmittent une copie de l'enregistrement à M. Tajzadeh, qui la fit parvenir au ministère des renseignements. La machine s'est alors emballée. Des copies trafiquées de la cassette se sont retrouvées sur le marché par les bons soins du ministère des renseignements,

ajoute M. Lahidji. Arrêté, M. Ebrahimi a affirmé qu'il avait fait ses « confidences » à l'instigation de M<sup>me</sup> Ebadi et de M. Rahami.

### FERMETURE D'UN QUOTIDIEN

Convoquée une première fois, mercredi 21 juin, par le tribunal révolutionnaire de Téhéran, où elle a été entendue pendant trois heures, M<sup>me</sup> Ebadi avait été laissée en liberté, sans doute, note le président de la LDDHI, parce qu'une délégation européenne effectuait alors une visite en Iran.

Dès sa sortie, M<sup>me</sup> Ebadi avait néanmoins adressé une lettre au chef du pouvoir judiciaire, l'ayatollah Mahmoud Hachémi Chahroudi. Son affaire, ainsi que celle de M. Rahami sont survenues quarante-huit heures après la mise en détention provisoire de l'opposant Ezatollah Sahabi et de la fermeture, pour une durée indéterminée, du quotidien *Bayan*, dix-huitième titre proche des réformateurs à subir un tel sort en l'espace de deux mois.

Mouna Naïm

dimanche 2 juillet 2000.



## Le retour aux villages vidés du sud-est kurde reste sporadique

BATMAN (Turquie), 2 juil (AFP) - Près d'un après l'annonce de l'arrêt des combats par la rébellion kurde, le retour des populations évacuées de leurs villages du sud-est durant la lutte contre les séparatistes reste sporadique, malgré une demande de plus en plus forte, et risque de rester conditionnel.

"C'est de la théorie, ces promesses de retour", fulmine Omer, 69 ans, chassé en 1992 de sa maison proche du Tigre, près de Hasankeyf, à 90 km au sud-est de Batman, avant qu'elle soit incendiée.

"Il ne restait déjà plus une pierre sur une autre, et en plus ils ont brûlé les arbres l'an dernier, comme pour être sûrs qu'on ne revienne plus jamais", proteste-t-il. "Mais si on me laissait, je repartirais à l'instant!"

Comme une majorité de déplacés, Omer réclame régulièrement l'autorisation de retourner sur ses terres pour "cultiver ses lentilles".

Mais le feu vert de l'administration qui gère les 10 provinces, toujours ou à peine sorties de 13 ans d'état d'urgence, se fait attendre et les 378.355 "migrants forcés" recensés en 1997 dans un rapport parlementaire ne croient guère au miracle.

"Voilà deux printemps que les forêts ne brûlent plus, que l'interdiction de pâturer et de cultiver a été levée, et le village reste à moitié vide", raconte Mustafa, sur le bord de la piste qui mène au poste militaire avancé en pleine montagne, près du village de Gumusorgu, à 70 km au nord de Batman.

Juste derrière cette casemate où les soldats qui terminent leur affectation de 24 mois "s'ennuient à mourir", Gumusorgu a été partiellement vidé de ses habitants parce qu'il avait fourni 25 combattants à la rébellion du parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), reconnaissent les villageois alentours.

Son accès est soumis à autorisation spéciale, isolant ceux qui ont accepté la protection de l'armée.



Seul Muhammed, 25 ans, a pu revenir, fin 97, avec sa femme et ses deux filles, parce que parti de son plein gré, poussé par la peur.

Ravi de cultiver à nouveau ses 6 hectares de blé, il ne souhaite plus que la réouverture de l'école primaire, à l'abandon depuis 10 ans.

Ceux qui ont été chassés par les forces de sécurité, faute de prendre les armes comme gardiens de village comme le dénonce ce rapport parlementaire, semblent condamnés à tirer un trait sur leurs arpents de terre.

Pour le gouverneur chargé des 10 provinces sous administration spéciale, Gokhan Aydiner, il est certain que "tous les villages et hameaux ne seront pas rouverts".

Les plus éloignés ne pourraient profiter des services de l'état, explique-t-il à l'AFP à Diyarbakir, capitale du sud-est. Ensuite, s'énerve-t-il, renvoyer tout le monde dans les montagnes signifierait "revenir au point de dépa +", c'est à dire au déclenchement de la lutte armée.

Pour M. Aydiner, pas question d'accepter les demandes collectées par les partis et associations aux visées "politiques" et "séparatistes".

L'association d'aide aux migrants Goç-Der, et le Parti de la Démocratie du Peuple (HadeP, pro-kurde) dont elle est proche, annoncent avoir recueilli les requêtes de quelque 45.000 familles qui réclament en outre des compensations financières.

"Seuls les formulaires déposés individuellement auprès des autorités locales seront examinés au cas par cas", promet M. Aydiner, qui dit avoir déjà accordé 64.000 autorisations de retour sur 131.000 cas, et enregistré 26.000 retours depuis huit mois.

Mais les villages repeuplés à partir de zéro semblent introuvables, alors que 3 bourgs réservés aux clans de gardiens de villages seront bientôt inaugurés.

"L'Etat devrait ouvrir ses bras à tout le monde, sans quoi le terrorisme resurgira", prédit à l'AFP Fetullah Gultepe, député du Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP) à Van.

3 juillet 2000

ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE

3919

*Politique extérieure*  
(Turquie - droits de l'homme - Akin Birdal - libération)

46131. - 15 mai 2000. - Mme Nicole Feidt appelle l'attention de M. le ministre des affaires étrangères sur le sort réservé à M. Akin Birdal par les autorités turques. Elle lui indique que, selon Amnesty international, cet ancien président de l'Association des droits de l'homme de Turquie (I.H.D.) aurait été de nouveau incarcéré alors que son état de santé ne lui permettrait pas de séjourner en prison, en raison de graves séquelles dont il souffrirait à la suite d'un attentat perpétré contre lui en 1998. Elle lui précise que, toujours selon cette organisation, M. Akin Birdal, aurait été condamné pour avoir simplement exprimé son opinion, sans appel à violence, ni incitation à la haine, sur un règlement pacifique du conflit kurde. Elle lui demande, à l'heure où la Turquie frappe à la porte de l'Union européenne, de bien vouloir lui indiquer les intentions du Gouvernement français en ce qui concerne son action auprès de la Turquie et des instances internationales, pour que, d'une part, M. Birdal soit libéré, et que, d'autre part, les diverses violations des droits de l'homme puissent être prévenues en Turquie.

Réponse. - La situation de l'ancien président de l'Association internationale des droits de l'homme est bien connue des autorités françaises. Les autorités turques ont effectivement procédé de nouveau le 27 mars dernier à son incarcération. L'institut médical d'Istanbul avait indiqué, contrairement à un rapport médical précédent, que son état de santé n'y faisait pas obstacle. La France a immédiatement demandé la libération de M. Birdal. Les Quinze ont rappelé notamment l'importance à leurs yeux du respect de

l'état de droit et des réformes démocratiques dans la perspective du rapprochement entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie. M. Birdal est un défenseur des droits de l'homme dont l'action mérite le respect. La législation sur la base de laquelle il a été condamné est contraire aux normes européennes en matière de liberté d'expression. La France déplore profondément son incarcération. Les autorités françaises continueront de faire tout leur possible, à titre national et au sein de l'Union européenne, pour obtenir que cette décision soit rapportée.

*Politique extérieure*  
(Turquie - droits de l'homme - Akin Birdal - libération)

46536. - 22 mai 2000. - M. Claude Gaillard appelle l'attention de M. le ministre des affaires étrangères sur la dramatique situation de M. Akin Birdal, défenseur des droits de l'homme en Turquie et prisonnier de conscience d'Amnesty International. Condamné à un an de prison et incarcéré le 3 juin 1999, sa peine a été suspendue pour raison médicale. Malgré tout, il a été à nouveau incarcéré malgré son état de santé très préoccupant. Il demande quelles démarches compte entreprendre la France pour tenter de faciliter sa libération, ainsi que pour inciter la Turquie à respecter davantage le droit d'expression.

Réponse. - La situation de l'ancien président de l'Association internationale des droits de l'homme est bien connue des autorités françaises. Les autorités turques ont effectivement procédé de nouveau le 27 mars dernier à son incarcération. L'institut médical d'Istanbul avait indiqué, contrairement à un rapport médical pré-

cédent, que son état de santé n'y faisait pas obstacle. La France a immédiatement demandé la libération de M. Birdal. L'Union européenne a également réagi à la décision des autorités turques. Les Quinze ont rappelé notamment l'importance à leurs yeux du respect de l'Etat de droit et des réformes démocratiques, dans la perspective du rapprochement entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie. M. Birdal est un défenseur des droits de l'homme dont

l'action mérite le respect. La législation sur la base de laquelle il a été condamné est contraire aux normes européennes en matière de liberté d'expression. La France déplore profondément son incarcération. Les autorités françaises continueront de faire tout leur possible, à titre national et au sein de l'Union européenne, pour obtenir que cette décision soit rapportée.

## Un Pasdaran tué dans un attentat dans une région kurde

TEHERAN, 2 juil (AFP) - 12h59 - Un officier du Corps des Gardiens de la révolution (Pasdaran) a été tué par balles à Mahabad, une région kurde dans le nord-ouest de l'Iran, a annoncé dimanche la télévision.

"Le Pasdaran Ayoub Ravandi a été tué par balles par des inconnus", a annoncé la télévision, soulignant que le corps du militaire a été inhumé dimanche dans sa ville natale Ochnavieh (nord-ouest) et à l'issue d'une cérémonie à laquelle ont pris part plusieurs milliers de personnes.

Le militaire a été victime d'une attaque armée à Mahabad, une région kurde située dans le sud de la province iranienne de l'Azerbaïdjan Occidental, frontalière de Turquie et de l'Irak.

Aucun groupe n'a revendiqué la responsabilité de cette attaque.

# Jews Fear Exodus After Iran Verdicts

*The Associated Press*

SHIRAZ, Iran — Jewish leaders in Iran fear a wave of emigration in the wake of news that 10 Jews convicted of spying for Israel against this Islamic nation had been sentenced to prison.

In the southern city of Shiraz, the arrests of the 13 suspects more than a year ago, a trial that began in April and televised confessions by two of the defendants have alarmed a community that has lived in relative peace for more than 2,000 years.

The sentences, announced Saturday, drew harsh condemnation from Israel — which denied that the convicted men were its agents — and from several Western countries, including the United States.

Three defendants were acquitted.

Even before the verdicts and prison sentences ranging from 4 to 13 years were announced, Jewish leaders were reporting signs of an exodus. Few would talk openly about emigration and numbers were difficult to pin down.

"The issue of emigration began when this case began, and I am sorry for this," Maurice Motamed, the single Jewish representative in Iran's 290-seat Parliament, said Sunday. "I'm afraid this exodus will intensify with the heavy verdicts."

"Since this case started, the whole Jewish community in Iran regards itself under suspicion," said Haroun Yashayai, head of Iran's Jewish Society.

"Inevitably, some Jews have begun to leave, this I cannot deny."

### ■ Convictions Draw Fire

*Susan Sachs of The New York Times reported from Shiraz, Iran:*

The Iranian judge who Saturday convicted 10 of 13 Jewish men accused by the Revolutionary Court of being spies asserted that their years of religious piety had been a cover for espionage and illegal aid to Israel — regarded by Iran as an enemy.

The men included shopkeepers, Hebrew-language teachers, a part-time rabbi, an English-language professor and an electrical utility official.

Most were convicted of being members of an illegal group, recruiting others to join it and "cooperating" with Israel.

Two Muslims convicted of aiding the spy ring were also convicted and sentenced, one to two years and the other to four.

Two other Muslims, arrested because of their dealings with some of the Jewish defendants, were acquitted along with three Jews.

The verdicts, seen by Tehran-based diplomats as harsh, drew immediate condemnation from Jewish groups and from Israel, which has denied using the Iranians as spies.

Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, told Reuters that the outcome was "ridiculous."

"This was a kangaroo proceeding," Mr. Holbrooke said.

Human rights organizations also had criticized the proceedings as unfair, because the trials were held in secret and the de-



Behrouz Mehri/Agence France-Presse

A sister of Hamid Tefillin, a key defendant in Iran's trial of accused agents of Israel, fainted in the courtroom when the prison sentences were announced.

defendants were held for over 15 months without access to attorneys.

Esmail Naseri Mojarrad, the spokesman for the three-lawyer team representing most defendants, said the court had not proved that the men passed — or even had access to — classified information.

He said he would appeal the convictions if family members wished, based on the absence of any evidence other than confessions by some of the men.

“If they are not guilty of collecting information, exactly what

kind of cooperation are they supposed to have given?” Mr. Naseri Mojarrad said.

Eight of the defendants were paraded before cameras of the state television channel during the hearings and made confessions that were broadcast nationally.

Defense lawyers complained that the confessions, both off camera and on, were invalid because of the length of detention and because their clients had no lawyers present.

Iranian officials have gone to unusual lengths to defend their handling of the case, denouncing

the international attention as interference in internal affairs.

In a rare gesture, court officials read the 72-page decision of the Revolutionary Court judge, Sadeq Nouri, to reporters and the foreign diplomats who have monitored the trial since it began in late April.

The norm for the Revolutionary Court is not to announce a verdict at all. Trials are secret, defendants often do not have lawyers until the last minute and evidence is never made public.

The men could have also been charged with a special count in

Iran’s Islamic penal code — acting against God — which carries the death penalty.

INTERNATIONAL

HERALD TRIBUNE,

MONDAY, JULY 3, 2000

## Who Wants a New Regime in Iraq?

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — During its brief, bumbling covert war against Saddam Hussein, the Clinton administration spent bundles of cash on the Iraqi opposition and pretended that it had not. Today the White House pretends to fund Saddam’s foes and makes sure that the money never arrives. Pretense has become the only constant of this president’s Iraq policy.

Seven years of failure have to be explained away or buried in foreign policy spin. Worse, American pilots and Iraqi civilians are put at risk daily to keep up political appearances, and not to bring strategic change to the Gulf.

Waiting for Saddam to go away has emerged as the most daring strategy that President Bill Clinton will pursue in Iraq.

He has extended that strategy to the Iraqi opposition in the past two years, apparently hoping that it, too, will just blow away if it is not given meaningful U.S. help.

Mr. Clinton and his national security team have either permitted or encouraged the State Department to flout the clearly stated intent of Congress to fund and equip the Iraqi National Congress in an expeditious manner. The midlevel bureaucrats assigned to “help” the INC continue to denigrate and thwart the organization rather than genuinely help it overcome its divisions.

Why would they do that? Ahmed Chalabi, a senior INC official, was asked that question at a Senate committee hearing last Wednesday. Mr. Chalabi initially sought to avoid trouble with the White House. But he finally yielded a response:

Turning the Iraqi opposition into a serious force to confront Saddam is seen by this administration as too risky.

Confirmation of the condescending, culturally arrogant attitude with which the INC is treated by its U.S. “handlers” was provided by a senior State Department official who anonymously briefed reporters last Monday:

“Last year was a year spent helping them get their act together politically. You have got to deal with lawyers and accountants, get offices leased, hire personnel, install telephones, do a lot of travel and travel arrangements. These sorts of things are new to them.”

Mr. Chalabi happens to possess a doctorate in mathematics from the University of Chicago, and he studied at MIT. He owns an international credit card company in London. New to travel arrangements?

Like Saddam, the INC has managed to survive the Clinton “let’s pretend” school of foreign policy, which mixes calculated neglect with insincere declarations of commitment to regime change. But the disconnect comes sharply into focus with the arrival of the U.S. presidential campaign.

INC leaders were in Washington last week primarily to meet Vice President Al Gore, who showed early interest in helping Saddam’s opponents but has quietly gone along with Mr. Clinton’s Iraq finesse.

Mr. Gore’s problem on Iraq is his campaign problem in microcosm. The meeting with the

opposition was the right thing to do. It was intended to suggest that a President Gore would do more to bring down Saddam and to check his development of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. But the choreography of the meeting as an official occasion at the State Department (rather than a political meeting, where promises would have to be made) gave Mr. Gore a pretext for not saying such words. Once again, he seemed to lack the courage of his convictions.

Mr. Clinton lacks the courage of his cynicism. He has authorized the U.S. Air Force to bomb and strafe Iraq on slim provocation in the longest active military campaign conducted by the United States since Vietnam. But he has not come before the nation to explain the 18-month-long air war.

If Iraq is worth bombing, it is worth a presidential speech that lays out the problems and prospects of constructing an effective anti-Saddam policy.

Enormous problems still confront the Iraqi National Congress, the United Nations inspectors trying to get back into Iraq and other forces that would work against Saddam. But patronizing Iraqi democrats, the American people and Congress only prolongs and intensifies those problems.

Mr. Clinton is unlikely to change his spots this late and finally offer honesty on Iraq. But Mr. Gore and George W. Bush have not only the chance to come clean on what they will (or will not) do to reverse this ignominious failure. They have an overwhelming obligation.

*The Washington Post.*

INTERNATIONAL  
Herald Tribune

MONDAY, JULY 3, 2000

# Kurdish initiative for Turkish Party

Mert Gozde

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

Politicians and intellectuals of Kurdish background met twice last week, on Wednesday and Thursday, and agreed to set up a mass political party.

The group of Kurds that worked on the founding principle for the joint party consists of the Democratic Movement Initiative group, which wants to set up a Turkey Party, the Free Democrats group, which wants to found a Liberal Kurdish Party, and the Union for Democracy group. The talks, which did not achieve anything concrete due to ideological differences, were resumed by Dr. Mehmet Emin Sever, a former deputy for Mus and chairman of the Commission for a New Political Structure, and his colleagues.

After meeting on Wednesday, Democratic Masses Party (DKP) leader Serafettin Elci, Democratic Peace Party (DBP) leader Yilmaz Camlibel, defunct Democracy Party (DEP) leader Feridun Yazar, People's Democracy Party (HADEP) former leaders Murat Bozlak and Ahmet Turk and the former deputy for Erzurum and grandson of Sheik Sait, Abdulmelik Firat, all discussed possibilities for acting together and forming executive councils and then decided to make a declaration.

## Support from HADEP leaders

The following day, Kurdish intellectuals held a meeting with even more participants. Six people from Wednesday's meeting were joined by 15 other Kurdish intellectuals, including former state ministers Adnan Ekmen, Kemal Okutan, Mehmet Emin Sever, Kasim Firat and Ali Baran, together with Diyarbakir Mayor Feridun Celik of HADEP and Bingol Mayor Feyzullah Karaaslan. The meeting was held in Ankara's Yildiz district in the office of a former deputy for Sirnak, Kemal Birlik. It has been learned that the HADEP leaders backed the founding of a mass party for all citizens of Turkey and that they maintained the Kurdish issue could only be solved through the joint efforts of both Kurds and Turks.

## What kind of party will it be?

Firat attended both meetings and outlined the party's aims to TDN reporters as follows:

"Our aim is to form a Turkey Party for all of us. When I say Turkey Party, I mean a party that works in accordance with Turkey's Constitution and laws and is a mass party with its doors open to everybody. Before announcing our intention to set up a joint party, we first established this as our basis. The study groups that have been set up will prepare the party's infrastructure. Only then will we officially announce it to the public. I estimate these studies will take at the most two weeks."

Firat said the principle aim of the party was to unite all Kurdish intellectuals involved in politics under one roof, be they affiliated to a party or not, and to struggle for a joint democracy. He continued:

"The party is not solely for Kurds. Turks will join too. All our colleagues are agreed that the Kurdish issue cannot be solved by Kurds alone. It can only be resolved by working together with Turks. In this day and age, when both Turkey and the world have distanced themselves from marginal issues, there is no point in making this a marginal issue.

Turkey is at an impasse, and we want to work together with those who are striving to create democracy in Turkey. In order to bring democracy to Turkey, we have to fight together. The party manifesto will be weighted towards the Kurdish issue, but it will also cover all of Turkey's other problems. The party will probably comprise a greater number of people of Kurdish origin than Turks because of their sensitivity to the Kurdish issue but the party is not a Kurdish party, it is a Turkey party. Our principle aim is to work together with all groups and bring European Union-standard democracy to Turkey. Of course, this means implementing all the Copenhagen criteria."

# Syrie : les trois chantiers de Bachar El Assad

LIONEL JOSPIN avait réagi à chaud le 10 juin, à l'annonce de la mort de Hafez El Assad, en faisant part de ses craintes pour la stabilité de la Syrie. « Ce n'est pas un Etat comme un autre », avait-il ajouté. M. Jospin exprimait alors tout haut ce qui se disait plus bas : l'après-Assad n'allait-il pas déchaîner les passions mises sous le boisseau pendant les trente ans d'un pouvoir sans partage ?

Les spéculations les plus pessimistes ont pourtant été rapidement démenties par les faits. A Damas, en l'espace de quelques heures, la succession a été réglée. La modification de la Constitution a ouvert à Bachar El Assad la voie vers la présidence, et le jeune homme a rassemblé derrière lui les cadres du régime qui auraient pu contrarier l'ascension préparée avec minutie par son père. Les funérailles de Hafez El Assad auront été à cet égard le dernier coup de pouce donné à l'impétrant, lancé immédiatement dans le grand bain de la politique internationale.

## RÉFORMES ÉCONOMIQUES

Les Etats-Unis ne s'y sont pas trompés, qui ont adoubé presque aussitôt Bachar El Assad comme nouvel interlocuteur pour la paix. Les jugements flatteurs prononcés promptement par Madeleine Albright avaient sans doute pour objet de dissiper un certain attentisme lié également aux mêmes interrogations sur cette succession.

La suite des événements a confirmé leurs prémices. Le Baas, qui tenait congrès pour la première fois depuis quinze ans, s'est aligné comme un seul homme derrière le jeune prétendant. Puis, le 27 juin, le Parlement en a fait le seul candi-

dat à la succession du père. Le 10 juillet, Bachar El Assad devrait accéder à la présidence à l'issue d'un référendum au résultat prévisible.

Ce n'est qu'à partir de cette date que le jeune homme pourra enfin être jugé à l'ouvrage. Il n'en manque pas. En diplomatie, le cas de sa tutelle sur le Liban mis à part, la Syrie ne devrait pas abandonner du jour au lendemain une position cohérente depuis 1967 à propos du Golan : recouvrer tous les territoires perdus à l'occasion de la guerre contre Israël, rive orientale du lac de Tibériade comprise. Damas a fait savoir de manière de plus en plus insistante que, à part ce point, tout est négociable.

Bachar El Assad, qui n'a sans doute pas le même lien que son père - ministre de la défense au moment des faits - avec le Golan, pourra-t-il défendre autrement cette revendication ? Sera-t-il capable d'envisager un autre rapport à Israël pour arriver au même résultat en parvenant à convaincre que le prix demandé par la Syrie pour une paix « juste et durable » n'est pas aussi exorbitant qu'on veut bien le dire de l'autre côté de la ligne de cessez-le-feu ?

Compte tenu des délais qu'exige son installation au pouvoir, puis de la campagne électorale qui va se dérouler aux Etats-Unis, parrain du processus, ce dossier lancinant risque cependant de ne pas être rouvert avant quelque temps.

Auparavant, Bachar El Assad devra exprimer plus clairement sa vision des réformes économiques dont le pays a grand besoin et qui ont été promises depuis des mois, en vain. Il joue dans cette affaire

son crédit de responsable « moderne », limité pour l'instant à de louables mais peu coûteuses déclarations sur « l'analphabétisme qui est aujourd'hui de ne pas savoir utiliser un ordinateur ». Plus qu'un plan Internet, c'est bien une refonte totale d'un système désuet et improductif qui s'impose, la rupture dans les discours avec le dogme du secteur public omnipotent, la rupture également avec l'économie de complaisance, quasi mafieuse, des monopoles juteux concédés à quelques-uns au prix de leur fidélité. Bachar El Assad, fraîchement désigné, voudra-t-il et pourra-t-il rompre avec ce passé ?

## DISSIPER LES RÉTICENCES

Le troisième chantier, jamais évoqué jusqu'à présent par le jeune dirigeant, consiste en un autre ajustement, celui de la vie politique. La Syrie n'est pas le seul pays de la région, loin de là, où l'expression politique est monopolisée par un parti ou un clan, où les plébiscites frisent 100 % d'opinions favorables et où les libertés publiques élémentaires sont soumises à rude épreuve, mais ces travers semblent y avoir particulièrement prospéré.

A peu de frais, Bachar El Assad pourrait pourtant améliorer rapidement cette image. Il lui suffirait de relâcher le contrôle policier du pays et de l'expression publique, et surtout d'ouvrir les prisons où croupissent dans des conditions d'un autre âge au moins deux mille détenus politiques, Frères musulmans, communistes ou militants des droits de l'homme. Leur libération ne saperait en rien son pouvoir et, en rompant ainsi avec le plus noir de l'héritage, il dissiperait bien des réticences.

Hafez El Assad n'avait jamais caché son incompréhension devant la course folle de la « perestroïka » engagée dans l'ex-Union soviétique. Il lui semblait que ses inspirateurs avaient en quelque sorte gâché le métier en remettant en cause les fondements de leur pouvoir, sans voir que le système était inéluctablement parvenu au bout de sa course.

Il revient sans doute aujourd'hui à son fils de savoir changer à temps pour ne pas être emporté.

Gilles Paris

LE MONDE /

MARDI 4 JUILLET 2000

## Les gardiens de village pro-gouvernementaux restent maîtres dans le sud-est



BATMAN (Turquie), 4 juil (AFP) - 3h06 - Les gardiens de village, auxiliaires de la lutte contre la rébellion kurde depuis une décennie, restent maîtres dans le sud-est de la Turquie, pourtant quasiment pacifié après l'annonce de l'arrêt des combats par la rébellion l'an dernier.

"Je dois rentrer avant la nuit car les "korucu" ("protecteurs" en turc) de la région tirent sans sommation", raconte Hasan sur un champ loué à un habitant toujours banni du hameau détruit de Gunduzluk, à 50 km au nord de Batman.

"Je n'ose même pas aller voir ce qui reste de ma maison", clame Omer, 69 ans, chassé en 92 de son village proche de Hasankeyf, à 90 km au sud de Batman, et entièrement brûlé depuis.

"Celui qui passe la rivière marquant la limite du village est immédiatement abattu", affirme-t-il. "Beaucoup de gens ont ainsi disparu".

Les villages reculés qu'occupent les "korucu" demeurent inaccessibles sans autorisation spéciale, malgré la disparition presque totale des patrouilles militaires et la levée des restrictions légales dans plusieurs provinces.

Les affrontements sont à "un niveau proche de zéro", affirmait dès septembre le chef d'état-major Huseyin Kivrikoglu, et l'état d'urgence, en vigueur depuis treize ans, ne concerne plus que 4 provinces de la région.

"Sans cette permission, je ne répons d'aucun problème de sécurité", explique à l'AFP le gouverneur adjoint de Batman, Bayramali Kose.

"Faute de laisser-passer officiel, il est impossible de continuer", renchérit le commandant du poste militaire sur l'unique accès à Gumusorgu, à 60 km au nord de Batman, partiellement vidé après que certains aient pris les armes avec le PKK (Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan) qui a lutté pendant 15 ans pour un Etat kurde indépendant dans le sud-est.

"J'ai rendu visite à mes proches devenus gardiens de village alors que j'avais préféré partir. Ils m'ont fait comprendre que je ne pouvais pas revenir m'installer là-bas et je n'ai pu rester qu'une nuit", raconte sous un nom d'emprunt Mehmet Yilmaz, parti en 1995 d'Akpinar, dans la province de Hakkari.

Des dizaines de milliers de familles chassées de chez elles pour couper tout soutien à la rébellion réclament leur retour dans les villages évacués, mais les milices pro-gouvernementales et leurs proches jouissent en priorité du droit d'occuper les nouveaux villages construits dans les zones rurales.

Le Premier ministre Bulent Ecevit doit ainsi inaugurer fin juillet le village de Catak-Konalga, à 60 km au sud de Van, bientôt suivi de ceux de Dikbiyik, plus au sud, et de Kaymakamçesme, dans la province de Sirnak.

Entrer dans Konalga, qui abrite 200 familles du clan Ezdinen "n'est pas encore possible", explique à l'AFP un proche collaborateur du gouverneur de Van sous couvert de l'anonymat.

A ce jour, 65.000 "korucu" sont officiellement au service du maintien de la sécurité dans les 10 provinces administrées par un gouverneur spécial, dont les trois-quarts sont rémunérés par les autorités et les autres sont des "bénévoles".

La question de leur désenrôlement est régulièrement évoquée, avec la disparition progressive de l'insécurité, et une loi votée vendredi par le parlement restreint fortement les conditions d'appartenance à la milice, et pose des limites à sa liberté d'action, jusque là totale. Elle charge aussi les sous-gouverneurs de les désarmer et de les mettre à pied en cas d'abus.

"Il n'est pas question de s'en débarrasser", déclare pourtant à l'AFP le gouverneur spécial pour les provinces du sud-est, Gokhan Aydinler, "car le terrorisme peut resurgir à tout instant".

"Mais ceux qui désirent arrêter ne seront pas remplacés, et l'Etat leur trouvera une situation, notamment dans les services de sécurité", affirme-t-il.

## Procès de neuf Kurdes: les avocats plaident la relaxe



PARIS, 6 juil (AFP) - 18h21 - Les avocats de neuf Kurdes, huit ressortissants turcs et un français, poursuivis pour s'être violemment opposés à d'autres Turcs en juin 1998 à Paris, ont principalement réclamé, jeudi, la relaxe de leurs clients alors que le parquet avait requis de deux à trois ans de prison.

Contre quatre des prévenus, le parquet avait en outre réclamé, vendredi dernier, cinq ans d'interdiction du territoire français.

Le jugement a été mis en délibéré au 14 septembre.

Mis en examen (inculpés) pour violences volontaires et association de malfaiteurs en vue d'une entreprise terroriste, les neuf prévenus sont soupçonnés d'être venus, le 20 juin 1998, sur l'esplanade des Invalides, dans le centre de Paris, armés de bâtons et de barres de fer pour s'opposer à la tenue d'une manifestation organisée par des associations turques pour protester contre la reconnaissance par la France du génocide arménien.

Quelques jours plus tôt, l'Assemblée nationale, chambre basse du Parlement, avait adopté un texte reconnaissant ce génocide datant de la première guerre mondiale.

Les avocats de la défense ont expliqué qu'il n'y avait pas de preuve de connivence manifeste et ont demandé la relaxe pour l'association de malfaiteurs.

"Puisque l'Assemblée nationale venait de reconnaître ce crime comme un génocide, autoriser cette manifestation, c'était autoriser une manifestation négationniste", a plaidé Me Patrick Arapian, l'un des avocats de la défense, pour justifier la présence d'opposants.

Me Arapian a regretté les réquisitions qualifiées de "triple peine: la prison, l'expulsion du territoire français, le retour en Turquie avec la mention +terroriste kurde+".

Me Jean-Laurent Panier a reconnu que son client a "peut-être donné quelques coups, mais sans doute pas ceux qui ont occasionné les blessures" évoquées par la partie civile.

18 personnes avaient été blessées dont trois sérieusement.

Le procureur avait requis des peines de deux ans de prison contre trois prévenus, et 30 mois contre deux autres, demandant au tribunal d'assortir les condamnations d'une partie de sursis. Il avait requis trois ans de prison ferme et cinq ans d'interdiction du territoire français contre les quatre autres prévenus.

TURQUIE

Ali Agça, heureux comme un pape dans sa prison d'Istanbul

L'auteur de la tentative d'assassinat contre Jean-Paul II est rentré en Turquie, où il doit purger une courte peine pour avoir, dans le passé, occis un journaliste. *Hürriyet* s'élève contre cette justice qui défend le crime.

HÜRRIYET  
Istanbul

Et le messie est descendu du ciel dans un avion Falcon... Notre homme de Malatya [ville natale d'Ali Agça] est le premier prophète à avoir tiré sur un pape. Il est aussi le premier messie qui a pu bénéficier d'une remise de peine... Qu'il soit le bienvenu chez nous. D'ailleurs, il ne manquait plus que lui ! [A la suite d'une série d'opérations menées ces derniers temps, plusieurs gros bonnets de la mafia turque ont été arrêtés, dont certains avaient collaboré étroitement avec Agça.] Dans quel type de prison désirerait-il séjourner ? Avec vue sur la mer ou dans une suite ? Et à sa disposition, on installera, bien sûr, un téléphone portable, une télé, une chaîne hi-fi, un congélateur, un jacuzzi... S'il a envie d'une pizza, elle lui sera livrée. Idem pour les services de coiffure et de manucure. Même

des femmes seront mises à sa disposition... On nous a expliqué au journal télévisé que le messie de Malatya a sauté de joie lorsqu'il a appris qu'il allait être extradé vers la Turquie. Il criait en s'extasiant : "Je n'arrive pas à y croire !" Comment expliquer cette réaction ? Alors qu'il était presque arrivé à la fin de sa peine en Italie, pourquoi se réjouit-il de son retour dans un pays où on avait requis la peine capitale contre lui ? En fait, il n'y a pas de quoi s'étonner. Retourner dans un pays où l'on donne raison aux assassins contre les innocents, retrouver un système où les bandits accaparent le pouvoir, de telles perspectives réjouiraient bien entendu n'importe quel criminel. La situation est honteuse à plusieurs égards : Agça a purgé vingt ans de prison en Italie pour avoir blessé un homme. Mais combien d'années doit-il passer ici derrière les barreaux pour avoir assassiné un autre homme ? [Avant de tirer sur le pape, Agça avait tué Abdi İpekçi, le rédacteur en chef du grand quotidien *Milliyet*.] Car une loi d'amnistie décrétée sous la présidence de Turgut Özal [1989-1993] avait commué à dix ans les peines

capitales. La procédure pénitentiaire en réduit encore une partie, ce qui fait qu'il s'en tire aujourd'hui en Turquie avec neuf ans seulement. Comment ne pas courir joyeusement vers un pays qui dispose d'un tel système judiciaire ? Il est évident que les criminels préféreraient tous vivre dans un pays où on ne prend que neuf ans pour un assassinat alors qu'ailleurs ils croupissent en prison pendant vingt ans juste pour avoir blessé quelqu'un. Si on améliore encore un peu les conditions de détention et si on augmente légèrement la dose d'indulgence, il est probable que même les citoyens qui n'ont commis aucun délit vont se bousculer devant les portes des maisons d'arrêt en demandant leur admission derrière les barreaux. La Turquie ne doit plus être dirigée de cette manière. Cette situation honteuse ne peut plus perdurer ainsi. Sinon, personne ne pourra plus arrêter dans le pays l'effusion de sang, les assassinats et les bombes... Ce serait la fin de la Turquie. Peut-on imaginer un Etat de droit sans le droit ? Non !

Bekir Coşkun

IRAN

Les juifs condamnés sans preuve

La justice iranienne semble ainsi faite que plus l'affaire avance et moins elle est claire. Après le verdict rendu le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet contre les treize juifs iraniens de Chiraz, on ignore toujours si les accusés sont véritablement les espions décrits par l'accusation ou seulement les victimes de la lutte que se livrent en Iran religieux réformateurs et conservateurs.

Hamid Tefline, 24 ans, vendeur de chaussures à Chiraz, a été condamné à treize ans de prison pour « association illégale » et « collaboration avec Israël ». Tefline aurait organisé des fêtes pour obtenir des informations de certains de ses invités, notamment des militaires. C'est la peine la plus lourde que le cordonnier partage avec

Asher Zad-mehr, 54 ans, qui enseignait l'hébreu et faisait office de rabbin.

Seuls trois accusés ont été acquittés, dont un gamin de 17 ans, alors que les peines des autres s'étalent entre quatre et onze ans de prison. C'est beaucoup s'ils sont innocents ou s'ils n'ont fait que transmettre des informations anodines. C'est peu s'ils se sont livrés à toutes les activités qui leur sont reprochées, alors que la loi iranienne prévoit la peine de mort pour ce type de délit.

Selon Hossein Ali Amiri, responsable de la justice à

Chiraz, les condamnés auraient récolté et transmis des photos et des informations sur la défense radar de Chiraz et d'Ispahan, sur l'industrie militaire et les systèmes de communication de l'armée, sur les activités de la banque centrale et des grandes fonderies d'Ispahan. Ils auraient aussi réalisé des interviews pour connaître l'attitude de certains officiers face à un ré-

Iran reste insensible aux protestations occidentales.

chauffement éventuel des relations avec les Etats-Unis.

Seul problème, mais de taille : ces accusations ne s'appuient que sur les aveux des accusés, la justice n'ayant apparemment mis la main sur aucune preuve. Les avocats de la défense, qui ont pris dans cette affaire des risques considérables, ont changé

de discours : au lieu de nier les activités de leurs clients, ils parlent désormais de « tentative d'espionnage » et comptent sur la cour d'appel pour adoucir les peines.

Les protestations occidentales ne rencontrent que peu d'écho en Iran, où l'opinion est mobilisée par beaucoup d'autres procès : celui des assassins du réformateur Saïd Hodjarian et diverses actions intentées contre des journalistes, dans le colimateur de la justice ultra-conservatrice. ■

SERGE MICHEL (À TÉHÉRAN)

Dix des treize accusés au moment du verdict





# Iran's Liberals Scaling Back Defiant Hope For Reforms

By Susan Sachs  
New York Times Service

TEHRAN — With most of their newspapers silenced and many of their activists jailed by hard-line courts, Iran's reformers have scaled back their once-defiant agenda for change and are concentrating on regaining a public voice through their control of the new Parliament.

Inside the vast high-ceilinged chamber where the lawmakers meet, there is a sense of reduced expectations. It is a mood far different from the euphoria that followed their sweeping victory in the first round of elections in February.

Then, the reformers pledged that they would soon make good on all the vague promises of democracy and freedom that were made by their hero, President Mohammed Khatami, when he was elected in 1997.

But their ambitions were visibly trimmed by a hard-line backlash — the press crackdown, the detention of pro-democracy activists, the voiding of more than a dozen races won by pro-Khatami candidates and a three-month delay in certifying the election results for many others.

"People have huge demands and expectations from this Parliament and government," acknowledged Mohammed Reza Tabesh, a newly elected lawmaker from the reform movement and a nephew of Mr. Khatami, in a recent conversation. "It's almost too much."

Then he paraphrased a Persian proverb to describe the Khatami camp's strategy.

"The one who moves forward," Mr. Tabesh said, "is not the one who moves fast."

The new Parliament — Iran's sixth since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, which replaced the monarchy with a theocratic leadership — began work May 27. It has spent much of the time since then organizing its leadership and committee structure.

Only 268 members have taken up their posts. The results of elections for the remaining 22 seats in the 290-member body are still being disputed by the hard-line Council of Guardians, the group that vets candidates, certifies elec-

tions and can block any legislation that it deems offensive or contradictory to its interpretation of Islam.

Although the hard-line opposition controls only about 30 percent of the Parliament seats decided so far, the cautious reform majority has tried to postpone an inevitable collision.

They elected a compromise figure for speaker, Mehdi Karroubi, a cleric who ran on a pro-Khatami ticket but is also a former hard-liner and past Parliament leader.

Mr. Karroubi has been busy in the last few weeks, shuttling from meetings with pro-reform groups to gatherings with hard-line religious leaders in Qum and in the Council of Guardians.

"The factions have to learn how to cooperate with each other — and they will learn," said Abbas Salimi Namin, managing director of the Tehran Times daily.

But Iran's politicians, he added, are still new at competing as pragmatic political adversaries and not as arch-enemies bent on destroying one another.

"We don't have much experience in this," said Mr. Namin. "The role of parties — how they should be controlled, how they should work with each other — it's not very clear to us."

As the reformers try to build bridges, they have also toned down their language on the more divisive social changes they once championed, like lifting a ban on satellite TV dish antennas and limiting the intrusive power of the country's quasi-official morals squads and courts.

Instead, they have said they will concentrate on reviving the once lively national press, streamlining government ministries, enacting a national budget and devising legislation to encourage the formation of political parties.

Their first and main priority, they said, is to strip the country's press law of restrictive amendments, added by hard-liners in the last Parliament, so reformers can defend themselves against political attack.

Using the tough press law, judges have closed 20 reformist newspapers and magazines since the elections, leaving mostly rightist publications and the state television channels. These regularly condemn the reform movement as un-Islamic and an agent of U.S. imperialism.

The muting effect was demonstrated last week, when a reform member of Parliament rose from his red leather seat and began to denounce the state television operation as the "mouthpiece" of only one political faction.

A few seconds into his speech, the television screens in the chamber went dark as cameramen from the government broadcasting company shut off

their equipment. The lawmaker's comments slipped into oblivion.

The proposed press law, which would effectively return Iran to the regulations in force earlier this year, is energetically backed by the Khatami government. But it is one of only a few pieces of legislation that the administration has put forward for consideration by the new Parliament.

Although the president's aides have spoken of the need to depoliticize the court system and ensure that judges act according to the law, they say he is not likely to offer any sweeping reforms that might provoke a dangerous showdown.

But their prudence is unlikely to avert clashes. The Council of Guardians, for example, can cancel any new reform legislation it does not like. Parliament can appeal such decisions but only to another potentially unfriendly body called the Expediency Council. It is led by a former president, Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, who has denounced the reformers as threats to the Islamic system.

"We don't expect the Guardian Council to approve of all the laws we send them," said Ali Reza Nouri, a leading reform lawmaker and the younger brother of a well-known cleric jailed for his writings. "We're not going to commit suicide, but we won't stop passing new laws just because the Guardian Council won't accept them."

Still, some reformers are reluctant to engage in full-scale battle with hard-liners controlling the Guardian Council.

"The younger generation of students at our religious seminaries is quite advanced and progressive but most of the older generation, like those on the Guardian Council, have traditional views," said Mohammed Taghi Fazel Meibodi, a reformist cleric who is a close friend of Mr. Khatami. "This is a problem the government is faced with. But the council should be respected because it's a legal institution."

A number of hard-liners, including some in Parliament and some on the Council of Guardians, have already signaled that they will fight the new press law. They have also said Parliament should deal with the ailing economy rather than issues of political and press freedom.

Reform activists, who are badly split among themselves on whether to pursue a state-controlled or free-market economy, said they would try to resist.

"Of course, economic issues are important and, separately, we have to find solutions to the problems of inflation and unemployment among our youth," said Jamileh Kadivar, a reformer elected from Tehran.



## **KDP Official Outlines Agreement With PUK**

Brayati 6 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] In a live telephone interview with Kurdistan Satellite TV channel [on 5 July] on the result of the KDP [Kurdistan Democratic Party] delegation's visit to the United States and its meetings with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK] delegation. Mr. Hoshiyar Zebari, a member of the KDP political bureau and the official in charge of KDP foreign relations, said:

"Actually, during our visit to the United States we held two types of meetings with US officials. The first was as part of the Iraqi opposition, the Iraqi National Congress [INC] delegation, of which we are member. We met US Vice-President Al Gore, who clearly expressed his support for the Iraqi and Kurdish peoples. We also met Thomas Pickering, undersecretary at the US Department of State, who is at the moment acting for the US secretary of state. We also met the US assistance defense secretary for international security affairs at the Pantagon. We also held meetings with US Congressmen. The talks at the meetings focused mainly on US support to the Iraqi opposition.

"The second type of meetings was with US officials in our capacity as a Kurdish delegation. These meetings were held separately and independently from the previous ones. "At these meetings the KDP delegation was led by [head of the KDP-led regional government] Mr. Nechirvan Barzani and included Sami Abd-al-Rahman and myself. The PUK delegation was led by Mr Jalal Talabani and [included] [head of the PUK-led regional government] Kosrat Rasul and [PUK representative in the United States] Barham Salih, and attended by Thomas Pickering on behalf of the US secretary of state and the assistant secretary of defence. The most important meeting was with Sandy Berger, the US president's national security advisor, and with Elizabeth Jones, the official in charge of the Kurdish affairs file [at the State Department].

"At these meetings, many important issues for the Kurdish people were discussed. In addition to the issues of protecting our people and ensuring our peoples' share in the revenue from the UN humanitarian [oil-for-food] program, the peace process within the framework of the Washington agreement [signed between KDP and PUK in September 1998], was the main focus of discussion at the meetings.

"To our satisfaction, the Kurdish delegation achieved a good success, and the US side has reaffirmed to the Kurdish delegation its commitments to the future of the Kurds." Regarding the outcome of the meetings between the KDP and PUK, Mr. Zebari said: "In my perception, what we agreed this time with the PUK is something very important, and both sides' positions were very close to each other. They have never been so close as they were this time.

Both sides have reaffirmed their commitment to the Washington agreement and the peace process and reaffirmed to the United States their commitment that they will not engage in combat and use weapons to settle internal problems.

"The talks between the PUK and ourselves achieved very significant progress, especially on the convening of the Kurdistan national assembly with the participation of the members of the green list -- our PUK brothers -- in the regional capital of Kurdistan, Arbil, on the basis of the results of the 1992 elections. With the convening of such a meeting of the Kurdistan national assembly, all sorts of titles -- like regional presidency and court of appeal - will be abolished. Once again there will be one court of appeal, with the participation of some judges from the Sulaymaniyah region to be taken into consideration."

Regarding the revenue issue, Mr. Zebari said: "The KDP delegation has stressed that the revenue issue was not the reason for antagonism between the PUK and ourselves. We will settle this problem with a political solution. We have stressed to the United States and to the PUK delegation that the revenue issue will not become an obstacle in the way of a general reconciliation. In this context, we have submitted some practical proposals to the US side. I am optimistic about reaching a comprehensive agreement."

Regarding the date for the Kurdistan national assembly meeting, Mr Zebari said: "No date has so far been set for this meeting, but both sides agreed that this step will open the door for the settlement of all the problems in Kurdistan."

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## Turquie : un an de prison pour le leader islamiste Necmettin Erbakan

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

La Cour de cassation turque a confirmé, mercredi 5 juillet, une peine d'un an de prison à l'encontre de l'ancien premier ministre islamiste, Necmettin Erbakan, 74 ans, pour « incitation à la haine raciale ou religieuse », ce qui entraîne son interdiction d'activité politique à vie. Il est reproché à ce vieux routier de la politique turque d'avoir, lors d'un discours prononcé en 1994 à l'occasion d'une visite dans le Kurdistan turc, accusé les autorités laïques d'avoir remplacé les prières musulmanes dans les écoles par des slogans nationalistes.

Condamné aux termes de l'article 312 du Code pénal, le chef islamiste devra passer, selon un jeu de remises de peines, quatre mois et vingt-six jours en prison. Le premier ministre, Bülent Ecevit, a déploré la

condamnation de M. Erbakan.

« Nous devons, bien sûr, respecter la décision du tribunal », a déclaré le chef du gouvernement, « mais je dois dire que je ne suis pas satisfait que M. Erbakan doive être emprisonné pour un discours prononcé il y a six ans. » Considéré comme le père spirituel du mouvement islamiste qu'il

avait fondé, il y a plus de trente ans, Necmettin Erbakan, bien qu'officiellement écarté de la scène politique après la dissolution de son parti de la Prospérité (Refah) en janvier 1998, continue d'exercer une influence considérable en coulisses, notamment au sein du parti de la Vertu (Fazilet); le successeur du Refah interdit.

UN MOUVEMENT AFFAIBLI

En mai de cette année, le premier congrès officiel du Fazilet, tenu jusque-là par des associés de longue date de l'ancien premier ministre, a

cependant révélé les limites de son emprise. Le dirigeant actuel du Fazilet, Recai Kutan, n'est parvenu à garder la direction du parti que de justesse, face à un groupe de réformateurs dirigé par l'ancien ministre Abdullah Gül. Un membre de ce courant réformateur vient d'ailleurs de demander aux tribunaux d'invalider les résultats du congrès, au prétexte que le règlement régissant les élections des responsables du parti n'avaient pas été respecté.

Désormais affaibli par ces divisions internes, le mouvement islamiste se trouve sous la pression des institutions étatiques qui poursuivent une lutte incessante contre l'islam politique. Le parti de la Vertu est actuellement sur la sellette. La Cour constitutionnelle devrait bientôt se prononcer sur la requête du procureur Vural Savas qui, non seulement demandé la dissolution de cette formation islamiste perçue comme le successeur du Parti de la prospérité interdit, mais réclame également l'expulsion du Parlement des 103 députés islamistes. Une telle décision aurait des conséquences politiques importantes, puisqu'elle en-

traînerait la tenue d'élections partielles dans plus de circonscriptions pour remplir les sièges vacants.

La condamnation de Necmettin Erbakan risque d'avoir un impact non seulement sur la direction future du mouvement islamiste, mais aussi sur les relations entre Ankara et l'Union européenne. Avant de pouvoir accéder à l'Europe, la Turquie doit accomplir des réformes démocratiques afin de remplir les critères de Copenhague. L'emprisonnement d'un ancien premier ministre sur la base d'un discours prononcé durant une campagne électorale ne contribuera pas à convaincre les Européens que des réformes sont en cours. Si certaines institutions étatiques, notamment le Conseil national de sécurité (MGK), dominé par les militaires, demeurent réticentes au changement, le président Ahmet Necdet Sezer a lancé la semaine dernière un nouvel appel en faveur d'une révision de la Constitution, et à la levée des obstacles à la liberté d'expression.

Nicole Pope

## Editorial Assesses Result of Rival Kurdish Parties' Talks in US

Govari Gulan (Arbil) 06 Jul 00 by Saro Qadir

[FBIS Translated Text] Last Friday the meetings between high-ranking delegations of the Kurdistan Democratic Party [KDP] and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK] ended without a joint statement being issued. The talks were held under the auspices of the US State Department and were closely observed by the acting secretary of state and the US president's advisor [for national security affairs].

The KDP delegation was led by [the head of KDP-led regional government] Nechirvan Barzani, and [PUK leader] Jalal Talabani led his party's delegation. The heads of both delegations attended the meetings with the US Vice-President, acting secretary of state--as [Madeleine] Albright was not in the United States--and other officials from the White House and the State Department.

To all intents and purpose, the delegations of the two Kurdistan parties were there [in the United States] within the framework of the meeting of the Iraqi opposition leaders but great importance was given to the Kurdistan delegations, as indicated in Al Gore's speech and State Department statements, particularly since it was announced prior to the Kurdish delegations' visit that it [the State Department] would meet both parties. Earlier a delegation from the State Department had visited Kurdistan and tried to invite the leadership of both parties to the United States, with a view to providing impetus to the Washington agreement signed between the two parties' leadership two years ago.

In the course of the talks, which lasted four days, different reports were published in well-known newspapers, saying that the PUK delegation had created tension in the meetings because of money [revenue issue]. This made the people in Kurdistan extremely worried. The following day [as published], Mr Hoshyar Zebari, who was a member of the KDP delegation, denied the report and explained that there had been no tension, and that even some steps had been taken toward preparing the ground for the [Washington] agreement.

In addition to the promise made by the KDP delegation regarding the Kurdistan government's contribution to the payment of the salaries of employees in Sulaymaniyah Governorate, the [KDP] leader [Mas'ud] Barzani indicated during the graduation ceremony at Salah-al-Din University that the [regional] government will not forget the people of Sulaymaniyah and its environs and would try to provide a fund for its administration.

Some observers close to the meetings in the United States say that, apart from the KDP's promise to reach a settlement on the issue of the [Sulaymaniyah Governorate] fund, the appointment of Jalal Talabani as regional president and the separation of the court of appeal--a branch of which has been established by the PUK in Sulaymaniyah--have to be reversed, and a settlement found for these two issues. In the words of Mr Jalal Talabani a settlement could be reached regarding these two issues.

Perhaps it is not very pleasant for the United States that a meeting, held under its auspices, should end without a result. But, although a joint communique regarding the points on the which the two parties have agreed was not issued, the meetings have been generally positive. This is evident in the three aforementioned points. Apart from this, both sides have promised to develop their meetings in Kurdistan and continue their effort in the search for a settlement, and not to think of fighting in any way. It is worth mentioning that prior to the visit to the United States, [media] attacks [on the KDP] came from PUK sources. During the anniversary of the party, the PUK launched a media attack on the KDP over several days. [The London based] Al-Hayah quoted [the head of the PUK-led government] Kosrat Rasul saying that because of insufficient funds the [PUK] armed men could not be held back and they wanted to fight. What can be noticed here is that no PUK source has rejected this. Talabani has positively assessed the meetings and promised to continue the talks in Kurdistan.

The meetings were considered by the KDP side as positive and useful, and they expressed their readiness to continue the meetings in Kurdistan. People are grateful that there is no threat of fighting and that the talks are to continue.

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### **Paper Comments on Talks With KDP in US**

Kurdistani Nuwe (Suleymaniya) 9 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During the meetings held [in Washington] between the PUK [Patriotic Union of Kurdistan] delegation, led by Mr Kosrat Rasul and including Dr Barham Salih and Dr Latif Rashid, and the KDP [Kurdistan Democratic Party] delegation, led by Mr Nechirvan Barzani and including Mr Sami Abd al-Rahman, Mr Hoshiyar Zebari and Mr Farhad Barzani, and attended by some senior US State Department officials, the PUK side, as it stated, showed the utmost flexibility and made concessions on some of its legitimate political rights in order that the [Washington peace] agreement [signed between both parties in September 1998] could be successfully implemented, for the sake of the supreme interests of the Kurds and Kurdistan.

However, in reality, the KDP, which to all intents and purposes has expressed its commitment to the Washington agreement on all levels, wants the situation to stay as it is now, which means a status quo of no peace and no war. This is because in this situation it can control the financial resources without any problem and because they [in the KDP] want to dominate and put fear into the people who are under their authority. This is why now, according to some informed sources, the Americans are trying to make another attempt to hold another meeting so that the Washington agreement would be successfully implemented, and this is what they [the Americans] are aiming for.

In this context a question imposes itself: Why didn't [KDP leader] Mr Mas'ud Barzani respond positively to the invitation addressed to him, to visit the United States to meet Al Gore, the same as Jalal Talabani, with the INC [Iraqi National Congress] delegation?

According to a source close to the KDP who wanted to remain anonymous, Mr Mas'ud Barzani declined the US invitation but sent [the head of the KDP-led government] Nechirvan Barzani [to Washington] for a number of reasons: First, because he did not want to upset the Baghdad regime and disturb his relations with it, relations that have been in place since 1991. However, he sent his nephew [Nechirvan Barzani], who is the second figure in the KDP, to head the KDP delegation [to Washington] so that they would not take a tough stance toward him.

The second reason was that he did not want to sit down with Mr Jalal Talabani in the US capital to [discuss] the implementation of the Washington agreement, all the clauses of which should have been implemented by July last year, and stability should have prevailed in Kurdistan. The KDP delegation could not make all the decisions without Mr Mas'ud Barzani. Or, as a tactic, it [the KDP delegation] asks for permission to consult with the KDP leader and some other officials, who can decide. This is a way to evade the implementation of the agreement. This is what the source close to the KDP said.

It is worth mentioning that following the meetings between the two delegations, Mr Sandy Berger, the US president's adviser on national security affairs, received Mam [honorific] Jalal [Talabani] and the two Kurdish delegations on 30 June. He reaffirmed the US firm stance on the Baghdad regime and talked about some other issues and heard both sides' view of the situation in Iraq and the region. What draws attention is that "Berger has warned both sides against any party's cooperation with Saddam Husayn's regime for the sake of expanding its authority in Iraqi Kurdistan", as reported by the London edition of 'Al-Hayah' on 4 July. According to the newspaper, this warning by Berger came after the PUK delegation members had passed information to the Americans that the KDP was preparing to attack the PUK region with the cooperation of the Iraqi forces, similar to the attack launched in August 1996. [Passage omitted containing more criticism of the KDP leader and his reported lack of enthusiasm for the implementation of the inter-Kurdish peace accord]

Ozgur Politika  
07 Jul 00  
by Ebru Yazici

## Ocalan Assesses Ecevit's Remarks on CHP-HADEP Relations

Translated Text

PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan] leader Abdullah Ocalan evaluated Bulent Ecevit's statements, which targeted the relations between the CHP [Republican People's Party] and HADEP [People's Democracy Party]. Stressing that politicians should not misinterpret democratic alliances as merely strategic alliances, made for the sake of trivial matters such as calculating votes, Ocalan said: "Political fragmentation can only be prevented by forming democratic alliances." Ocalan drew attention to the fact that the state has to overcome its policy of denial if the Kurdish problem is to be resolved.

We talked to Dogan Erbas, a lawyer at the Century's Law Office, regarding this issue. Erbas reported that in the meeting they held with their client the day before yesterday, Ocalan evaluated Ecevit's statements, which had targeted HADEP, Turkey's adaptation in response to the process of EU membership, and democratic developments in the Middle East.

### Fragmentation Will Be Surmounted by Means of Alliances

Evaluating Ecevit's statements -- which resulted in HADEP being placed under intense pressure -- PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan stressed that democratic alliances should not be misinterpreted as merely strategic alliances, made for the sake of trivial matters such as calculating votes. He added: "There is no need for anyone to be offended." Drawing attention to the fact that political fragmentation can only be surmounted by democratic alliances, Ocalan continued as follows: "Alliances will be established with those who make the utmost efforts to pave the way for democratic development. In fact, this is the only way to prevent political fragmentation." Noting that hard work as well as creativity and productivity are needed to surmount the current deadlock in Turkish politics with regard to democracy, the PKK leader said: "Democratic politics, culture, and education should be disseminated among the people. Profiteering and plunder, which is based on war and conflict and which has been widespread in Turkey for the last 20 to 30 years, will be eliminated. The economic profiteering of both the right and the left wings - a profiteering that had its roots in violence -- will be stopped. Democratic alliances, on the other hand, are necessary and imperative for this historic effort."

### The State Should Abandon the Policy Based on Denial

Emphasizing that the Kurds will defend unity and that it is time for the state to move beyond the policy based on denial, Ocalan said the following: "The state will surmount the policy of denial and the Kurds, in turn, will surmount separatism. The Kurds will defend unity. The state, in turn, will abandon the policy based on denial." Referring to the process of Turkey's adaptation to the EU, Ocalan stressed that the Kurdish problem will be resolved within the framework of the EU. Ocalan said: "The state should initiate new openings with regard to this issue. This is developing slowly; however, such a solution should be found and will be found."

Noting that it is possible to combine the Laussane Agreement and the Copenhagen criteria, the PKK leader pointed out that they are in favor of proceeding democratically within this framework. Stressing that they will never sabotage the measures taken by Turkey, Ocalan added: "We will carry out all our responsibilities in order to enable Turkey to proceed within the framework of the EU norms."

Pointing out the EU consists of 43 countries, Ocalan noted that Turkey is the only country in the EU that implements capital punishment. The PKK leader stressed that capital punishment is a disgrace for Turkey.

Regarding his health, Ocalan said the following: "I do not have serious health problems. I am trying to protect my health. I have respiratory problems due to the weather conditions, but they are not serious."

#### The Solution Is a Democratic Middle East

With regard to the development of democracy in the Middle East, Ocalan said the following: "The model for a democratic solution that we have developed for the solution of the Kurdish problem will affect not only Turkey but all the middle eastern countries in which Kurds live. The concept of friendship, peace, and brotherhood on the basis of the existing borders will gradually gain ground." Noting that the recent democratization efforts in Iran constitute a meaningful sign to this end, Ocalan added: "The Kurds may be very influential in Iran. They may assume the role of pioneers of democratic development in Iran and demand their freedoms and rights through developing their legitimacy and without the use of violence. A model for the solution can be developed without confronting the regime and by maintaining their freedoms.

In Syria also, the Kurds may resolve the problems by assuming their role with their own organizations on the basis of their legitimacy. In this respect, the democratic solution that will be developed will serve Turkey's interests in the long run."

Ocalan stressed that instead of following the models such as those of Ethem Barzani [leader of the Hizbullah Kurdish Revolutionary Party] and Jalal Talabani [leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)], which are based on anti-democratic, feudal, and tribal structures, a democratic solution should be implemented.

Emphasizing that it is important to develop a real democracy -- the democracy of the people -- rather than a dynasty democracy, Ocalan said the following: "It should be known that the people's support is necessary in order to prevent violence and difficulties in term of the democratic movement. This is the most important aspect of or proposed Middle East solution."

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## INC Rejects Turkmen Delegate At Washington Meeting

Iraq Report

RFE

7 July 2000, Volume 3, Number 22

London's "Al-Hayat" of 28 June reports that the Iraqi National Congress has rejected the inclusion of a Turkmen representative in their Washington delegation to meet members of Congress and American Vice President Al Gore. "Al-Hayat" said that "Turkey had contacted the U.S. State Department to ensure the inclusion of a Turkoman representative at the meeting with Gore...but the INC leadership rejected this. An Iraqi source that took part in the meeting told 'Al-Hayat' that the INC has nothing against Mustafa Diya, the Turkoman representative, but objected to the way in which Turkey tried to impose a representative on the INC".

On 3 July, the Iraqi Turkmen Organization sent a letter of protest to Gore concerning the exclusion of the Turkmen: in the letter, the group said that "we strongly condemn and protest the exclusion of the Turkmen representatives by the INC from the Washington meetings" and added that "we expect the United States government to remind the Iraqi opposition groups that no solution is possible to the Iraqi problem without the Turkmen participation." (David Nissman)

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Al-Quds al-'Arabi

08 Jul 00

by Khalid al-Shami in London

## Report on Iraqi Opposition Meeting in London

Translated Text

The Central Council of the opposition Iraqi National Congress [INC] held its meeting in London Friday night in the presence of Frank Ricciardone, US coordinator for change in Iraq. The announcements to boycott the meeting continued until just a few hours before its convocation.

The Islamic Unity Movement in Iraqi Kurdistan said that it would boycott the meeting because it did "not find anything new in it in the interest of our people, which shows that it excludes democratic and social work." In a statement it sent to Al-Quds Al-Arabi, the movement said that the so-called temporary leadership of the congress lost its legitimacy with the expiry of the two-month grace, which the New York conference set last October. The leadership, it said, violated the decisions of the New York conference by increasing its representatives in the Central Council at the expense of other parties. This has led to upsetting the balances and doing injustice to many devout members of the opposition, the statement adds.

A leading source in the congress has said that the Accord Movement [Iraqi National Accord] is now outside the Iraqi opposition group, which is facing wide divisions within its ranks. He pointed out that leadership members held talks with the Accord Movement to make it go back on its decision to freeze its membership in the congress, but they failed. He attributed that to the leadership's condition that the Accord Movement should not attempt to impose US Intelligence Agency (CIA) decisions on the congress!

The source added that the council will meet in the absence of at least 10 members, who are: Five representatives of the Accord Movement, two of the Kurdish Islamic Unity Movement, one of the tribes, and two others: Ismail al-Qadiri and Baha al-Shabib, who announced the boycott of the meeting on Thursday.

Meanwhile, a statement by the congress denies that any promises were made to Aziz Qadir, representative of the Turkmen Front in London, to join the temporary leadership instead of Iyad Allawi, leader of the withdrawing Accord Movement. The statement says that the choice of the leaders falls strictly within the powers of the Central Council.

Al-Quds Al-Arabi has learned that the Central Council intends to elect a "new" leadership, which would automatically exclude the Accord Movement representative in its meeting. In addition to Dr. Ahmad al-Jalabi, who is practically in control of the leadership, the new leadership will include Al-Sharif Ali Bin-al-Husayn, leader of the Constitutional Monarchy Movement; Hoshayar Zibari, representative of the Kurdistan Democratic Party; Latif Rashid, representative of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, and one or two representatives of the Islamic trend, which includes Layth Kubbah, Muwaffaq al-Rubay'i, Jihad al-Wakil, Muhammad Ali (member of the temporary leadership), Mustafa al-Musawi, and others.

A Central Council member, who preferred to remain unknown, has said that the current conflicts revolve around the US funds, which are to be disbursed as soon as the congress has formed its bodies. The funds amount to approximately \$13 million. The member added that the exclusion of the Accord Movement has opened the way before others to benefit from a big part of the funds.

On the other hand, Muwaffaq al-Rubay'i, representative of the so-called "Islamic Trend" in the council, has said that the current will seek to increase the number of its representatives in the leadership body and the Central Council to one third, according to the original agreement in the congress since its first meetings in Vienna and Salah-al-Din.

Replying to a question by Al-Qud Al-Arabi about the reasons for remaining in the congress despite the fact that all the other Islamic parties and fronts have boycotted its work in protest against US support, Al-Rubay'i said: "The Islamic Trend considers the boycott as a negative action and believes that it is better to operate within the organization." He added: "If our house is burning, should refuse to put out the fire simply because the water is American?"

Replying to a question that it is the United States, which is burning Iraq by the daily shelling, Al-Rubay'i said that the shelling is confined to military installations and that all the Iraqis, who were killed since the "Desert Fox" operation in December 1998 are just a few hundreds, while those who have been killed by the regime in the first and second Gulf wars are in hundreds of thousands.

Observers on Iraqi affairs have affirmed that the United States would try to use the two main Kurdish parties to mediate between conflicting parties in the INC in order to prevent its collapse, which, it believes, would mostly harm the Kurds themselves and threaten the collapse of their federal rule gain, which they only obtained through the INC.

The observers said that the extent of the US Administration seriousness to activate the Kurds would appear from its real interest in saving the INC from collapse.

The following is a list of the Central Council members:

Islamic Trend: 1. layth Kubbah. 2. Talib al-Hamadani. 3. Muwaffaq al-Rubay'i. 4. Ali Allawi. 5. Jamal al-Wakil. 6. Asad Fayli. 7. Ali al-Qabanji. 8. Mustafa al-Musawi. 9. Aqil al-Ta'i. 10. Madyan al-Musawi. 11. Nizar haydar. 12. Muhammad Muhammad Ali.

National Accord: 1. Salah al-Shaykhali. 2. Dirgham Jawad Kazim. 3. Sattar al-Bayir. 4. Abd-al-Khadir Tahir. 5. Muhammad Khurshid.

Kurdistan Democratic Party: 1. Samir Abd-al-Rahman. 2. Ruz Nuri Shawish. 3. Muhsin Dazzih Ni. 4. Dalshad Miran. 5. Nizar Shamdin. 6. Abd-al-Khaliq Zankanah. 7. Hoshayar Zibari. 8. Yusuf Tuma.

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan: 1. Fu'ad Ma'sum. 2. Latif Rashid. 3. Barham Salih. 4. Sa'di Bayrah. 5. Adil Murad. 6. Kafiyah Sulayman. 7. Jamil Khaddar.

Turkmen: Five members.

Assyrians: 1. Fawzi al-Hariri. 2. Yunadam Yusuf. 3. Emanuel Qutyr.

Liberals: 1. Ahmad al-Jalabi. 2. Riyad al-Yawar. 3. Kuran Talabani. 4. Mahdi al-Bassam. 5. Qaysar Wattut. 6. Najib al-Salihi.

Nationalists: 1. Baha al-Shabib. 2. Isma'il al-Qadiri. 3. Hasan al-Alawi. 4. Adilal-Shaykhali.

Democratic Trend: 1. Samir Shakir Mahmud. 2. Ali al-Atiyah. 3. Faryad Huwayzi. 4. Muwaffaq Fattuhi.

Constitutional Monarchy Movement: 1. Al-Sharif Ali Bin-al-Husayn. 2. Sa'ib Hilmi. 3. Husayn al-Rikabi. 4. Faysal al-Qurra Ghuli. 5. Sadiq al-Musawi.

Tribes: 1. Jabir al-Dulaymi. 2. Isma'il al-Harbi.

Islamic Unity: Two members.

Islamic Union: 1. Ali Muhammad Ahmad. 2. Umar Abd-al-Aziz Baha.

The total number of members is 65.

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## HADEP challenges collaboration allegations

HADEP says it conducts dialogue with all political parties, but does not collaborate exclusively with any particular party

July 8, 2000

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

In the aftermath of Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit's comments on alleged collaboration between the People's Democracy Party (HADEP) and the Republican People's Party (CHP), the leader of HADEP, Ahmet Turan Demir, pointed out at a press conference on Friday what makes his party different from other political parties.

"We are asking our prime minister; Isn't HADEP under the Constitution's guarantee? Isn't it politically and legally correct for HADEP to hold dialogue or to collaborate with any other political party," Demir said at HADEP headquarters in Ankara.

Saying that HADEP is conducting dialogue with other political parties in Turkey, Demir said HADEP does not have any exclusive collaboration with the CHP.

Ecevit previously accused the CHP and HADEP of forging an election alliance. Both HADEP and the CHP denied the collaboration allegations.

CHP leader Altan Oymen on the subject previously said: "In Turkey, after a long period of fighting, efforts are being made to build peace. Making accusations at such a time amounts to contributing to separatism."

In Turkey, either an election alliance or collaboration between political parties is not illegal. HADEP, known as the "pro-Kurdish" party by some circles is reacting to Ecevit because it believes HADEP has been treated differently from other political parties.

HADEP is currently facing an ongoing closure case at the Constitutional Court on allegations that it is linked to the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

HADEP's three predecessors were banned for their ties with the PKK, and several HADEP deputies remain in prison on charges of separatism.

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## Jalal Talabani reçu par deux hauts responsables syriens

DAMAS, 9 juil (AFP) - 19h27 - Le chef de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan irakien (UPK), Jalal Talabani, a été reçu dimanche par le vice-président syrien Abdel Halim Khaddam et le numéro deux du parti Baas au pouvoir à Damas Abdallah al-Ahmar, a-t-on appris auprès de sa formation.

Ses entretiens ont porté sur la situation en Irak, a indiqué le bureau de l'UPK à Damas sans plus de précisions.

M. Talabani, arrivé samedi soir en Syrie, se rendra ensuite en Iran, a-t-on ajouté de même source.

Sa visite intervient au moment où Damas et Bagdad confirment leur rapprochement entamé en 1997, avec la rencontre début juillet à Damas entre Bachar al-Assad, le successeur désigné du défunt président syrien Hafez al-Assad, et le ministre irakien des Affaires étrangères, Mohammad Said al-Sahhaf.

L'UPK et son rival, le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK de Massoud Barzani), se disputent la souveraineté du nord de l'Irak depuis 1991 qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad.

lundi 10 juillet 2000

## La visite de Khatami scelle les retrouvailles germano-iraniennes



BERLIN, 10 juil (AFP) - La première journée, lundi, de la visite officielle du président iranien Mohammad Khatami en Allemagne, a scellé les retrouvailles germano-iraniennes, après plusieurs années de tension, mais sans régler les divergences sur les droits de l'Homme.

Le chancelier social-démocrate Gerhard Schroeder a parlé devant son hôte d'un "substantiel nouveau départ", tout comme le président Johannes Rau. Celui-ci était venu accueillir M. Khatami à sa descente d'avion avec les honneurs militaires, pour la première visite d'un chef d'Etat iranien depuis celle du shah en 1967.

Toutefois, tant le chancelier que le chef de l'Etat ont souligné que des divergences demeuraient.

"Nous avons aussi parlé des questions qui nous séparent", a déclaré M. Schroeder, évitant avec soin les mots "droits de l'Homme". De source proche du gouvernement allemand, on soulignait que les thèmes "qui pour nous sont véritablement importants" avaient été évoqués.

Le sort des dix juifs iraniens condamnés le 1er juillet à Chiraz (sud de l'Iran) pour espionnage au profit d'Israël et l'emprisonnement de deux journalistes et d'un interprète iraniens depuis leur retour d'un colloque de la Fondation Heinrich-Boell, proche des Verts, à Berlin en avril, ont été abordés.

Dans le même temps, l'opposition iranienne n'a pas fait le plein escompté de militants. Rassemblés à la Porte de Brandebourg, monument-symbole de Berlin, ils étaient 7.000 selon la police et 20.000 selon le Conseil national de la résistance iranienne (CNRI), qui en attendait encore 25.000 ce week-end.

La police, mise en état d'alerte maximale avec un dispositif de 4.000 policiers, avait procédé dans la nuit à une cinquantaine d'interpellations préventives d'opposants.

Confirmant la volonté des deux pays de tourner la page des affaires judiciaires à Berlin et Téhéran, qui avaient empoisonné leurs relations dans les années 90, le chef du gouvernement allemand a assuré que la visite du président iranien serait "bonne et couronnée de succès".

Ces affaires -- la mise en cause par la justice allemande des dirigeants iraniens dans l'assassinat d'opposants kurdes à Berlin et la détention en Iran d'un Allemand accusé de relations sexuelles avec une musulmane -- ont toutefois retardé la normalisation germano-iranienne.

Mais Berlin, après Paris et Rome, a ouvertement choisi de soutenir Mohammad Khatami afin de renforcer sa position face aux islamistes radicaux en Iran.

M. Schroeder a promis un "développement dynamique" des relations économiques, alors que l'Allemagne est déjà le premier partenaire industriel de l'Iran. Les garanties publiques à l'exportation seront ainsi portées de quelque 100 millions d'euros à près de 500 millions, de grands projets -- non précisés -- seront engagés et une commission économique bilatérale qui ne s'était pas réunie depuis 1991 siègera bientôt.

Evoquant les "vastes champs de coopération", le chancelier a mentionné la protection de l'environnement, la culture, la lutte contre le trafic de stupéfiants et le terrorisme.

"Il y a beaucoup de possibilités de coopération entre l'Iran et l'Allemagne", quelles que soient les "différences d'opinion", a pour sa part déclaré Mohammad Khatami, présentant son pays comme "stable et engagé dans la voie du progrès". "Il faut chercher à réduire les différences d'opinion par un dialogue", a-t-il plaidé.

Le président iranien, qui avait été imam en 1978 à Hambourg (nord), a conclu devant la presse par un "Auf Wiedersehen" ("au revoir").

## Contrat d'un millier de chars évoqué par la France en Turquie



mardi 11 juillet 2000

PARIS (Reuters) - Le chef d'état-major de l'armée de terre Yves Crène est actuellement en Turquie alors que la France, l'Allemagne, les Etats-Unis et l'Ukraine sont en concurrence pour la fourniture à l'armée turque d'un millier de chars pour un montant de 7,1 milliards de dollars.

Au ministère français de la Défense, on a confirmé à Reuters que le général Crène avait évoqué ce sujet parmi les thèmes abordés lors de sa visite en Turquie, du 8 au 11 juillet. L'hebdomadaire allemand Der Spiegel estime que la France est favorite pour emporter ce contrat et qu'Ankara doit annoncer sa décision à la fin de cette semaine.

Les autorités françaises disent toutefois ne pas attendre cette décision avant plusieurs mois.

Le char Leclerc, de Giat Industries, est en compétition avec le char allemand Leopard II, fabriqué par AG Krauss-Maffei Wegmann (groupe Mannesmann (Paris: [5826.PA](#) - [actualité](#))), le char américain Abrams (General Dynamics) et l'ukrainien T-84 (Morozov).

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## Fighting Reported Between KDP And PKK in Iraqi Kurdistan

The Kurdistan Observer  
July 12, 2000

It has been reported that extensive clashes are taking place in Iraqi Kurdistan between the KDP forces and PKK, according to Anatolia Agency and the Arabic newspaper, Al-Hayat today.

KDP sources said that the fighting erupted when "PKK troops attacked" the residents of the area under Barzani's control "with the aim of obtaining money and supplies."

The fighting over the past two days has resulted in the death of 40 Kurds, 31 of whom are from the PKK.

The sources added that the Kurdish leader's forces "were able to force the PKK troops to withdraw to the mountains where they pursued them and destroyed several of their camps."

The KDP called on the international community "to make a move in order to save the Kurdish residents of the area from the PKK's repeated attacks."

In London, a leading figure in Barzani's party told Al-Hayah that "the PKK which collapsed after the arrest of (its leader Abdullah) Ocalan is still adamant on maintaining a presence in the border areas" between Iraq and Turkey. He said that there have been repeated infiltrations into KDP-controlled areas and that there have been "some pursuits" without giving details about the scale of the recent fighting.

In another context, the leading figure spoke about "opening a new chapter" between his party and Tehran, and about preparing to reopen the KDP offices in the Iranian capital where the authorities closed down three KDP offices in 1998 and arrested the staff there causing a crisis between the two sides.

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# Syrians Seal Their Votes In Blood for Assad's Son

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**DAMASCUS** — Syrians kissed Bashar Assad's hands and cheeks, hugged him and smeared voting cards with their blood to show their loyalty during a nationwide referendum Monday, the last formality before the former eye doctor succeeds his father as head of state.

The polling, orchestrated by the ruling Ba'ath Party, was held exactly one month after the death of Mr. Assad's father, Hafez Assad, who ruled Syria with an iron grip for 30 years.

When Mr. Assad, 34, takes office after a swearing-in ceremony July 17, it will be the first time a son has succeeded his father as president in an Arab republic.

The Interior Ministry, which oversaw the referendum, extended polling by three hours, until 10 p.m., to allow all voters to cast ballots, the official Syrian press agency SANA said.

"The people gave their opinion before the referendum by choosing Bashar as president," Prime Minister Mohammed Mustafa Miro said after voting for the new president. Mr. Miro was appointed in March with Mr. Assad's backing.

Outside, demonstrators from the ruling Ba'ath Party, whose leadership Bashar Assad took last month, chanted support: "We are Ba'athists. We are revolutionaries, and our leader is Bashar."

A woman working at the polling center used by Mr. Miro assured reporters that not one of the 435 votes cast in the first four hours of the referendum had been against Mr. Assad.

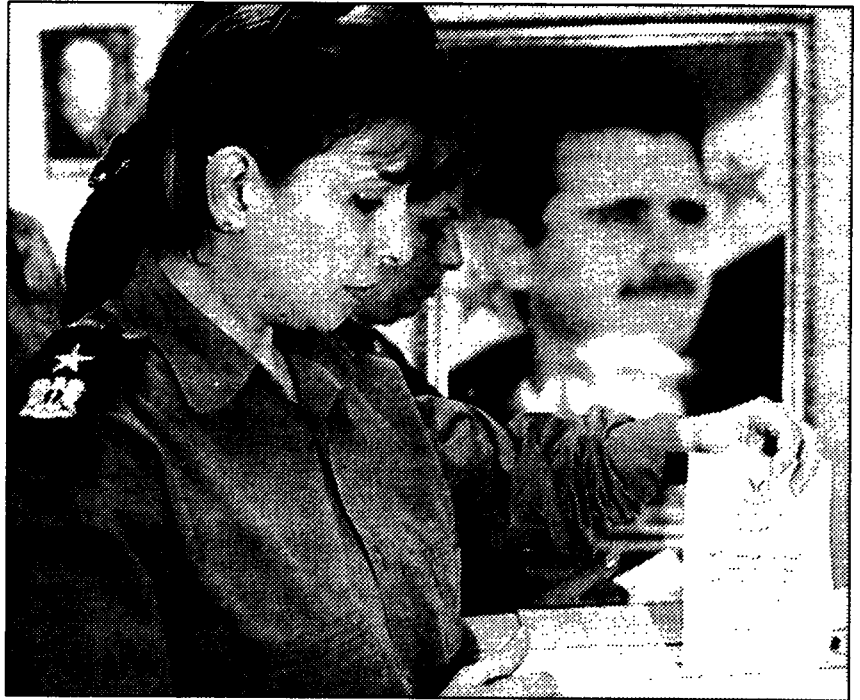
Like his father, who received between 99.6 and 99.99 percent of the ballots in four of five referendums, Mr. Assad is expected to get overwhelming endorsement from voters when the results are announced Tuesday.

"Our blood and our children belong to Bashar Assad," said Rose Boghos, a school principal. "He's our choice for a prosperous future."

Unlike previous referendums, when voters danced and sang outside polling stations, there were hardly any signs of jubilation because the 40-day mourning for Hafez Assad has not yet ended.

About 9.44 million Syrians over the age of 18 — more than half the population — were eligible to vote.

Voting was largely an open display of support for Mr. Assad, with people marking their ballots in front of the



Ali Jarekji/Reuters

An officer in Damascus casting her ballot, marked in blood, on Monday.

officials dispensing them. They had a choice of marking a green ring that said "yes" or a gray one signifying "no." Instead of using pens, some voters pricked their thumbs with sewing needles provided by voting officials and smeared blood to mark their ballots.

Officials looked shocked as one woman marked her ballot in blood over the gray "no" circle, but she realized her mistake and quickly took a new ballot to approve Mr. Assad's rise to power.

Three hours after the voting began at 7 a.m., Mr. Assad drove his gray-black car to cast his vote at his old school in Damascus.

Teachers and students met him with cheers, hugs and kisses, with some grabbing his hands and squeezing them tight. Mr. Assad told them he had chosen to vote at his school "because I owe you a big favor."

"A person acquires the elements of success or failure from two sources: the home and the school," he said, according to SANA.

Mr. Assad then got behind the wheel and drove slowly behind a security vehicle. When a crowd that had gathered around the corner from the school saw him, members broke through a security cordon and threw themselves at the car, chanting, "With our blood and our soul we sacrifice ourselves to you."

The young leader slowed down, smiling and waving as his security men pulled the crowd away.

In old Damascus, 80 members of Damascus' 100-strong Jewish community cast their votes, smearing the green ring with blood.

At the Foreign Ministry, Foreign Minister Farouk Shara told reporters after he had voted that the referendum was "the biggest proof" yet that those who be-

lieved Hafez Assad's death would lead to anarchy and instability were wrong.

"You know that big challenges faced us with the loss of President Assad," he said. "There has been a lot of betting on the succession, that the absence of Assad would lead to instability and ambiguity. We thank God that all these bets have failed."

Vice President Abdul-Halim Khaddam said that according to the constitution there will be a cabinet reshuffle after the new president takes office.

The main theme of the campaign leading up to the referendum had been that Bashar Assad was the only Syrian capable of continuing his father's policies. The autocratic Hafez Assad gave Syria stability after years of political upheaval, coups and unrest.

The referendum is the last in a series of steps Hafez Assad put in place to ensure the succession of his son, a former eye doctor with little political experience.

Within hours of his father's death on June 10, Parliament amended the constitution to lower the minimum age for president from 40 to 34, Bashar Assad's age.

In the days that followed, he was promoted from colonel to general and declared commander of the armed forces. The Ba'ath Party, which has enjoyed a monopoly in Syria since 1963, made him its leader and nominated him as its presidential candidate.

Organized demonstrations for Mr. Assad, held daily since the referendum was announced two weeks ago, continued. But although shops were open, temperatures soaring to around 40 degrees centigrade (102 degrees Fahrenheit) helped minimize activity.

(AP, Reuters)

INTERNATIONAL  
**Herald Tribune**  
PUBLISHED DAILY IN NEW YORK, LONDON AND THE WASHINGTON POST  
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 2000

# Protests Greet Iran Leader In Germany

By William Drozdiak  
*Washington Post Service*

BERLIN — Seeking to bolster ties with the West, President Mohammed Khatami of Iran began a three-day visit to Germany on Monday amid noisy protests from Iranian exiles and a warm reception from Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, who called for a "substantial fresh start" in relations between their two nations.

The reformist Islamic leader, who lived in Hamburg for several months before the fall of the shah in 1979, was greeted with full military honors as the Schroeder government sought to project a new image of friendship and understanding with Mr. Khatami and his moderate supporters who are engaged in a vicious power struggle with dogmatic revolutionaries.

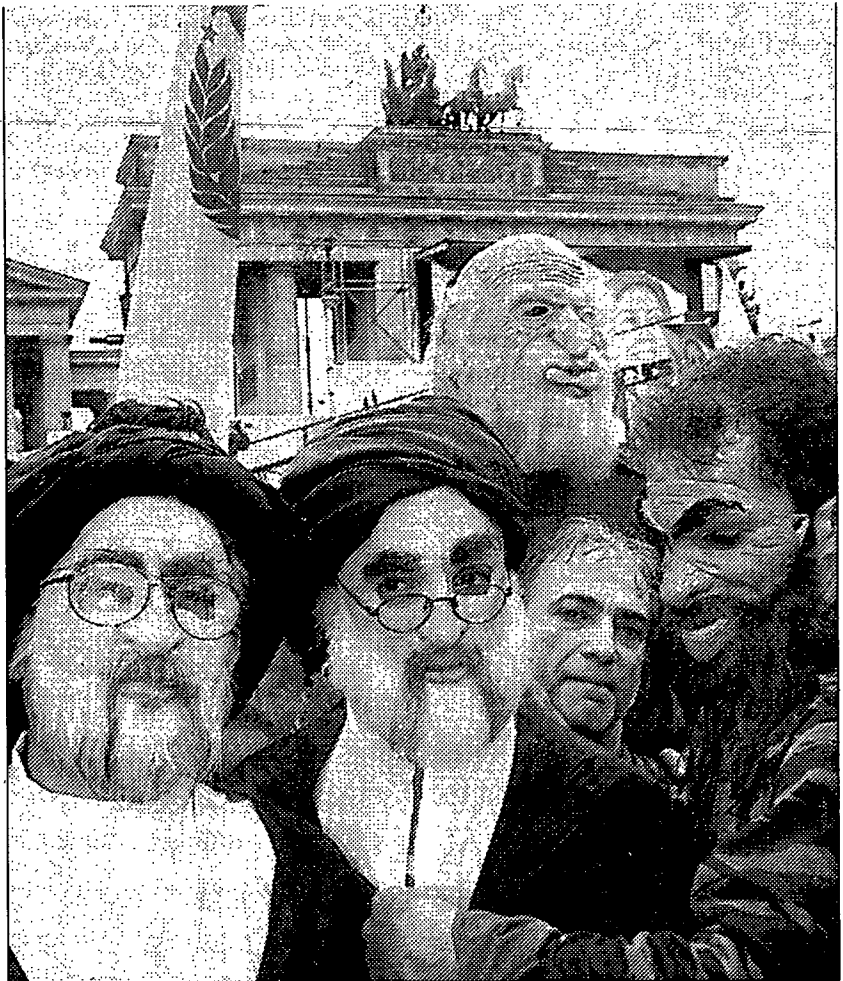
Mr. Khatami's visit, which follows trips last year to Italy and France, is regarded as an important step toward Iran's gradual reconciliation with the West. The Iranian foreign minister, Kamal Kharrazi, said he hoped the meetings in Germany would serve as a bridge toward ultimately improving relations with the United States, long regarded by Tehran as "the Great Satan."

Germany's amicable approach, however, is fraught with controversy. A total of 175 members of Parliament signed a petition urging that the visit be canceled because of Iran's reputed involvement with terrorist actions. A German court determined three years ago that the Iranian leadership was directly implicated in the murder of three Kurdish dissidents here in 1992.

Relations between Iran and Germany were also strained by the two-year ordeal of a German businessman, Helmut Hofer, who was twice sentenced to death in Iran for an alleged illicit sexual relationship with an Iranian woman. He was finally acquitted and released in January, which cleared the way for the presidential trip.

Since then, Germany has worked actively to bring Iran closer to the West, encouraging Mr. Khatami in his reform campaign and exhorting other Western allies, including the United States, to engage in open dialogue with those Iranians who are interested in building a more democratic political system.

"President Khatami has about 80 percent of the population behind him after free elections, and these young people have great hopes for reform," said the German foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, who recently traveled to Iran to prepare Mr. Khatami's trip. "To not support the reformers around Khatami, or even to isolate them, would really amount to doing the radicals' bidding."



Markus Schreiber/The Associated Press

Members of Iranian opposition groups wearing Khatami face masks Monday in Berlin as the Iranian president began a state visit to Germany.

Over recent weeks, thousands of Iranian exiles based here and elsewhere in Europe vowed to disrupt Mr. Khatami's visit, as they did during his previous forays in the West. In a widespread security sweep, German policemen rounded up 50 known opponents of the Tehran government over the weekend and searched houses of those suspected of involvement in plotting violent protests. Border officials turned back hundreds of Iranians who were identified as potential troublemakers.

Still, about 7,000 supporters of the Iranian resistance group known as the Mujahidin Khalq — which is classified as a leftist terrorist group by Germany and the United States — marched through the German capital to the Brandenburg Gate to vent their dismay over Mr. Khatami's presence.

To avoid any embarrassing encounters with the demonstrators, Mr. Khatami was transported to his various meetings by helicopter. More than 4,000 policemen were deployed to keep the protesters under control, as they moved through the heart of the German capital pounding drums and waving banners saying "trade with the mullahs hurts human rights."

At a press conference following his first meeting with Mr. Schroeder, Mr. Khatami expressed support for free speech and other democratic rights, but also declared that Germany was correct

in treating the Mujahidin Khalq as a dangerous terrorist threat because the group had waged a bombing campaign at home and was now seeking to overthrow his government from abroad.

"The opposition have the right to express their opinions, and I won't protest if someone has a different opinion and expresses it peacefully," he said. "But you cannot try and take over a country with terror and then go abroad and pretend to act democratic."

Mr. Khatami and Mr. Schroeder said they had discussed "serious differences of opinion," particularly on human rights matters. Mr. Schroeder said he spoke in a "frank atmosphere" in criticizing the recent jail sentences imposed on 10 Iranian Jews accused of espionage on behalf of Israel, as well as the arrests of two journalists who had attended a seminar in Germany.

"We have made it clear that we want to create a really substantial fresh start in the relationship between Germany and Iran," Mr. Schroeder said. "Of course, we talked about subjects on which we differ, and we made our views very clear."

He emphasized it was important for Berlin and Tehran to find ways to work together as Iran tries to reconcile the demands of a modern state with its cultural and religious traditions. "They are now deeply engaged in this process, and it is obvious that it will not be achieved overnight," Mr. Schroeder said.

# Policemen Cleared in Iran Attacks

By Geneive Abdo

Special to the International Herald Tribune

TEHRAN — A military court Tuesday acquitted a former Tehran police chief and 17 officers on charges of attacking university students last year as they slept in their dormitories. The verdict was immediately denounced by Iran's reformers.

Students who testified in the trial accused the police, who were backed by Islamic vigilantes, of brutal tactics during the night of last July 8-9, including beatings with clubs and sharp weapons.

The police had entered the Tehran University dormitories after a peaceful demonstration to protest the closing of a pro-reform newspaper. The incident ignited six days of unrest.

Judge Ahmad Tabatabaei ruled that there was insufficient evidence against the former police chief, Brigadier General Farhad Nazari, and most of the other officers.

Prosecutors had charged the general with ordering the police to attack the

student dormitories, disobeying orders from the Interior Ministry not to enter the dormitory complex, and causing public fury against the police.

A police sergeant was sentenced to 91 days in jail for stealing a student's electric razor during the raid and another officer received a two-year sentence for disobeying orders not to enter the dormitories.

The verdicts came after thousands of students and disaffected Iranians clashed with the police and Islamic vigilantes Saturday night. A peaceful rally to mark the first anniversary of the dormitory attack turned bloody when thousands of ordinary Iranians joined the students in Revolution Square in central Tehran.

Pro-reform activists, officials and student leaders condemned the verdict.

"The judiciary has acted unjustly with regard to the university dorms case," said a leader of the Office to Consolidate Unity, the largest pro-reform student movement.

"The judiciary must answer to public opinion," said Ibrahim Rezaei-Babadi, deputy governor-general of Tehran.

"We never thought that such a verdict would be issued."

Abbas Abdi, a former editor of the Salam newspaper, whose banning prompted the student demonstration last year, reacted sarcastically to the verdict, saying, "They should also have given the police officers medals and asked them why they had not beaten up the students even more than they did."

Reformers also noted that the verdict illustrated the power of conservatives who control the judiciary and the fragility of President Khatami's government. The police trial was considered a test case in Iran.

Student activists and reformist leaders have maintained that the police were not the only culprits in the dormitory attack. They also blame Islamic vigilantes, backed by religious hard-liners, for leading the assault. None have been charged.

Reformers are certain to point to the acquittals and the fact that no charges were filed against the vigilantes as evidence that the Iranian judiciary is firmly controlled by conservatives.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 2000

## Erbakan's Case Focuses Turkey On Free Speech

By Douglas Frantz

New York Times Service

ISTANBUL — The increasing likelihood that a 73-year-old former prime minister will go to prison for remarks in a political speech six years ago is sending a chill through Turkey's political elite and bringing widespread calls to relax laws that restrict freedom of speech.

A week ago, an appeals court upheld the one-year sentence and lifetime political ban imposed on former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan on the charge of "provoking hatred" in a speech in 1994. Since the ruling, political leaders have scrambled to diminish the decision's impact on Turkey's efforts to portray itself as a modern democracy and to join the European Union. Even Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit said he was saddened at the prospect of Mr. Erbakan's going to prison.

Whether the concerns will translate into an overhaul of laws regarded outside Turkey as violations of free expression is unclear.

Leaders across the political spectrum indicated that it may be time to modify elements of the code that make it a crime to promote religious or ethnic differences and to criticize the government or military.

Some in the military and the politicians most strongly wedded to Turkey's secularist state still oppose change, however, for fear that Turkey will turn more toward Islam.

A leader of the Islamic-oriented Virtue Party told Mr. Ecevit last week that the



Tarik Tinazay/Agence France-Press

Necmettin Erbakan is facing a year in prison for "provoking hatred" in 1994.

organization would consider supporting changes to the criminal code in exchange for leniency for Mr. Erbakan, according to the Turkish press. Backing for revisions also came from parties that form Mr. Ecevit's coalition.

"We have to make radical improvements to the civil and criminal codes," Bulent Akarcali, a member of Parliament who is deputy chairman of the Motherland Party, one of the coalition members, said in an interview. "It is a must."

Gunduz Aktan, a former senior Turkish diplomat, said that laws categorized in the criminal code as "crimes against the state" need to be revised to recognize the difference between legitimate political speech or criticism of the government and threats. "We need to separate violence and threats to public order from legitimate free speech," Mr. Aktan said in an interview.

Mr. Erbakan was prime minister for a year

in 1996 and 1997. He resigned under pressure from the military and political opponents who charged he was plotting against the secular order of Turkey. His pro-Islamic party was outlawed, but later re-emerged as the Virtue Party, with most of the same leaders.

Last March, Mr. Erbakan was convicted of a crime against the state for a speech he made in a Kurdish-dominated area before he became prime minister. In the speech, he contended that Turkey had abandoned its Islamic roots and that secular politicians had divided the Kurds from other Turks.

"In this country there are two parties: the righteous and the fallacious," he said.

Mr. Erbakan's jail sentence and ban were upheld by the appeals court, and he is expected to serve about five months in prison unless the chief prosecutor's office recommends reducing the sentence.

A report drafted by the Council of Europe said that the Turkish government needed to improve human rights and change portions of its law that were undemocratic, including various restrictions on free speech. The report said Turkey needed to make these changes if it hoped to achieve its goal of gaining membership in the European Union.

Seyfi Tashan, director of the Foreign Policy Institute in Ankara, noted that the threats that validated the restrictions on speech for many Turks appear to have eased. Kurdish separatism is less threatening and concern over Islamic fundamentalism may also be diminishing, he said.

"The question is whether the perception of threats has decreased to the point where free expression can be condoned," Mr. Tashan said. But others argue that the Islamic threat is still too potent to warrant easing restrictions. "There is no such thing as mild Islam," said Suna Kili, an author and political science professor at Bosphorus University. "The republic has the right to protect itself."



# Syrians Endorse Bashar Assad

The Associated Press

DAMASCUS — Bashar Assad has been elected president of Syria with 97.29 percent of the national vote, Interior Minister Mohammed Harba said Tuesday.

The son of former President Hafez Assad was the only candidate in a referendum held Monday amid displays of mass loyalty organized by the ruling Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party.

Bashar Assad is expected to be inaugurated Monday, becoming the first president to succeed his father in an Arab republic. Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam has said there will be a cabinet reshuffle after the inauguration.

Mr. Harba said that of the 9.44 million eligible voters, about 8.93 million cast their ballots, a nearly 94.6 percent turnout.

He announced the results sitting below two large portraits of Hafez and Bashar Assad at a news conference at the Interior Ministry. Before delivering the figures, Mr. Harba gave a long speech praising the Assads and talking of the strength of Syrian democracy.

"When our people, from all walks of life, trooped to cast their votes yesterday,

they were expressing their loyalty and their allegiance" to the new president, he said, "and to the democratic system left behind by the great deceased leader."

"The unanimous saying of 'yes' by all Syrians, inside and outside, is a manifestation of the political maturity of our people," Mr. Harba said.

The outcome of the referendum, held exactly one month after Hafez Assad's



Mahmoud Tawil/The Associated Press

Syrian legislators welcoming Tuesday the news of Bashar Assad's election.

death June 10, was a foregone conclusion. The elder Mr. Assad ruled Syria for 30 years and had designated Bashar as his successor.

Hafez Assad received from 99.6 to 99.99 percent of the vote in his presidential referendums that, like the vote Monday, were orchestrated by the Ba'ath party.

The main theme of the referendum cam-

paigned had been that Bashar Assad was the only Syrian capable of continuing his father's policies. Hafez Assad brought stability to Syria after years of political upheaval and coups.

The referendum was the last in a series of steps that Hafez Assad left behind to ensure the succession of his son, a former doctor with little political experience.

Medya TV  
12 Jul 00

## HADEP Says 16 Members Detained in Diyarbakir; Denounces 'Oppression'

Translated Text

Following Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit's statements targeting HADEP [People's Democracy Party], Diyarbakir turned into a center of detentions. The number of HADEP members, including the party's Diyarbakir province and central district leaders, has increased to 16. Furthermore, the house of Ali Oncu, TES-IS [Federation of Turkish Energy, Water, and Gas Workers Unions] branch leader, was raided and Oncu was detained last night. The detentions once again caused tension in the region.

The HADEP Diyarbakir Province organization issued a statement today, underlining the pressure applied on the party. Pointing out that detentions intensified following Ecevit's remarks, the statement described the detention of the HADEP Diyarbakir Province leader and the central district leader on the way back from the commemoration ceremony at the cemetery as the final link in the chain of oppressive measures. The province organization announced that the number of HADEP members and administrators detained so far has reached 16.

Pointing out that the oppression is not limited to the detention of HADEP members alone, the statement remarked that Ali Oncu, rotational spokesman of the Diyarbakir Democracy Platform, was detained last night. This oppression will harm the Turkish public, the statement said, and added: It is a great error to believe that such measures will undermine the struggle for democracy and peace. These illegal measures will make our people embrace our party more tightly.



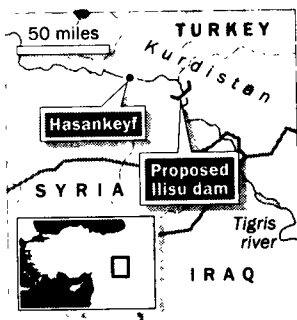
THE TIMES THURSDAY JULY 13 2000

# Britain defies protest over 'dam havoc'

PETER NICHOLLS



A Kurdish girl from the ancient town of Hasankeyf plays on the banks of the Tigris. Its archaeological treasures are to be submerged by a lake covering 130 square miles



By Daniel McGrory

THE Government has been warned to drop its financial backing for a controversial plan to build a dam in Turkey that would force up to 25,000 Kurds from their homes.

MPs and campaigners yesterday scorned ministers who claim to operate an "ethical foreign policy" yet back the Ilisu dam project, which would cause environmental havoc and could lead to a war.

In a report MPs on the International Development Select Committee said that the £1.25 billion project on the River Tigris was "from the outset conceived and planned in contravention of international standards". MPs said they were "astonished" that the Foreign Office had not raised concerns on human rights from

those living in the region.

They also criticised the way in which Stephen Byers, the Trade and Industry Secretary, announced in December that he was "minded" to grant £200 million in export credit guarantees to the civil engineering firm Balfour Beatty as long as the Turkish Government met certain conditions. These included anti-pollution measures, ensuring proper resettlement of Kurdish families, preserving archaeological sites and ensuring that Turkey's neighbours did not suffer water shortages.

Critics say that none of these conditions has been met.

The report says: "The shotgun wedding approach to export credit that we find in the case of the Ilisu dam does not in our view bode well for the implementation of commitments but is rather the worst form of export credit practice."

Critics claim that work on the dam, due to begin this year, would flood "the cradle of civilisation" and destroy priceless 10,000-year-old archaeological treasures.

Ilisu is one of 13 hydro-electric dams that Turkey intends to build in its southeast region.

Yesterday ministers refused to abandon the project despite

the report and threats that they could be taken to court.

Patricia Hewitt, the Trade and Industry Minister, insisted that the Government's involvement would help to ensure that the project did not damage human rights. "The fact is, first and foremost, nothing has been agreed. No decision has been made; no deal is done," she told BBC Radio 4's *The World At One*.

"What people do need to understand is that this dam is going to be built anyway... It is a very good argument for us to be involved in order to do everything we can to ensure that human rights and ethical standards are met."

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "It is because the Government takes human rights so seriously that it will agree to provide export credit support for the project only if tough conditions are met."

Balfour Beatty said that without the £200 million in export guarantees it would not continue its part in the eight-nation consortium.

Environmental campaigners dismissed government assurances that Kurdish families will be protected. Tony Juniper, policy director of Friends of the Earth, said:

"There have been no meaningful consultations with the thousands who will be forcibly made homeless. How are you going to preserve archaeological sites when they will be under 70 metres of dirty water? The nightmare scenario is that in future British troops could be sent to stop a war caused by water shortages because of a dam we have helped build."

Historians believe that Hasankeyf, on the banks of the Tigris, was settled 10,000 years ago. Some original dwellings remain. Families live in mountain caves looking upon archaeological treasures that will be swallowed by a lake covering 130 square miles.

Kerim Yildiz, of the Kurdish Human Rights Organisation, said "This report gives us hope that we might yet save these towns from being destroyed and families driven from their homes. We have been telling the British Government for months that this cannot be ethical if it causes great damage to thousands of families and could cause tension in what is already a dangerous region. The trouble is neither the Turkish nor the British Governments will listen."

## DAM NONSENSE

### British involvement with Turkey's Ilisu Dam makes sense

Dams are emotive subjects. Big or small, they have limited lifespans; but they affect the lives of people in the areas where they are built for ever. They flood land, houses and whole towns. Scrutiny of dam projects is important and necessary; too many have been built without due regard for watershed and siltation management, proper resettlement and compensation for those displaced, and long-term environmental impact. If much has been learnt since the building of the High Dam at Aswan, that is partly due to insistent public pressure.

But pressure must be based on informed assessments of benefits as well as costs. Well-designed dams can provide cheap renewable energy or irrigation, transforming the economic prospects of a region. That necessary case-by-case approach becomes rare among environmental and human rights campaigners, particularly in countries like Britain where energy is plentiful, tapwater is taken for granted and the nearest citizens get to drought conditions is the occasional hosepipe ban.

The proposed Ilisu dam in southeastern Turkey is their latest *cause célèbre*, causing a predictable furor. Ilisu, on the great Tigris river, has something for everybody to get excited about: archaeological treas-

ures, Kurdish peasants and a potential (much exaggerated) impact on Iraq, into which the Tigris flows. Above all, it is in Turkey, whose intolerance of its Kurdish minority has made it, with some reason, a whipping-boy of the Left. The Government has been accused of everything from trampling on human rights to destabilising the whole region — which last is nonsense, since hydro-electric projects do not siphon off downstream water supplies.

In truth, Ilisu is not the evil plot it has been painted, nor does it warrant yesterday's muddleheaded tirade from the

House of Commons' International Development Committee. It is one of the 22 small dams and 19 power plants planned under Turkey's \$32 billion Southeast Anatolia Project, which in turn is part of Ankara's strategy for reducing the local appeal of the militant Kurdish Workers' Party by addressing the acute poverty of this long-neglected region. Turkey is also acutely short of energy; and hydro-power, in an earthquake zone, must be preferable to nuclear power. The British Government comes into the picture because Balfour Beatty, the British company awarded one of the contracts for this dam as part of a Swiss-led international consortium, applied last year

for an official Export Credit Guarantee.

The Government has played this by the book. The Department of Trade and Industry has set four conditions that are entirely in line with internationally accepted practice. These are: independently monitored resettlement plans; the saving of as much as possible of the archaeological riches of medieval Hasankeyf, the most important of the towns and hamlets to be submerged; controls of water flows; and water quality. It has withheld final sanction pending an environmental assessment and Turkey's production of a proper resettlement action plan. Only by ignoring the facts could the committee have found this perfectly sound position to be a "shotgun wedding approach" reflecting "the worst form of export credit practice". For it to say, further, that a Turkish agreement to these conditions should not "be treated seriously" is simply perverse. Its grandstanding report wanders all over the shop, and far from the point. Far from being a bad thing, British involvement could help to ensure that the Ilisu Dam really does improve people's lives. That is what should determine the final decision.

LE MONDE / JEUDI 13 JUILLET 2000

## Bachar El Assad désigné nouveau président de la Syrie

DAMAS. Bachar El Assad, candidat unique à la présidence syrienne, a été plébiscité, lundi 10 juillet, par plus de 97 % des électeurs, selon les résultats publiés mardi. Le fils du président Hafez El Assad, décédé le 10 juin, a obtenu 97,29 % des voix, pour un mandat de sept ans. Selon le ministère de l'intérieur, 8 931 623 des 9 442 054

électeurs inscrits ont participé au vote pour la désignation de M. El Assad pour un mandat de sept ans. Seuls 22 439 électeurs ont voté contre alors que 219 319 bulletins ont été annulés. Le nouvel homme fort de Syrie avait déjà été promu commandant en chef des forces armées et numéro un du parti Baas au pouvoir. — (AFP)

## UN Trains New Arms Inspection Team in Hopes Iraq Will Lift Ban

The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, New York — A new UN weapons inspection agency for Iraq has started its first training program for staff members, who could be deployed in late August if Baghdad drops its opposition to inspections, according to UN officials.

The Security Council created the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, known as Unmovic, to replace the UN Special Commission, or Unsc, whose inspectors left Iraq in December 1998 before U.S. and British air strikes.

Rolf Ekeus, the first executive chairman of Unsc, and Charles Duelfer, its last acting

chief, spoke to the 44 new inspectors from 19 nations during the closed-door training session.

Richard Butler, the outspoken Australian arms expert who replaced Mr. Ekeus and left when his contract expired in June 1999, was not invited to participate, UN officials said.

The four-week training course, which began Tuesday, will cover historical, legal, administrative and political issues related to weapons inspections and monitoring activities in Iraq.

It will also include the historical and cultural background of Iraq, with guest lecturers from Columbia University.

The 44 trainees — including between six and eight who served with Unsc — will all get general training, including a three-day safety course set up by the U.S. government, the UN officials said.

UN officials and diplomats said Unmovic's executive chairman, Hans Blix, told the Security Council when he delivered his first report in June that he would probably be able to send a small inspection team to Iraq at the end of August.

The focus of initial inspections would be to examine the sites that Unsc had been monitoring, officials said.

# This is a dam fool of an idea



**DEBORAH ORR**  
COLUMNIST OF THE YEAR

ON THE face of it, the announcement by Stephen Byers, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, that he is "minded" to support Balfour Beatty's bid to head a consortium to build a £1.25bn dam on the river Tigris in south-east Turkey, seems far beyond outrageous. The support comes under the auspices of the Export Credit Guarantee Department, in the form of pledges worth £200m from the British taxpayer.

The Ilisu dam project is known to have been strongly disapproved of in the past by Byers himself, as well as by the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, and the Deputy Prime Minister, John

Prescott, as well as many backbenchers, human rights organisations and environmental pressure groups. The dam is also opposed by Turkey's neighbours, Syria and Iraq, whose borders are 40 miles from Ilisu, and who claim that it will disrupt the flow of water into their countries. The Arab League is also against the project, and suggests that the construction of the dam may directly lead to war in the Middle East.



14 July 2000

THE INDEPENDENT

The ruins of Hasankeyf, on the banks of the Tigris, will be obliterated by the Ilisu dam *Fatih Saribas/Reuters*

Even the cross-party International Development Committee, headed by Ann Clwyd, is against this development. Clwyd, who visited the area privately after being prevented from doing so officially by Martin O'Neill, chairman of the Select Committee on Trade and Industry, says that the dam is "bad for human rights, bad for the environment, bad for regional peace and bad for Britain and British taxpayers".

The Ilisu dam, it must be admitted, certainly does not look good for human rights, or even human culture. Some groups have gone as far as to brand the development as "ethnic cleansing by another name". The flooding will displace 16,000 Kurds and will also destroy some of their most ancient and sacred places. Along with 52 villages and 14 other towns, Hasankeyf, an ancient centre of Kurdish culture, will be inundated. Archaeologists have been digging for some time in the town - which is believed to have been settled more than 10,000 years ago - while they still can. They hope to save about 20 per cent of the cultural artefacts. The rest they cannot salvage, as many of the buildings in Hasankeyf are hewn from the rock itself. Part of the town will be covered not by water, but by a mile-high concrete wall.

As for the people in these areas, they are poor and deprived. Their way of life has not changed for thousands of years. The Turkish authorities argue that the area is in desperate need of regeneration, and this is true. It is also true that this region has been torn apart by Kurdish rebellion, and that for this reason its break-up will be good for the Turkish government. The Turks argue that it is deprivation, not repression, which fuels Kurdish rebellion, and that the dam will bring prosperity to the region. So might tourism, as it has in other parts of Turkey. Hasankeyf, though, is quite laughably a "protected site" at present, and it is illegal for the Kurds to build even a single hotel in the town, let alone a tourist industry.

Not that the implications of such contradictory directives can be clearly pointed out in Turkey. Article 312 of the country's penal code declares that prison sentences of up to three years can be imposed for "inciting the people to hatred and enmity by showing up differences of class, race, religion, creed or region". While the clause appears to be like the anti-racism

clauses upheld by many other nations, in Turkey it is implemented by the courts as a catch-all means of restricting freedom of speech, under which dozens of politicians, writers and journalists have been jailed.

It is for this reason that it has been much criticised by the European Union. Turkey was acknowledged as a candidate for EU membership last year, though it is agreed that it must make a great deal of progress in its economy, human rights and constitutional reform before it is accepted.

Many believe Turkey to be sincere in its desire to join the "polity of nations", and indeed this is a discussion that has been aired quite thoroughly lately in the Orr household. Our own debate has centred not around dam-building, but holiday-home purchase, and began when a left-of-Labour friend of mine returned from a holiday in Turkey armed with photographs of a ruined farm he and his partner intended to purchase cheaply and restore on a shoestring.

My husband and I were intrigued to know how this ambition sat with the Turkish human-rights record, particularly with reference to the Kurds. We were astounded to hear this Irish Catholic explain that he was ashamed of his previous prejudice and that we should try to think of the Kurdistan Workers Party as a disruptive group of hardliners similar to the Irish Republican Army of past years. More than 50,000 Kurdish villagers and tribesmen fought against the PKK, and these people were now protecting crops against wild boars as the conflict had died away since the sentencing to death of its leader Abdullah Ocalan last year. And, by the way, were we aware that Turkey had not applied the death sentence for 25 years?

And Northern Cyprus, we asked? Well, why didn't we compare the Turks' behaviour with that of the Greeks? If we looked again we would realise that Britain has been looking at the conflict entirely from a Greek point of view. Turkey had a right to protect Turkish Cypriots against the Greeks, who were the ones fighting against independence. The rest of the world would do well to join Turkey in recognising the KKTC (northern Cyprus) as an independent state.

OK. Then what about the Turkish law which forbids anyone from admitting that Turkey committed genocide against the Armenians?

Well, yes, that is bad. But what we had to understand was that Turkey was keen to change and that by bringing them into the European Union, we could help them to leave behind the mistakes of the past.

And this is very much the rhetoric employed by those in the Government who wish to see the Ilisu dam built. They point out that the dam will be built anyway, with or without British co-operation, and that with British involvement, environmental, human rights and resettlement issues can be better addressed. Except that if it takes bribes in the form of money from other nations for the Turks to offer compensation to the displaced, behave in a conciliatory and responsible manner towards its neighbours, save "as much as possible" of the Kurdish archaeological heritage, and install treatment upstream to ensure water quality, then how genuine can this wish to "join the polity of nations" really be?

My friend insists that the Turks are progressive, forward-thinking and misunderstood. But I just think he fancies a lovely holiday home there. The Government thinks that Turkey is progressive, forward-thinking and misunderstood. But I just think it fancies a vast contract that will bring Turkish money to the British economy and further influence for Britain in a key region of the world.

It seems to me that the time to give aid to Turkey should coincide with the time when it has made the changes in the country that are necessary before it can be deemed worthy of EU membership. Diplomats estimate that this will be within the next 10 years. There is no reason why it could not, if Turkey is sincere in its professed desire to change, be sooner. Since Ilisu has already been in the planning stages for nearly 20 years, that does not seem so very long to wait.

Maybe those 10 years could be spent in providing new homes for those Kurds who are being once again displaced, and working out what other policies apart from dam-building, might help these beleaguered people.  
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IRAK

# Saddam Hussein renvoie les femmes dans leurs foyers

La décision du dictateur irakien d'obliger les femmes à travailler chez elles montre à quel point le régime est coupé des réalités du pays.



► Saddam Hussein. Dessin de Paul Conrad paru dans le Los Angeles Times, Etats-Unis.

## Sanctions terroristes

Le ministre irakien du Commerce, Mohammed Mehdi Saleh, en visite à Belgrade, a qualifié les sanctions imposées à la Serbie et à l'Irak d'"acte terroriste contre deux Etats qui ont exprimé leur libre volonté", rapporte *Al Quds al-Arabi*. Il est vrai que ces deux pays, isolés sur la scène internationale, ont resserré leurs liens politiques et économiques ces dernières années. Le ministre irakien a promis aux Etats-Unis une défaite qui serait digne d'un nouveau Vietnam. D'autres "mères de toutes les batailles" en somme.

AL HAYAT  
Londres

**L**e président irakien Saddam Hussein vient de demander à ses ministres de faire appliquer sa dernière directive visant à ramener les femmes au foyer. Il a justifié cette décision en expliquant que ces dernières, lorsqu'elles vont travailler, dépensent en vêtements et en chaussures la plus grande part de leur salaire et que ces sorties sont, par conséquent, néfastes à l'économie nationale. Nul ne connaît les études sur lesquelles il s'est appuyé pour parvenir à cette estimation, ni quels sont les conseillers qui l'ont conduit à faire cette découverte, à supposer que le concept de conseiller lui soit familier. Saddam Hussein a choisi, pour faire connaître sa directive, le moment précis où se tenait au siège des Nations unies un symposium international sur les femmes. On pourrait objecter qu'il n'est nullement concerné par ces absurdités et que la concomitance des deux événements est pure coïncidence. En dépit de ma répulsion pour les clichés, il me faut, pour l'occasion, citer ce vers de poésie arabe : "S'il ne le sait, c'est un désastre, et s'il le sait, c'est une

calamité..."

Il est tout de même significatif que tout ce qui nous arrive d'Irak depuis un certain temps n'appelle pour seule réaction que l'indifférence ou l'ironie. Cela veut tout simplement dire qu'"ils" se sont placés à la fois en dehors de l'histoire et de la géographie. Lorsqu'un régime se résout à ce que sa seule efficacité et son seul domaine d'exercice du pouvoir soient sa capacité à la répression, à l'emprisonnement, aux enlèvements et aux règlements de comptes, tandis que tous les autres champs d'exercice se caractérisent par l'impérialisme, l'inefficacité ou la négligence, ce régime a alors perdu son âme. La répression à elle seule ne peut en aucun cas constituer un instinct de survie suffisant.

## RAMENER L'IRAK À UN ÂGE PRÉINDUSTRIEL

Cette dernière directive présidentielle concernant le travail des femmes s'ajoute à une série illimitée de décisions qui touchent non seulement les domaines économique et social, mais tous les aspects du pouvoir. Au cœur de tout ce folklore, on retient le fait que le président irakien a adopté depuis un moment un style qui renforce la nature "paternelle" de sa rela-

tion au pouvoir. Il annonce les grandes lignes d'une de ses idées, puis demande aux institutions de s'en inspirer, d'y réfléchir, de la cristalliser et enfin de mettre en œuvre les mécanismes nécessaires à son application.

Et puisqu'il s'agit de réorganiser tous les pans de la société, le tour des femmes est venu. Détaillant sa directive, le Président a suggéré aux femmes médecins d'ouvrir des consultations à domicile, ce qui est indiscutablement une proposition sensée. Mais, lorsqu'il propose aux ingénieurs du beau sexe de s'acheter des machines à coudre et d'enseigner la couture aux femmes de leur quartier, on peut se demander quel est au juste le rapport entre le génie civil et la couture ? Quant à la manière dont les anesthésistes et les chirurgiennes devront se débrouiller, ou à la marche à suivre pour remplacer toutes les enseignantes ou les infirmières, il incombera aux organes du pouvoir de trouver une réponse adéquate.

En Irak particulièrement, la présence des femmes dans l'espace public est solidement ancrée dans les habitudes du pays, et dans une proportion telle que cette dernière directive présidentielle est en contradiction criante avec la réalité et les aspirations de la société irakienne. Elle insulte des milliers de travailleuses et de créatrices dont on ne saurait assurer la présence dans de pareilles proportions dans la plupart des pays arabes, y compris ceux qui aspirent depuis le plus longtemps à la modernité (comme l'Egypte) ou les plus occidentalisés (comme le Liban). Ce sont les femmes qui ont fait tourner les rouages du pays pendant la première guerre du Golfe et ce sont elles qui se sont retrouvées au premier rang pour réparer les dégâts causés par les bombardements américains pendant la seconde. Il est vrai qu'entre les deux guerres le président irakien a tenté de promulguer une loi autorisant les "crimes d'honneur" – allant même jusqu'au troisième degré de parenté. Mais cette loi absurde fut oubliée aussitôt après sa publication officielle, tant elle tentait de légaliser une pratique qui avait pratiquement disparu de la réalité irakienne.

Ce précédent, comme les événements qui ont suivi, montre à quel point ce régime est étranger à la société irakienne. Cette directive présidentielle signifie-t-elle que les universités, par exemple, cesseront d'accueillir les jeunes filles ? Ce serait une suite logique après le retour à la maison des médecins et des ingénieurs de sexe féminin, puisqu'il serait illogique d'en former d'autres... N'est-ce pas la preuve que la menace américaine de ramener l'Irak à un âge préindustriel s'est réalisée ?

**Nahla Chahal**

# Behind Turkey's smiling face is a masked torturer

THE INDEPENDENT  
Saturday 15 July 2000

"GO SOMEWHERE like Turkey," someone said, "and wait for things to happen."

That was three years ago and, in the meantime, things have certainly happened. Two devastating earthquakes that left 18,000 dead. The spectacular capture and trial of the Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan, snatched from the streets of Nairobi and given a prison island to himself. The end of the 15-year civil war he started. The end of the cold war between Turkey and Greece. Turkey accepted as a candidate for membership of the European Union at last.

"Turkey?" the nurse said as she wheeled me into the operating theatre. "That sounds exciting." At the time my mind was more on the forthcoming

## IN FOREIGN PARTS



JUSTIN HUGGLER

IN TURKISH KURDISTAN

operation to pull out my wisdom teeth - my last memory of living in Britain - than my next assignment.

But now, as I prepare to leave the country, my mind goes back to the people who

told me they envied me the idea of living in Turkey. Their image of the country was of the golden beaches and deep blue Mediterranean, the minarets and thronged bazaars of Istanbul, the arch of a temple to some long-forgotten god on the shores of the Aegean.

All of that is true - but it is not a complete picture of Turkey. It is not my image of Turkey. As I leave, my mind keeps returning to the south-east - or, to give it the name I have spent two and a half years avoiding writing, so as not to offend the Turkish authorities: Kurdistan.

My image of Turkey will always include the day I tried to visit Siirt, a wretched town in the south-east, where the people herd cattle in the streets of

the town centre because their villages have all been burnt down by the Turkish security forces. A plainclothes policeman spotted me, a foreign journalist daring to try to do his job in a country that is an official candidate for membership of the EU, and I was followed all day by two car-loads of police. Interviews were impossible: the people were much too scared of the police.

As we tried to leave town, we were flagged down at a military roadblock. They kept my driver and I waiting an hour while they checked our identity. To me, they were polite and civil; my driver, a Kurd, they went out of their way to treat badly.

Another memory - the words of the Turkish Prime Minister, Bulent Ecevit, after Ocalan was captured: "Turkey has no history of racism."

That day, outside Siirt, the soldiers sent the driver back to the car and asked me what he had told me about "our country". Nothing, I told them - he just drives the car. What might they have done to him if he had criticised the authorities and I had repeated it? Was this the behaviour we should expect from the security forces of an EU candidate?

"What do you think of this part of our country?" the officer asked. I looked out at the



Kurdish women and children in a shanty town outside the gates of Diyarbakir - Turkey's main Kurdish city *Burhan Ozbilici/AP*



wild, weather-beaten mountains, and told him I thought it was beautiful but poor. "The people here" - he meant the Kurds, but he would not call them that - "are only poor because they are lazy," he said.

Another memory, of the first time I went to Turkish Kurdistan, to Diyarbakir, Turkey's main Kurdish city. A friend who was studying in Turkey wanted to come; his teacher told him she would throw him off the course if he went anywhere so "dangerous". Diyarbakir had long ceased to be dangerous by

then, but respectable Turks were horrified at the thought of going there. How did they think it was for the Kurds who were born there? Turks' faces fall when they ask me where I have been in their country, and I list not the tourist resorts but the troubled cities of Kurdistan.

That first time in Diyarbakir, I was still naive enough to believe the Turkish authorities would co-operate with my research. I went to the police to ask about a series of unsolved killings. I was sent to the government press office, where an

official politely explained that if I continued my researches in Diyarbakir, "the police may arrest you and there is nothing I can do to stop them".

It was in Turkey that I first met people who had been tortured. One victim, a Kurd, I number among my friends in Istanbul. I cannot write his name here. He told me how he was arrested on his way from Istanbul to visit relatives in Kurdistan. He was beaten, sprayed with hot and cold water, and given electric shocks to his genitals. When I asked him if he

wanted revenge on his torturers, he said he just wanted never to see them again.

All this is why I leave Turkey with mixed feelings. Yes, I will miss Istanbul, that incomparable city on the Bosphorous. Yes, I will miss the Turks. But when people ask me why I am not in love with Turkey, I have to explain that I cannot separate its two sides. Behind the smiling face of western Turkey lies the masked face of the torturer - and the suffering faces of Kurdistan.

## TURQUIE *Les entorses à la démocratie restent nombreuses* Ankara encore loin de l'Europe

Istanbul : Éric Biegala

La Turquie se demande si elle est sur la bonne voie pour adhérer à l'Union européenne.

Guenther Verheugen, commissaire communautaire à l'élargissement, vient de séjourner à Ankara pour vérifier jusqu'à quel point la Turquie est prête à respecter les critères de Copenhague. Il s'agissait en effet de savoir si le régime turc est en mesure de procéder à un sérieux aggiornamento de ses pratiques coercitives, condition *sine qua non* d'une possible intégration au sein de l'Union.

Bien sûr, comme les onze autres candidats elle doit adapter ses règles économiques à celles de l'UE et « avaler » les milliers de pages de textes et réglementations qui constituent les « acquis communautaires », mais le problème principal demeure politique. Avec l'interdiction régulière des partis et associations, avec des actes de torture par centaines dénoncés à haute voix jusqu'au sein même du parlement turc, avec près de 8 000 prisonniers politiques, avec, enfin, une armée qui n'est guère contrôlée par les instances élues, la Turquie accumule les manquements aux requisits démocratiques.

Le commissaire européen à l'élargissement s'était déclaré dans un premier temps satisfait de ses entretiens avec les responsables turcs : la Turquie est « sur le bon chemin ». Mais à la fin de la semaine dernière, il a rencontré des organisations

non gouvernementales et le son de cloche était sensiblement différent : il a stigmatisé les entorses à la démocratie, notamment à propos des limitations imposées par l'armée. Ces échanges de vues entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie doivent aboutir vers la fin octobre à un « plan de route » qu'Ankara devra suivre pour parvenir aux véritables pourparlers d'accession.

Moins de deux mois après le « oui » de l'Union, les fonctionnaires de l'Organisation de planification d'État, sorte de commissariat au Plan, rédigeaient un rapport énumérant les mesures à prendre pour démocratiser le régime. Pris de court, le gouvernement déclarait que ce document n'était qu'une « base de travail » et s'empressait de

naires et ambassadeurs qui l'ont précédé. Mais l'homme est autant connu pour ses prises de position fermes que pour ses revirements instantanés, notamment face à l'armée.

En guise de politique européenne, les généraux se sont d'ailleurs fermement prononcés contre la politique de défense et de sécurité commune que l'UE essaie de mettre en œuvre. La peine de mort reste également un problème pour la Turquie : le chef kurde Abdullah Öcalan, président du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), demeure sous le coup d'une peine capitale qui devrait être abrogée si Ankara doit effectivement se plier aux exigences de l'Union. Le régime turc se retrouve au pied du mur, forcé de démocratiser ses institutions s'il veut entrer un jour dans l'Europe. A moins, qu'il ne poursuive

### La Turquie compte 8 000 prisonniers politiques

bâtir un impressionnant échec administratif afin d'enterrer le sujet. Un « président du secrétariat du haut bureau de coordination pour les droits de l'homme auprès du Premier ministre » (sic) était ainsi préféré au ministre d'État en charge des droits fondamentaux, qui a immédiatement démissionné. Quant au président du tout nouveau secrétariat, l'armée a obtenu sa révocation, fin juin.

L'ancien premier ministre, Mesut Yilmaz, vient de reprendre le flambeau des relations avec l'Union. Il a certes plus de poids que les fonction-

d'autres buts. En juin dernier, Ankara justifiait ainsi sa candidature à la présidence de l'Organisation de la conférence islamique : « La Turquie soutiendra les valeurs de l'Islam au sein de l'Union européenne une fois qu'elle y sera admise. » Une position étrange pour un pays qui se veut officiellement laïc et qui vient d'ailleurs de condamner le chef historique des islamistes turcs, l'ancien premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan, à un an de prison. Une position qui risque surtout de faire grincer des dents en Europe.



## **KDP and PUK are preparing for war against the PKK**

PKK Presidential Council Statement - 17 July 2000

Translated from original Turkish

PKK reiterates call for dialogue with Southern Kurdish parties. For the past weeks there have been indications that the Turkish army, the PUK and KDP are in the near future planning extensive attacks against PKK units in South Kurdistan. We here publish an extract from a PKK presidential council statement of 17 July 2000:

**To our people and the public**

At a time when people worldwide are seeking to resolve their problems through political dialogue and peace which has resulted in important international developments, a war-like attitude is beginning to develop in Kurdistan. It is significant that this mood has emerged following on from the Washington talks between the KDP and the PUK. It is by now common knowledge that following such talks and foreign trips, clashes in the country itself start breaking out. The development of these relationships on an international level will not resolve the Kurdish Question, but will deepen the problems through internal conflicts. Deals which do not include all Kurdish forces and do not have the unity of the Kurds themselves as their aims, will not provide solutions. The result of the last visit to America seems no different from previous ones. Again the KDP and the PUK sent representatives to Washington under the pretext of seeking to work out a solution for Iraq; only to return with a plan for confrontation in Kurdistan itself; even before the delegations had returned both parties adopted an aggressive stance against the PKK.

In the past two weeks there were several attacks against our People's Defence Forces by the KDP. The clashes that were provoked resulted in the deaths of 70 and an equal number injured on both sides. The PUK also acted in a similar aggressive manner. They launched five attacks against the positions of our forces. In addition, they arrested 20 comrades active in the civilian work and confiscated two vehicles. In the region where our People's Defence Forces are situated the PUK amassed their own forces and adopted an offensive position. According to reliable sources, they have received a great number of weapons, munitions and military support from the Turkish state in preparation for a possible war.

At the same time there appeared to be more clashes between the two organisations who attacked the PKK in South Kurdistan. Our party is determined to stand by its position and to convince all Kurdish organisations that the resolution of the Kurdish Question and Kurdish peace must be achieved through political dialogue. Especially for the past year our party has intensified these efforts, starting from the premise that conflicts inside the region make the resolution of the problem even more difficult. Our party confronted the new century with an understanding of the necessity for peaceful solutions. The party approached the KDP and PUK several times in public, sending communiqués and mediators. But these efforts to find a solution for peace by our party failed to win any response. On the contrary, their answer was to attack us. In a situation where the international plot is continuing, these two organisations are assisting with its intensification. In line with the designs of international or regional forces they have adopted the role to liquidate the PKK. Despite this, our president and party have continued their efforts to persuade them to abandon this course of action.

Attempts to liquidate the freedom struggle of our people through international intrigues have not ceased. Plans are hatched against President Apo, his party and his people to achieve this aim and to divide our party, they intensify attacks at the psychological, ideological and physical levels. Now they plan to intensify the internal conflicts in an attempt to liquidate our revolution. Our response must be to develop our freedom struggle with even more determination. Armed with the strength which the party receives from its people and friends it will continue to defend its freedom struggle and without compromises will continue on the road ahead. Whatever the price, even if it means a major war, we will give all for this freedom. At the same time while we express our determination for the struggle ahead we call again for the last time on the KDP and PUK to cease their attacks and to resolve our problems through a dialogue for peace.

**To the patriotic Kurdish people**

Today we face warmongers in an attack on President Apo and his party aimed at destroying your future. Do not allow the Kurdish collaborators in their backwardness, who are in the service of all those forces who seek to weaken your freedom struggle through internal conflicts, harm our desire for freedom. Answer them by even stronger unity around President Apo and your party. Carry the flag of struggle against treachery and collaboration.

**To the public**

The freedom struggle of the Kurdish people is under great attack. The ruling forces have activated the collaborators in order to succeed in this aim. They plan to defeat the struggle of our people for a free life in a democratic system. It is time that people take a stand against these attacks and that our people are allowed to resolve their problems through political dialogue in peace. All progressive forces, all those who are for democracy and human rights must not remain silent about these developments.

The support of the freedom struggle of our people is the most minimal precondition. We therefore call on you to oppose the international conspiracy and support the freedom struggle of our people.

\* \* \* \* \*

**Iraq orders Russian anti-aircraft missiles**

By Con Coughlin

Sunday Telegraph (London) 16 July 2000

IRAQ has renewed efforts to negotiate a controversial multi-million -pound arms deal with Russia that would enable it to re-equip its air defence systems, The Telegraph can reveal.

The move will pose a serious threat to British and American aircraft enforcing the United Nation's no-fly zone. According to Western defence experts, the Iraqis earlier this month ordered 150 advanced Russian IGLA mobile air defence systems which would be capable of destroying Allied aircraft.

In an initial deal worth an estimated £5 million, they have asked the Russians to provide launching devices and maintenance kits for the missiles. They are also exploring setting up their own production line. Defence experts believe the IGLA deal will be the first of many military agreements which could be worth hundreds of millions of pounds to the Russians.

It is the second time the Iraqis have attempted to negotiate a military pact with Moscow since the imposition of wide-ranging UN sanctions after the invasion of Kuwait. Early last year, the Iraqis negotiated a £100 million arms package with Yevgeny Primakov, the former Russian prime minister, shortly after the UN authorised air strikes by Britain and the US in retaliation for Saddam Hussein's refusal to cooperate with weapons inspectors.

That deal was abandoned after details were revealed exclusively by The Telegraph, provoking anger from the US which accused the Russians of a flagrant breach of the sanctions. Relations between Iraq and the West have reached stalemate, with little prospect of weapons inspectors returning to Baghdad. While British and American warplanes regularly patrol the no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq, often engaging the Iraqis, the conflict is on the margins of international diplomacy.

Many Western diplomats believe Iraq is using the lull in hostilities to re-equip and upgrade its arsenal in anticipation of future escalation. Only last week the Iraqis were reported to have launched a short-range ballistic missile, confirming fears that Baghdad has rebuilt many of the factories destroyed by the Allies. The latest attempt by Saddam to restore military trade links with Russia - Iraq's major military supplier prior to the Gulf war - follows a visit by a high-level team of Iraqi defence experts earlier this month to a demonstration of Russia's up-graded missiles. The Iraqis were invited by Rosvooruzheniye, the state-owned company responsible for military exports, which arranged the test at the Kolomna Machine-Building Design Bureau, near Moscow.

Assuming the latest deal goes ahead, the Russians will ship the missiles to Lebanon once an Iraqi deposit reaches a Beirut bank account. The missiles will then be taken overland to Iraq. The agreement represents a significant breakthrough for Saddam who has diverted hundreds of millions of pounds to rebuilding his air defences while claiming at the UN that he cannot afford basic foods and medicines.

The frequency of visits by senior Iraqi officials to Moscow also suggests that President Putin is prepared to risk Washington's ire by re-arming an international pariah.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Saddam Again: Who Will Stop Him?

**NEW YORK** — Saddam Hussein is back, manufacturing the weapons of mass destruction.

The Clinton administration revealed this month that its satellites had detected Iraq test-firing Al Samoud missiles, homegrown, smaller versions of the Scuds used against Israel during the 1990 Gulf War.

The administration also said that Saddam Hussein has been hiding some 20 to 30 Russian Scuds, as well as working with front companies outside Iraq to acquire the machine tools needed to build more missiles.

None of this is new. In my last report as executive chairman of Unscm, the agency charged with disarming Saddam, I warned the UN Security Council about Iraq's missile development activities. That was almost two years ago, just before Iraq shut down all international monitoring efforts.

By **Richard Butler**

I have also publicly detailed Iraq's refusal to yield or account for its holdings of at least 500 tons of fuel usable only by Scud-type missiles.

The former Unscm inspector Scott Ritter, in an article in *Arms Control Today*, claims that Iraq was "qualitatively disarmed." He fails to offer any new information or evidence to support this dubious notion.

There were two levels of deception in Iraqi dealings with Unscm: concealment, and false declarations. When Mr. Ritter worked for me, he was in charge of the Unscm unit responsible for finding and destroying the concealed weapons, and he was vilified by Iraqi leaders as their major persecutor.

Now he says he has had private conversations with unspecified Iraqi officials which

have persuaded him that they are "qualitatively disarmed" and will accept a new monitoring program if the Security Council first lifts all sanctions against Iraq.

The facts are clear and alarming, and they do not support this assertion. Iraq has been free of any monitoring regime for almost two years, a consequence

of the breakdown of consensus among the permanent members of the Security Council. Now Saddam Hussein is reconstituting his capability to deploy weapons of mass destruction.

I have seen evidence of Iraqi attempts to acquire missile-related tools. Worse, I have seen evidence of steps that the Iraqis have taken to reassemble their nuclear weapons design team.

After the Gulf War, experts estimated that Iraq was only six months away from testing an atomic bomb. It retains that know-how. And it has rebuilt

chemical and biological weapons manufacturing facilities.

If the United States is serious about addressing the Iraqi threat, it should insist to its fellow permanent members of the Security Council that there be a new consensus on enforcing arms control in Iraq.

Selective revelations such as those recently issued by the administration need to be accompanied by a robust policy within the Security Council, making clear particularly to Russia and France that the United States is not prepared to accept their patronage of Saddam Hussein.

*The writer, diplomat in residence at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, was chairman of the United Nations Special Committee, Unscm, from 1997 to 1999. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.*

## Iranian Writer Gets Prison Term

**TEHRAN** — An outspoken journalist convicted of insulting Islam was sentenced to five and a half years in prison Monday, the official Iranian press agency IRNA reported.

Emadeddin Baqi was tried and convicted in May of "insulting Islamic sanctities, spreading falsehoods to divert public opinion, libel and insult," IRNA quoted his lawyer, Masood Haeri, as saying.

He was tried by the press court in connection with articles he wrote last year in the now-banned daily *Neshat* in which he questioned aspects of Islamic law. He also accused senior hard-line officials — including the former intelligence minister, Ali Fallahian, and former President Hashemi Rafsanjani — of involvement in the murders of five dissidents in 1998. (AP)

## Satellite-Deal Report Upsets Iraq

**BAGHDAD** — Officials voiced concern Monday over reports that Israel would sell a spy satellite to Turkey, Iraq's northern neighbor with which Baghdad has poor relations.

"We express our deep concern over the acquisition by Turkey of a Zionist spying satellite," an Iraqi Foreign Ministry spokesman said in a statement carried by the official Iraqi press agency INA.

The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* reported July 5 that Israel would sell intelligence-gathering satellites to Turkey and Singapore in a deal estimated at \$1.2 billion. Neither the Israeli nor the Turkish government has confirmed the report, which was based on a Turkish press report. (Reuters)

## La Turquie condamnée à Strasbourg pour violation de la liberté d'expression



STRASBOURG, 18 juil (AFP) - 16h07 - La Turquie a été condamnée mardi à Strasbourg par la Cour européenne des droits de l'Homme pour avoir violé la liberté d'expression d'une jeune femme propriétaire et rédactrice en chef d'une revue qui avait publié un article pro-kurde.

Mme Pelin Sener, 31 ans, résidant actuellement à Cologne (Allemagne), recevra 30.000 FF pour le dommage moral qu'elle a subi et 10.000 FF pour les frais et dépens, soit au total 6.100 euros.

En septembre 1993, elle avait publié dans sa revue "Haberde Yorumda Gerçek" (Nouvelles et commentaires: la vérité) un article intitulé "Confessions d'un intellectuel", signé de Aydin Itirafi.

Les autorités turques y étaient accusées de faire "une sale guerre" au sud-est de la Turquie (Kurdistan), d'y utiliser des armes chimiques et de procéder "à l'extermination entière d'une nation". Le texte soulignait "ardemment la nécessité de tenter de résoudre le problème kurde par des méthodes pacifiques".

Après la publication de cet article, Mme Sener, déclarée coupable d'avoir diffusé de la "propagande contre l'unité indivisible de l'Etat", avait été condamnée par la cour de sûreté d'Istanbul à une amende avec sursis.

Selon la Cour européenne, l'article en question prône la fin du conflit armé, mais ni la haine, ni la revanche, ni la résistance armée.

La Turquie n'a pas accordé assez d'importance au droit de l'opinion publique d'être informée de tous les aspects du conflit dans le sud-est de la Turquie, selon les juges européens.

En outre, la présence d'un juge militaire dans la cour de sûreté de l'Etat a violé son droit à un procès équitable, ont-ils estimé.



## La cour suprême allemande confirme l'interdiction du Comité du Kurdistan

KARLSRUHE (Allemagne), 19 juil (AFP) - 12h30 - La Cour constitutionnelle fédérale allemande, basée à Karlsruhe (ouest), a confirmé l'interdiction du Comité du Kurdistan en Allemagne, dans une décision rendue publique mercredi.

La cour a refusé de juger au fond un retour de cette organisation qui soutient le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie), également interdit en Allemagne.

Les hauts magistrats se sont appuyés sur une décision de la cour fédérale administrative de 1997 qui reprochait au Comité du Kurdistan de s'être solidarisé avec des actions violentes du PKK en Allemagne.

Ce Comité qui, selon ses statuts, vise à faire connaître en Europe le combat pour l'indépendance et la liberté du peuple kurde, avait été interdit en 1993 par le ministère allemand de l'Intérieur.

Ses recours contre cette interdiction ont été rejetés par toutes les juridictions allemandes qui ont estimé que son soutien au PKK mais aussi à d'autres organisations armées kurdes représentait un danger pour la sécurité intérieure de la République fédérale d'Allemagne.

## Réfugié à Montpellier, un militant kurde est menacé d'expulsion

### MONTPELLIER

de notre correspondant

La Cimade, association d'aide aux étrangers, part en guerre, à Montpellier, contre la décision, annoncée mardi 18 juillet, de l'Ofpra (l'Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides) de refuser le statut de réfugié politique à un citoyen turc, kurde, membre du PKK (le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan), Riza Altun. L'émotion causée par ce refus s'ajoute à la surprise née de l'arrêt de reconduite à la frontière pris par le préfet de l'Hérault, alors que M. Altun attendait la décision de l'Ofpra et bénéficiait d'une auto-

risation provisoire de séjour. Saisi par la Cimade, le tribunal administratif de Montpellier devait examiner la légalité de la décision préfectorale, mercredi 19 juillet.

Riza Altun, quarante-quatre ans, est un des chefs historiques du PKK qu'il a fondé en 1978 avec son ami Abdullah Öcalan, condamné à mort le 29 juin 1999 par la justice turque. Arrêté au début de 1980, M. Altun a été emprisonné et torturé à la prison de Diyarbakir. De ces douze années de détention, il garde le souvenir des coups de bâton, des mains menottées au-dessus de la tête et accrochées au plafond, des chocs électriques sur les ortels et les parties génitales, des bains nus dans des fosses septiques, des sodomies, des souris vivantes placées dans sa bouche et des excréments qu'on le forçait à avaler. Il se souvient encore de ses amis mourant les uns après les autres, des chants racistes qui rythmaient leur détention, et d'une grève de la faim de quarante-cinq jours qui, parfois, lui a permis d'obtenir un répit de la part de ses bourreaux.

Le 24 mai 1983, Riza Altun est condamné à mort par le tribunal militaire de Diyarbakir. Mais un pourvoi en cassation aboutit à l'annulation de la sentence et provoque un nouveau procès neuf ans plus tard. A cette époque, le contexte a changé. Le PKK libère des prisonniers turcs tandis que le président Turgut Özal assouplit sa position sur la question kurde. Le tribunal ordonne alors la libération de Riza Altun qui quitte la Turquie pour la Syrie, l'Iran, puis l'Irak où il supervisera la construction de campements pour les réfugiés kurdes. En avril 2000 cependant, son chauffeur est tué et deux passagers sont blessés dans un attentat. Il décide donc de fuir de nouveau et choisit Montpellier.

### « LA PERPÉTUITÉ À COUP SÛR »

« S'il repart en Turquie, c'est la perpétuité à coup sûr », affirme Franck Cecem, secrétaire de l'Institut kurde de Paris. En l'occurrence, l'arrêt préfectoral de reconduite ne mentionne pas de destination précise. Marie-Noëlle Fréry, l'avocate de Riza Altun, fait

remarquer qu'Öcalan a été arrêté alors qu'il séjournait au Kenya et qu'un autre membre du PKK réfugié en Allemagne, Cevat Soysal, a été enlevé et ramené en Turquie en juillet 1999 au cours d'un voyage en Moldavie. Elle ajoute que « les journaux turcs, très bien informés, ont déjà annoncé que des cellules spéciales "cercueils" ont été prévues avec dix noms de membres du PKK, dont celui de Riza Altun ».

L'Ofpra reconnaît ces menaces mais soutient que certaines activités du PKK peuvent être assimilées à du terrorisme et qu'il est permis, à ce titre, de penser que M. Altun a, « à tout le moins indirectement, participé à des crimes graves de droit commun » qui lui interdisent de bénéficier de la convention de Genève sur les réfugiés. « Je fais partie des personnes qui prônent une autre pratique plus politique », soutient pour sa part M. Altun. D'autres membres du PKK ont d'ailleurs bénéficié du droit d'asile en France.

Jacques Monin

Le Monde

— JEUDI 20 JUILLET 2000 —

## IRAN

# Le salut du pays ne viendra pas de Berlin

Il est inutile de chercher l'appui de l'Occident si le président Khatami et les réformateurs iraniens au pouvoir continuent à se conduire comme des opposants.

AL HAYAT  
Londres

Les événements qui agitent l'Iran sont si contradictoires qu'il est difficile d'en saisir les tenants et les aboutissants. Tandis qu'un tribunal religieux décide la fermeture d'un nouveau journal réformiste [*Bayan*], qu'un deuxième rend un jugement condamnant des Juifs iraniens, qu'un troisième tribunal relaxe un commissaire de police accusé d'avoir ordonné une descente contre une résidence universitaire et qu'un quatrième exige la comparution immédiate du directeur d'une autre publication réformiste, le président Mohammad Khatami visite Berlin. Il tente ainsi de rassurer les responsables allemands, et derrière eux les Européens et les Américains, sur la détermination d'un Iran doté d'un gouvernement et d'un parlement réformistes à sortir de l'isolement politique et économique grâce à l'aide européenne.

Au cœur de ce tumulte, il serait aisé de dire que la cause de cette confusion se trouve dans la lutte que se livrent la gauche réformiste et la droite religieuse et conservatrice. Mais ce qui est difficile à comprendre, ce sont les ruptures d'équilibre au cœur même de cette lutte. Et, ce qui rend ces déséquilibres plus éclatants, c'est que la droite religieuse, qui a subi trois revers électoraux successifs (élection présidentielle de 1997, municipales de 1998 et législatives de 2000), ne cesse de prendre des décisions, des initiatives et des mesures politiques ! Elle se conduit comme si elle n'avait jamais été défaite, comme si elle gardait toujours la main haute sur les institutions, sur le gouvernement et le parlement, qui sont pourtant dominés par les réformistes. Dans le même temps, les réformistes, qui ont remporté avec une majorité écrasante ces trois dernières élections, se conduisent comme des opposants, ne pouvant espérer la réalisation de leurs exigences que par le biais de manifestations de rue et de protestations publiques. La dernière illustration en a été fournie par les défilés étudiants qui ont commémoré à l'université de Téhéran le soulèvement de juin 1999.

### LES ÉTRANGES HÉSITATIONS DU PRÉSIDENT KHATAMI

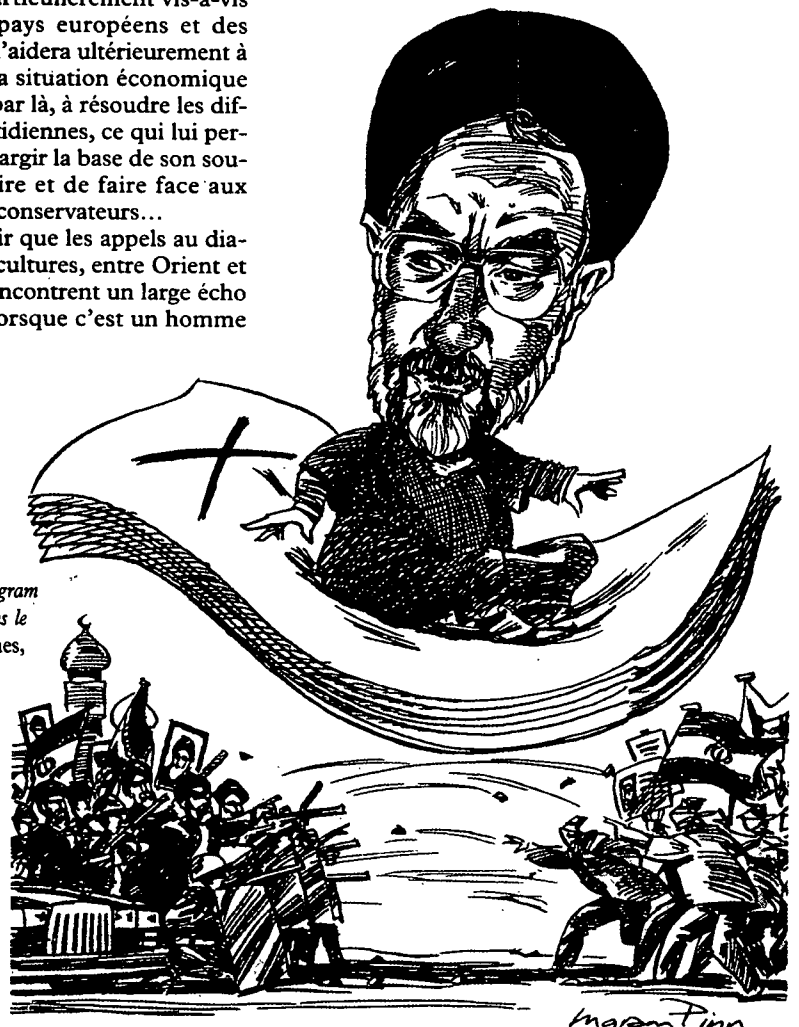
On pourrait ainsi commencer à comprendre les mécanismes qui régissent cette situation troublée. Mais deux questions demeurent.

D'une part, pourquoi Khatami rechigne-t-il à exploiter la légitime victoire de son courant aux dernières élections ? Pourquoi hésite-t-il à mettre en œuvre le programme qu'il s'est fixé, comme l'amélioration des conditions de l'enseignement supérieur, la limitation du pouvoir des tribunaux non étatiques, la séparation des pouvoirs judiciaire, législatif et exécutif, sans parler de la défense de la liberté d'expression et de la presse ? D'autre part, pourquoi préfère-t-il donner la priorité à la politique extérieure, plutôt que d'engager des réformes sur le plan intérieur ? Sans doute considère-t-il que chaque victoire obtenue en brisant l'isolement de l'Iran, particulièrement vis-à-vis des riches pays européens et des Etats-Unis, l'aidera ultérieurement à consolider la situation économique du pays, et par là, à résoudre les difficultés quotidiennes, ce qui lui permettrait d'élargir la base de son soutien populaire et de faire face aux extrémistes conservateurs...

Il est clair que les appels au dialogue entre cultures, entre Orient et Occident, rencontrent un large écho en Europe lorsque c'est un homme

d'Etat tel que Khatami qui s'en fait l'avocat. Il est tout aussi clair que ces appels sont une base solide pour entamer une coopération économique et commerciale entre l'Iran et ces pays. Mais ce qui est hélas encore plus clair, c'est que ces appels demeurent des vœux pieux en l'absence des conditions nécessaires à leur réalisation.

Dans l'Iran actuel, que Khatami rêve de transformer, il n'y a pas à l'horizon de perspectives réalistes de voir s'opérer de telles évolutions tant que les réformistes, qui sont au pouvoir et disposent d'une majorité absolue au parlement, continueront à se conduire comme une force d'opposition ne sachant qu'exprimer ses revendications sur la place publique sans les mettre en œuvre. **Sami Shaurash**



Dessin d'Ingram  
Pinn paru dans le  
Financial Times,  
Londres.

vendredi 21 juillet 2000

## Dix ans après, Saddam Hussein continue de défier Washington



WASHINGTON, 21 juil (AFP) - Dix ans après l'invasion du Koweït, le président irakien Saddam Hussein continue de défier Washington, les efforts américains pour le déstabiliser étant restés sans succès.

Avec son homologue yougoslave Slobodan Milosevic, Saddam Hussein est aujourd'hui l'un des deux dirigeants de la planète dont Washington souhaite le plus ouvertement la chute.

Mais le choix stratégique fait à l'époque de limiter l'opération "Tempête du désert" à la libération du Koweït, sans pousser l'avantage militaire pour renverser le régime irakien, continue de provoquer l'embarras.

"Saddam est là, il mourra probablement à Bagdad, j'espère le plus tôt possible. Il constitue une nuisance, plus une menace", estimait récemment à New York l'ancien conseiller pour la sécurité nationale et architecte de l'offensive contre l'Irak, Brent Scowcroft.

"Saddam continue de défier l'ONU et de diriger l'Irak, ignorant les sanctions économiques comme les bombardements sporadiques", constate Richard Haass, ancien conseiller diplomatique du président George Bush et vice-président de l'institut d'analyses internationales Brookings.

"Le peuple veut se débarrasser vite de Saddam Hussein, et sa fin est plus proche qu'il ne le croit lui-même", assure un responsable du département d'Etat sous couvert de l'anonymat, tout en admettant prudemment que "nul n'est prophète et ne peut prédire de date".

Depuis dix ans, Washington maintient une ligne dure aux Nations unies sur les sanctions contre Bagdad, et son aviation bombarde quasi-quotidiennement les zones d'exclusion aériennes du pays.

Tous les arguments sont bons pour discréditer le président irakien, qu'un récent rapport du département d'Etat allait jusqu'à accuser de se faire livrer des milliers de bouteilles de whisky de contrebande.

Washington travaille aussi depuis près de deux ans sur un projet d'inculpation du président irakien et de ses proches devant un tribunal international pour crimes contre l'humanité, qui n'a toutefois pas encore débouché sur des propositions concrètes.

Pourtant soutenu par les Etats-Unis lors du long conflit Iran-Irak (1980-88), Saddam Hussein ne bénéficie plus aujourd'hui de la moindre indulgence de Washington pour cette période.

Avec la montée du courant réformateur du président Mohammad Khatami en Iran, l'administration américaine souhaite reprendre langue avec Téhéran, désormais jugé plus fréquentable que Bagdad.

Le secrétaire d'Etat Madeleine Albright, dans un discours-clé en février dernier, a regretté le soutien "à courte vue" des Etats-Unis à l'Irak au cours de la guerre contre l'Iran.

Une décennie après la guerre du Golfe, les Etats-Unis pourraient encore apporter une nouvelle mauvaise surprise à Saddam Hussein: voir George W. Bush, le fils du président qui le chassa du Koweït, être élu à la Maison Blanche en novembre prochain.

Mais Washington reste également toujours confronté à la même question: par qui remplacer Saddam Hussein?

Le soutien américain à la nébuleuse de l'opposition irakienne est mitigé, malgré le "Iraq Liberation Act" adopté par le Congrès qui autorise le président Clinton à engager 97 millions de dollars de dépenses en matériel et en entraînement.

La formation que le Pentagone a commencé de fournir à certains opposants porte sur les communications ou la logistique, mais pas sur les combats ou l'armement.

Washington est également gêné par la composition de cette opposition, regroupée dans le Conseil national irakien (CNI), dont les poids lourds sont les factions du Kurdistan, réputées pour leurs rivalités fratricides, et l'opposition islamiste chiite, basée en Iran, qui boude Washington.

## High-ranking party members attend the MP funeral

Kurdish Media.com n̄ 20 Jul 2000

Hawler, Kurdistan (KurdishMedia.com) 20 Jul 2000 - The president, the vice president, and a number of ministers, of Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)-Hawler (Arbil), attended the funeral of the assassinated former MP in Hawler, controlled by Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).

Brayate newspaper (issue 3138), the organ of the KDP, published on its main page, that on 19 Jul 2000, Naychervan Barzani, the president of KRG-Hawler, accompanied by Sami Abdulrahman, the vice president of KRG, Fazl Merane-minister of internal affairs, Shwkat Sheikh Yazden, the council affairs minister and a number of other ministers attended the funeral of Osman Hasan Dzayee, the former MP who was assassinated in 19 Jul 2000, in hawler.

The funeral was held in Rashad Mufti Mosque in Hawler, and then they expressed their grievance for the family and relatives.

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## Kurdish prisoners on hunger strikers are about to die Turkish prison

KurdishMedia.com n̄ 20 Jul 2000

ISTANBUL turkey (KurdishMedia.com) 19 Jul 2000 - the Kurdish observer, an online newspaper, (20.Jul.2000) reported that the prisoners of "Kirkklarili" prison in Istanbul, are on their 65th day of their hunger strike because they have been subjected to pressures from the Turkish authorities to become "confessors".

Kurdish Observer confirmed that the families of the hunger strikers are in continuous efforts to save the life of their relatives. Although the hunger strikers reached a critical health point, still there is no response from the Turkish ministry of justice.

The Human rights association IDH Istanbul branch, reported in a statement that 4 of the 65 hunger strikers are about to die and asked for the abolition of the cell-type prison and to avoid new deaths to occur in prisons.

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## Putin to meet Iraq's deputy Prime Minister

Reuters - Jul 21, 2000

MOSCOW (July 21): Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tareq Aziz will meet President Vladimir Putin next week in Moscow, Interfax news agency quoted Deputy Prime Minister Alexei Kudrin as saying on Thursday. Kudrin, speaking after talks with another Iraqi deputy prime minister, Hikmat Mezban Ibrahim al-Azzawi, said the talks would take place on July 26 but offered no further details.

Aziz is one of President Saddam Hussein's closest aides. Russia has been developing longstanding ties with Baghdad.

Iraqi Defence Minister Sultan Hashim Ahmed visited Moscow in April to discuss military co-operation. Putin, then prime minister, met Aziz last December when he came to Russia to seek support for Baghdad's plea to lift UN sanctions imposed after it invaded Kuwait in 1990.

Russia, the leading importer of Iraqi crude, supports scrapping the sanctions which it says harm civilians. Baghdad owes billions of dollars to Moscow for Soviet-era arms deliveries and Russia is keen to see Iraq sell more oil on the world market, hoping to recoup at least some of the debt.

The United States opposes easing restrictions on Iraq for fear it might use fresh funds to develop new weapons.-



## CHP's Oymen Says Kurdish Broadcasts 'Within Framework' of Law

Anatolia 20 Jul 00 by Omer Faruk Ciftci

[FBIS Translated Text] Corum (AA) – CHP [Republican People's Party] leader Altan Oymen noted that there is nothing wrong with broadcasting in the Kurdish language, as long as the broadcasts are within the framework of the laws.

On the second day of his visit in Corum Oymen toured in Bogazkale and Alacahoyuk. Oymen issued a statement while visiting the Alacahoyuk mayor's office. Pointing out that discussions are held regarding his meetings with the EU Commission member Gunter Verheugen, Oymen stressed that he does not want to comment on the issue. Oymen said the following:

"With regard to Kurdish TV: I repeat this everywhere I go throughout Turkey. Turkey should not have laws specifying broadcasting languages. This type of law is useless because it is now possible to watch world developments via satellites. Therefore, those in Turkey who want to watch TV in the Kurdish language are watching the Kurdish channels in Europe via satellite."

Stressing that it is possible to broadcast in the Kurdish language within the framework of the law, Oymen continued as follows:

"There is nothing wrong with broadcasting in the Kurdish language within the framework of the law. To ban Kurdish broadcasts, on the other hand, will resemble Nasreddin Hodga's tomb, which is open on all sides but has a locked door. It is as if this door prevents people from entering. It is possible, therefore, to legally broadcast within the framework of the law. The democratization efforts in Turkey should be carried out, not because of the EU, but because the people demand democratization. The CHP has been exerting utmost efforts for Turkey's democratization since 1970's. The EU membership was not even on the agenda at that time."

Noting that the "1961 Constitution is much more democratic" Oymen said the following:

"This Constitution was amended in 1982. Human rights should be implemented in Turkey. The democracy that is practiced throughout the world should also be practiced in Turkey. The people who live in Turkey are equal to those living in Portugal and Germany. In this respect, Turkey should implement the democratic values implemented throughout the world. No pretexts are good enough for not implementing these values. Otherwise, they will be betraying the people."

Stating that the right-wing governments do not accept democratization, Oymen stressed that these governments do not feel at ease with democracy. Oymen said: "They are accustomed to the old ways. They have not been able to keep up with the developments. It is necessary to change certain people's mentality."

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## Turkey Justice Minister Reaffirms Kurdish not Banned

Hurriyet 22 Jul 00 by Oya Armutcu

[FBIS Translated Text] Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk has objected to the proposal put by EU Commissioner for Enlargement Gunter Verheugen that "everybody has the right to education in their own tongue". Turk explained, "there is no question of the government making any changes concerning Kurdish language education". In a special talk given to Hurriyet, Turk maintained the official language of the Turkish Republic is Turkish and that according to Article 4 of the Constitution not even a proposal can be made to have that changed; he went on:

"There is no ban on Kurdish in Turkey. Whoever wants to can talk Kurdish how they like. Any fish-monger in Sakarya, any village in Haymana. Just go and see. Everybody speaks Kurdish. Our intellectuals have never been to the South and Southeast; they do not know this. They say that mothers are not going to grieve for the dead in Kurdish. There is nobody in the South who speaks perfect Turkish in any case. Most of the people there speak Kurdish." Stating that several languages are spoken in France, Belgium and Switzerland, Turk said, "France's official language is French. There are three official languages in Belgium. In Turkey there is only one official language and that is Turkish. There is no such demand for Kurdish in Turkey." He continued:

"I will stress it again, Kurdish is not banned. But our Constitution specifically states in Article 42 that no language besides Turkish shall be taught or instructed as the mother language to the citizens in any education or training facility." Pointing out that with the abolition in 1991 of the law on languages banned by law the ban on Kurdish was also lifted, Turk said, "There is no language banned by law in Turkey. These lines in Articles 26 and 28 of the Constitution should be removed. Turkey should rid itself of this ambiguity."

Article 26, which Turk suggested be amended, gives provisions for "the freedom to explain and propagate ideas and reads: "No language banned by law shall be used in the voicing or propagation of ideas." Article 28 concerns "freedom of the press" and reads "No publication shall be made in any language banned by law."

The word among political circles is that should the parties come to an agreement on the EU integration process, these provisions in the Constitution will be able to be removed with the amendment of a single article from the Constitution.

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### **Ecevit Welcomes PUK's 'Effective Measures' Against PKK, Talabani Seeks Support**

Anatolia 25 Jul 00

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ANKARA, July 25 (A.A) - Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union for Kurdistan (PUK) of Iraq, said on Tuesday, "I told Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit that we wanted to maintain our good relations with Turkey." Prime Minister Ecevit received Talabani who came to Turkey early today.

Addressing journalists following the 40-minute meeting, Talabani said he had informed Prime Minister Ecevit on the latest developments in Northern Iraq.

Noting that he had explained their policies towards the terrorist organization PKK to Prime Minister Ecevit, Talabani said, "I requested Mr. Ecevit to support us in implementation of Ankara Process and Washington Agreement." When asked whether or not the issue of the Peace Monitoring Group was brought onto agenda of the meeting, Talabani said, "we discussed the issue. I informed Prime Minister Ecevit on deployment of the group in Koysancak. I hope the group would carry out its duties successfully." Responding to a question, Talabani said Habur border gate was also on the agenda, and he conveyed his views regarding the issue to Premier Ecevit.

When asked, "what are your problems regarding implementation of the Ankara Process, Talabani said, "nothing has been implemented in this process." Responding to another question if they had a share in the impediments preventing the implementation, he said "no, this is not correct. We accepted all articles of the Ankara Agreement."

Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit said on Tuesday that the Patriotic Union for Kurdistan (PUK) of Iraq has begun to take effective measures against the terrorist organization PKK.

"We appreciate it," he added.

Addressing journalists following his meeting with Jalal Talabani, the leader of the PUK, Ecevit said that they had held a very beneficial meeting.

Recalling that Talabani had recently paid visits to the U.S., France, Britain, Syria and Iran, Prime Minister Ecevit said that Talabani had informed him on his visits.

Ecevit said, "recently, the institution headed by Talabani has begun to take more effective measures against the terrorist organization PKK. He gave detailed information to me concerning this issue. We appreciate this. He also voiced their expectations from Turkey to be more beneficial on this issue."

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## **Iraqi Opposition Group Calls for a New Coalition Front, Lifting of Sanctions**

Al-Quds al-Arabi 21 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Quds al-Arabi-The Iraqi Opposition Democratic Centrist Tendency [DCT] held a seminar in London on Wednesday night that was attended by a large number of Iraqis and Arab and foreign intellectuals. The seminar discussed the Iraqi situation and the political orientations of the DCT that keeps itself at a distance from the US-backed Iraqi opposition and calls for the opposition's independence so as to maintain its credibility. Dr. Adnan Pachachi, DCT Secretary General and former Iraqi Foreign Minister, addressed the seminar that was moderated by DCT Spokesman Dr. Ghassan al-Atiyah.

Pachachi stressed that his organization includes a group of independents working to overcome the divisions and despair in the Iraqi opposition. He said that they hope to establish a new national front for all the opposition and unify its efforts to remove President Saddam Husayn's Government.

He pointed out that the idea of establishing the DCT was raised for the first time more than three years ago at meetings held by a number of independents and members of existing political organizations. He said: They met to discuss the opposition's conditions and the means of strengthening them despite their different religious affiliations, political and ideological tendencies, and ethnic origins. They were bound together by the common desire to work together to save Iraq and its people. We found from the extensive contacts we held with most forces, parties, organizations, and independent figures that everyone called for and even insisted on the opposition's unification.

### **US Financing**

Pachachi went on to say: Some of them have expressed their willingness to work with and help us prepare an expanded meeting on the basis of national constants and clear objectives and to elect a leadership for a trusted and respected Iraqi opposition. We are convinced that the fragmented and scattered opposition that is associated with foreign countries and depends on their financial backing cannot work seriously because it will never be trusted by the Iraqis, both inside and outside the homeland. It will be unable to act effectively in the Arab, regional, and international spheres. Any opposition that is not supported by the Iraqis or trusted by the Arabs has no value. This is the lesson that everyone must learn.

The opposition that depends on foreign financing and ignores the Iraqis' patriotic feelings is doomed to fail. Briefly, the opposition has to maintain its freedom and independence by relying on the Iraqis' unconditional financial support and must refuse to be associated in any way with any foreign party.

Pachachi added: Some people are saying that it is difficult, and even impossible, to unify the opposition because of personal animosities and foreign associations. There is no doubt that the problems and obstacles impeding the establishment of unity are many and all efforts made so far to achieve it have failed. So what can be done? Do we give in to despair and frustration and accept the reality? The regime hopes that we do so. But we must continue our attempts with determination and perseverance.

We believe that the DCT can play a role in bringing the various opposition groups' views together because of the nature of its structure, its openness to all sides, its non-association with any foreign country, and its political and ideological neutrality. Some people might accuse us of being naïve because we want to achieve an objective that others have failed to achieve. But political action needs a large measure of optimism and boldness. Iraq's exceptionally hard conditions make it incumbent on us all not to let pessimism and excessive caution weaken our determination.

### **A National Front**

Pachachi announced that the DCT would meet on 30 September. He said: The first item on its agenda will be the establishment of a broadly based national coalition front that represents all sectors of Iraq's society. We hope members will authorize the new leadership that will be elected to contact the other opposition forces so as to agree on forming a preparatory committee whose task will be to prepare for an expanded opposition meeting that decides to establish the national coalition front.

Pachachi then discussed the DCT's political orientations and summed them up in the following points:

1. Dialogue with the current ruling regime in Iraq is futile. It is a delusion to believe that it will voluntarily abandon its harsh repressive policies, which have turned a cohesive society that lived in harmony and tolerance into one based on fear and hypocrisy. The regime will not allow the people to participate effectively in the rule's responsibilities on sound democratic bases because it knows that this will be its end.

2. There is a belief that the existence of the regime has become a national necessity. But letting it stay in power means a continuation of the sanctions that have led to economic collapse and high inflation rates. These have impoverished large sectors of the people and led to society's break up, the collapse of values, and the spread of corruption and bribery.

3. The change will come from inside the country. This is quite obvious and indisputable. But it does not mean that the millions of Iraqis living outside the homeland do not have a role in the process of change. The opposite is true because they can back and encourage the opposition inside.

4. One of the most important tasks of the opposition is to hold contacts at all levels with the Arab countries, the Security Council member states, the Human Rights Commission, and non-governmental organizations to explain its view on the need for change.

5. The DCT demands the lifting of the economic embargo that has been imposed on Iraq for more than 10 years. It has inflicted damage on the Iraqi people and has not affected the regime that has exploited the people's suffering to strengthen its position.

#### Comments

Retired Brigadier General Ali Husayn Jasim, Director of Military Intelligence under President Abd-al-Salam Arif, commented on the lecture. He said: The opposition has to prove the credibility of its concern for Iraq and its future. Besides the regime's siege and the US blockade, the Iraqi people are being subjected to mass genocide at the hands of Turkey through the dams that it is building on the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. I therefore urge the opposition to act and use all possible means to pressure the British Government to ban the Balfour-Beatty Company from financially supporting Turkey to complete the new dam that it intends to build on the Tigris River.

Several members of the audience backed this proposal and raised their hands in support of the notion.

The seminar discussed information about the British contribution to the building of the dam and most of it was detailed and technical. Jasim called for pressuring the British Government through Parliament and the press.

Muhammad Bahr-al-Ulum ended the seminar by proposing the formation of a committee of 10 technical experts and politicians to follow up the matter. He urged the seminar not to end its session before forming such a committee.

#### Scuffle

The representative of the Iraqi Kurdish Communist Labor Party tried to exploit the seminar to explain the disputes between his Party and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK]. He distributed statements denouncing the PUK's practices against the Communist Labor Party. This developed into a scuffle with fists with the PUK members when they attacked him after the seminar at the door. Guards were forced to call the police.

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### **Minister Cay Opposed to Iraqi Opposition Groups Stationing Envoys in Ankara**

TRT 1 Television (Ankara) 21 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] State Minister Abdulhaluk Mehmet Cay has declared that it is risky for the opposition groups in north Iraq to station representatives to Turkey, and added that Turkey must openly state this. Cay said that he will raise this issue.

Cay received Seran Kasap, deputy leader of the north Iraqi Turkoman Front, and the delegation accompanying him in Ankara today. Recalling that the organization's headquarters in Irbil were attacked by IKDP [Iraqi Kurdish Democratic Party] forces on 12 July, the Turkoman delegation asked for Turkey's support. Cay noted that Turkey should not allow a separate state to be established in north Iraq.

[Begin Cay recording] We are fiercely opposed to granting the status of state to either Barzani or Talabani, and we are clearly stating that we will not allow this. This is not connected to the issue of a state or to humanitarian issues. Our Foreign Ministry issued the necessary warning by summoning the representative there. Actually, in my view it is risky even allowing them to station representatives in Turkey. Turkey must clearly state this. We, on our part, will raise this issue. [end recording]

[In a related report, Ankara Anatolia in English at 1305 GMT on 21 July adds the following: "Cay said, 'in the wake of the World War I, imperialist Britain tried first Nestorians and then Kurds. After it failed, Britain decided to found an Arab state in the region. When Iraqi state was first founded, the Turcomen that were one of the three groups forming the state, were tried to be assimilated among Arabs or Kurds.' ["Stressing that a political solution which would not resolve problems of Turcomen in the region, could not be acceptable, Cay said that the U.S. and Europe should take this issue into consideration.

["The Turcomen should be ready against such attacks. They are bandits who have not the characteristics of state and nation yet." ["Meanwhile, Kasap said that the Turcomen who respected to the laws, expected support from Turkish government and media. ["Responding to a question, Cay said, 'efforts to found a Kurdish state in the region have escalated during the last decade. There is a report issued by Edan Nadin in 1978. It says that Kurdistan would be founded over one or several states within a ten-year period. But conditions in the region did not allow foundation of a Kurdish state. One can easily see that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was a puppet of the U.S. The U.S. did not initiate a land war on Iraq. Because it needs Saddam Hussein as a threat against Iran and Saudi Arabia.' ["Cay said that existence of the Turcomen which had been ignored so far, should be brought onto agenda. ["Responding to another question about developments in Kosovo, Cay said, 'there is a hostility against Turkey that is identical with the hatred against Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, and Turks who are Muslims, should cooperate with each other. If Albanians maintain their disrespectful attitude, Turkey will take measures against them.' ["Cay accused the United Nation Force in the region of invite developments against the Turkish factor."]

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### **Iraqi Assembly Letter Protests Turkey's Extension of Hammer Force Mandate Republic of Iraq**

Radio 23 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] The Iraqi National Assembly has expressed extreme concern over the decision taken by the Turkish Grand Assembly to renew the presence of the so-called Hammer Force on Turkish territory for six months. In a letter sent by Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi, speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly, to the Turkish Grand Assembly speaker, the Iraqi National Assembly said that renewing the presence of the so-called Hammer Force on Turkish territory will contribute to the daily aggression against Iraq by these forces. This step will also consolidate the influence of agent Kurdish sides in northern Iraq to cause domestic problems on the border between Iraq and Turkey.

In his latter, Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi said that the Iraqi National Assembly had hoped that the Turkish Grand Assembly would take into consideration the historical relations of neighborliness and friendship and the mutual interests between Iraq and Turkey and that it would not miss an opportunity without asserting and deepening these relations. The letter added that the Iraqi National Assembly had hoped that the neighbor Turkey would work for the lifting of the unjust embargo imposed on Iraq, or, at least, seek to use Article 50 of the UN Charter to serve the interests of the two countries. Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi appealed to the speaker of the Turkish Assembly to issue decisions that have strategic dimensions, which seek to develop the region socially and economically in a mutual manner. He said that Turkey should not allow sides and countries that have well-known interests to destroy the relations and mutual interests of the two countries.

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### **Iraqi National Accord Movement To Pursue Efforts To 'Broaden INC Framework'**

Al-Zaman 21 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Zaman -- A spokesman for the Iraqi National Accord [INA] movement has stated that the INA has not withdrawn from the Iraqi National Congress [INC], but has instead suspended its membership for reasons which it had previously listed in a memorandum presented to the INC presidency on 2 July. In a statement of which Al-Zaman received a copy yesterday, the spokesman said that "contacts are still being held between representatives of the INA and those of the major parties in the INC with the aim of broadening the INC's framework, redressing the

balance, and correcting the mistakes caused by a failure to represent several organizations and factions of the national Iraqi forces in the INC's leadership and various bodies."

The spokesman concluded: "The INA will continue to work with the main parties and organizations and the real forces of change inside Iraq."

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### **INDICT Campaign prepares Saddam dossier**

The Guardian July 25, 2000

A London-based human rights group has prepared a secret dossier outlining cases which could put Saddam Hussein and other leaders of the Iraqi dictatorship before a war crimes tribunal. Indict, which is funded by the US government, has compiled witness statements from many of Saddam's victims as well as more than five million official Iraqi government documents detailing the regime's atrocities.

The group has been advised by a leading British barrister - who is staying anonymous for safety reasons - that its evidence would be enough for indictments to be made against seven Iraqi leaders, including Saddam, under the Geneva convention and international conventions on torture.

The dossier has been delivered to the US government, which is urging all other nations - especially its allies in Europe - to detain any of those named who enter their territory, reported BBC Radio 4's Today programme. The evidence will also be used to try to persuade the United Nations to set up an international war crimes tribunal covering Iraq, similar to those dealing with atrocities in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia.

Labour MP Ann Clwyd, the chairwoman of Indict, told Today: "As yet, we don't know whether the political will exists in various countries in Europe, and indeed in the UK itself. "We have evidence where actions could be taken in the UK.

"This is a test of resolve of countries to do what they say they want to do and that is to bring Iraqi war criminals to justice." Indict has investigated an A-list of 12 of the most notorious Iraqi leaders, including Saddam, his two sons, and Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, as well as a B-list of 31 less prominent people. Evidence covers atrocities during wars against Iran and Kuwait, internal repression of political opponents, torture of prisoners and attacks on minorities including the Kurds. The announcement of the existence of the dossier today amounts to a challenge to the Russian government to act, as Mr Aziz is presently on a visit to Moscow.

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### **Iraqi Opposition Media Officers Take Part in Pentagon Training Program in London**

Al-Zaman 22 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] London, Al-Zaman - The US Department of Defense (the Pentagon) yesterday organized a media training program for the forces in the Iraqi National Congress [INC], with 25 media officials from various INC movements and parties taking part in the training program, including the Iraqi National Accord movement which enrolled three of its own media representatives in the program. Clifford Bernath, director of the US Department of Defense media office, and US Navy public relations officer Stephen Hunda [name as transliterated] gave talks during the training program which represents the first step toward implementing the Iraq Liberation Act outside the United States. The lectures in the training program -- which took place in one of the hotels in the British capital, London -- focused on the media and public relations, on how to deal with sources and how to influence local and international public opinion. An overview of the Pentagon's know-how and the way the ministry operates in this field was also given.

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### **The risk of leaving Iraq unchecked**

By Allyn Fisher-Ilan, Jerusalem Post July 23, 2000

(July 23) -- Ten years after its invasion of Kuwait, the subsequent Gulf War, and the implementation of sanctions aimed at stripping Iraq of its most dangerous weapons, former UN arms inspector Richard Butler tells Allyn Fisher-Ilan that a now unmonitored Baghdad appears to be rebuilding its arsenal

Iran's newly tested Shihab-3 missile is certainly "a dangerous and difficult weapon" with a capability of carrying a one-ton warhead, says Richard Butler, former head of the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) charged with ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.

But Butler, who spent a couple of years trying in vain to disarm Iran's equally menacing neighbor, Iraq, seems more concerned that the projectile fired successfully last week may give Iran's more immediate enemy, Iraq, more incentive to produce its own long-range missile.

"There's no doubt [Iraq is] seeking to acquire a long range missile capability," Butler told The Jerusalem Post in an interview. "They probably have some already hidden. They tried to keep from me their indigenous production of long range missiles." That's not all Iraq has attained in recent years, in defiance of UN resolutions passed since the 1991 Gulf War to strip the country of its dangerous weapons.

According to Butler, who was visiting here this week, Iraq has the know-how to put together an atomic bomb within 12 months. All it is missing is some fissionable material, such as enriched uranium or plutonium, which could be purchased on the black market, he says. This "is one of the main concerns that intelligence agencies around the world have" today, he says. "Saddam [Hussein] knows how to make an atomic bomb and he has the people who can do it for him."

An even greater threat to Israel, in Butler's view, is Iraq's apparent commitment to producing biological weapons or germ warfare, with Israel in mind as a potential target. He says that Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tarik Aziz once told him that the reason his country needs biological weapons is to deal with the hostility of the "Zionist entity."

He says Aziz referred to Israel's 1981 bombing of the Osirak reactor outside Baghdad and "made clear to me in a private conversation that the current Iraqi regime views Israel as an enemy of Iraq, as a threat to Iraq. He actually tried to say to me that that's why Iraq created biological weapons, as if in some way they were especially reserved for Israel."

Butler adds that he "will go to the grave not understanding exactly what he was saying there - not understanding the inner meaning of that. It almost sounded genocidal. But I don't want to say that, because I don't understand exactly what he was saying."

BUTLER, a seasoned diplomat in the area of arms control and a former Australian ambassador to the UN, headed UNSCOM from 1997 through June 1999. The agency was dismantled following Saddam's continued refusal to cooperate with the inspections, last conducted in late 1998 before the US and Britain retaliated for Iraq's noncompliance by bombing its weapons factories in Operation Desert Fox.

Now a diplomat in residence at the Council of Foreign Relations in New York, Butler is worried about the vacuum created by the absence of any arms inspections in Iraq for nearly two years. In his new book, *The Greatest Threat: Iraq, Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Crisis of Global Security*, he elaborates on these misgivings, and details his troubles in dealing with Saddam's regime. The volume, published last month in New York, offers details about the cat-and-mouse game Butler and his fellow inspectors were forced to play while trying to verify whether Baghdad was complying with UN rules to curtail the production of lethal weapons.

Iraq made major efforts to conceal suspected weapons depots and production sites, sometimes threatening the UN inspectors, he writes. In one chilling encounter, a helicopter carrying inspectors nearly crashed when an Iraqi pilot threatened to interfere with the flight controls. He had been trying to prevent a photographer on board from taking pictures of a vehicle exiting a military barracks in Saddam's hometown of Tikrit.

Butler and other officials were repeatedly forced to do detective work when confronted by Iraq's obvious concealment efforts. He writes of instances where inspectors were kept waiting outside an installation's gates while truckloads of equipment would be carted out of a building. He maintains that there is evidence that Iraq is flouting international law by going ahead unchecked with the production of weapons of mass destruction.

Butler has mounted a campaign to raise public awareness about the risk this poses. This past week he lectured on "The emerging threat of Iraq" at an event sponsored by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs and the New Atlantic Initiative, American Enterprise Institute. On Tuesday, Butler addressed the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. "Since we were stopped in our work almost two years ago, there's been no monitoring whatsoever of Iraq," Butler told the Post. "The place that we're in is a dangerous one. I don't see a resolution in sight."

He refers to recent reports of Iraq taking advantage of a loophole in UN restrictions by trying to produce missiles with a range of up to 150 kilometers. He says the Iraqis intend to use the technology "to make them fly longer." The report was published this month in The New York Times, but Butler says he has known about the project for two years. He suggests it is one of many Iraqi weapons endeavors that the UN has had little success in stopping.



In his book, he notes how Aziz once remarked, in one of the many testy meetings between them while Butler was head of UNSCOM, that if you can make a weapon fly 150 kilometers you can make one to fly farther. Regarding chemical and biological weapons, Butler says there have been reports that Iraq is rebuilding the factories wrecked by US and British bombings in Operation Desert Fox.

"It is folly not to assume that Iraq is back in the chemical and biological business," Butler says. "They know how to do it and they have an established track record in doing it. We know that Saddam has used those weapons, including on his own people. Why in the name of the Lord would you assume otherwise?"

EARLIER this year, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed a new agency in charge of weapons inspections and disarmament in Iraq. The new agency is called UNMOVIC, the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission.

But a renewal of inspections has been delayed by what Butler suggests to be Russian delaying tactics, at Iraq's behest. In an April letter urging a more detailed outline of how inspections would be conducted, Russia "said in writing to the council that 'we will support them [the Iraqis] and we, with our veto, will not approve of things of which they don't approve.'"

Giving Iraq such veto power over the inspections, says Butler, "sounds awfully like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop, doesn't it?" Butler accuses Russia of taking Iraq under its wing like a client state, a type of relationship more reminiscent of the Cold War era, he points out.

He calls for Russia "to stop patronizing Saddam Hussein. It has to find another way to show the world that it still is really a global power instead of hitching its wagon to the dictator of Iraq." The US and other countries could do more than they are doing to put pressure on Moscow and renew weapons inspections in Iraq, Butler believes.

"The whole world has to be worried about nonproliferation arrangements crumbling - because the Security Council is allowing its authority to be so trashed," he says. "It's not about a trade matter or some other diplomatic matter. It's about no less than weapons of mass destruction. HE'D like to see Washington force renewed weapons inspections in Iraq before the issue is forced by another crisis. If long-range missiles don't worry Washington, the potential for errant nuclear arms, chemicals and biological agents being used for terrorism should be a cause for concern, Butler says.

"I think the whole world has to be worried about the continued existence of a person who's shown that he has an addiction to weapons of mass destruction, whose products, especially, chemical or biological, could easily find their way into terrorist hands.

"Do we really have to wait for him to fire missiles again at a neighboring country or to have substances turn up in the subways of New York and then discover they were of Iraqi origin?" Butler asks.

The potential for nuclear capability should also be of concern. "Russia doesn't even know how much plutonium they made under their old system... People like the Iraqis or the Iranians have a cartload of money at their disposal and for them to say to some errant scientist, I'll give you \$5 million for that briefcase of material - for that person it's their whole life, while for Baghdad, that's lunch money."

He adds that "the whole world has to be worried about arrangements we've built over 40 years crumbling," referring to the various arms control mechanisms of the world community. LISTENING to Butler, one wonders whether any progress was made in disarming Iraq since the Gulf War. What does Butler think?

"One has to recognize we are in a different place from where we were in 1991," he replies. "The simplest way of illustrating that is to ask the question rhetorically - where, as it were, in the name of God, would we be if there had been no intervention to take away Saddam's weapons-making capability and a good deal of the weapons that he had made, and to hold him under monitoring for eight years?"

He notes that in 1991 Saddam was only six months away from acquiring one or more atomic bombs. "If he had not brought himself to attention in the way he did by invading Kuwait, if he had just proceeded in what we now know was a detailed program for the creation of weapons of mass destruction, I think we'd be in a terrible place," Butler adds. The trouble is, he says, "we were unable to finish the job" of disarming Iraq

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## **Ankara to answer for army's actions**

The Guardian by Owen Bowcott July 25, 2000

The massacre of seven shepherds - allegedly by Turkish soldiers - in the mountains of northern Iraq is to be investigated by the European court of human rights in Strasbourg. The court's ruling last week that the case is admissible establishes a significant legal precedent: for the first time Ankara will have to answer for the behaviour of its troops during cross-border raids into Iraq in pursuit of Kurdish rebels. The decision extends the principle that states are liable for actions beyond their borders.

Turkey, eager to advance its application to join the EU and increasingly sensitive about its human-rights record, frequently finds itself before the court for its "anti-terrorist" campaigns against the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Last month the court found it responsible for the murder of a prisoner, Agit Salman, and the torture of a villager, Abdullatif Ilhan, who was beaten by soldiers in the predominantly Kurdish south-east; Ankara was ordered to pay £225,000 in damages and legal expenses.

Both cases were taken to Strasbourg by the Kurdish Human Rights Project (KHRP) in London, which is also supporting the case of the seven shepherds, who died in April 1995.

At that time the Turkish army was harrying the PKK in the Kurdish safe-haven established by the allies in northern Iraq after the Gulf war. The PKK used the mountains as a base from which to attack Turkey. The shepherds saw Turkish helicopters transporting troops up the valley below their village, Azadi, which is just south of the Turkish border. Undeterred, the men set off with their sheep into the hills.

After 15 minutes they met a patrol of Turkish soldiers who, according to the claim submitted to the court, started shouting abuse at them and kicking and hitting them. Wives accompanying them were separated and sent back to the village. Other women who approached the detained shepherds were fired at by soldiers. Local Kurdish officials who later asked Turkish officers to release the shepherds were promised that they would be freed, but the shepherds' bodies were found in the hills the next morning.

"The bodies had been shot at several times and were badly mutilated," the court documents record. "Ears, tongues and genitals [were] missing." The shepherds' widows, who still live in northern Iraq, have been unable to take their case to the Turkish courts.

In its ruling, the human-rights court said: "The Turkish authorities failed to conduct a meaningful investigation . . . The Turkish authorities' reaction in this case must not be seen in isolation; rather, it must be seen in the context of their general reluctance to deal with allegations of involvement of state agents in unlawful conduct." The Turkish embassy in London declined to comment on the case.

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## **Kurdish Region Acquires Medical Equipment From Germany**

Kurdistani Nuwe (Suleymania) 25 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] Following an invitation by the German Siemens Company, which manufactures medical equipment, Dr. Majid Muhammad-Amin Jamil, Acting Minister of Health [in the PUK-led regional government] left for Germany on 25 June and returned to Sulaymaniyah on 22 July 2000. In an interview, regarding the outcome of his visit, he made the following statement to Kurdistani Nuwe:

"First, we visited the Siemens Company and its departments manufacturing medical equipment. The company's expert engineers have analyzed the quality of their equipment and their efficiency."

He pointed to the equipment to which he signed an agreement with the company. It has been decided to bring the equipment to Kurdistan in August this year, within the framework of UN Resolution 986 [known as the "oil for food programme"]. The equipment is: MRI magnetic vibration; CT scan disrupt rays, which takes images of one part of the body; lethotrepsy, to remove kidney stones; shock wave; Sluroscopy, which can assist the surgeon during a surgical operation, in case the surgeon commits a mistake. [sentence as published] During the course of the interview, he revealed that he has visited the KKT company, which fabricates central cooling equipment and discussed the categories of equipment. In future, meetings will be held in Kurdistan to continue these discussions. He later said:

"I have also visited Menshin [as transliterated] hospital, which has 1,000 beds. I visited its departments with the doctors, whom I informed about the health conditions in Kurdistan." It is worth mentioning that the Deputy Minister of Health has visited the Dutch Philips Company, which invited him and which manufactures medical equipment.

THE SUNDAY TIMES • JULY 23, 2000

# Saddam's tanks set for attack on Kurds

Marie Colvin

SIX Iraqi infantry and mechanised army divisions are poised on the edge of Kurdistan, awaiting President Saddam Hussein's order to strike in a blow that would challenge America's pledge to protect the Kurds.

The Iraqi attack plan, entitled Operation al-Khassas al-Adel (Justice), is aimed at capturing Suleimaniya, a large Kurdish city, and two dams that supply water to central Iraq.

The plan was disclosed by an Iraqi military intelligence source who recently defected. He said it entailed three divisions of infantry, accompanied by three armoured divisions, driving north from three separate locations and sweeping towards Suleimaniya, headquarters of the Patriotic Union



**Invasion plot: Saddam wants to secure his water supply**

of Kurdistan (PUK), headed by Jalal Talabani.

Tanks and armoured personnel carriers had been moved

into place south of Chamchamal, Kufri and Kallar. A total of 800 tanks and armoured personnel carriers (APCs) had

joined the infantry divisions, each numbering 12,000 men, with Republican Guard divisions in reserve.

The soldiers involved in Operation Justice, headed by General Ibrahim Abdel Satar, chief of staff of the army, and overseen by Izzat Ibrahim al-Douri, the Iraqi vice-president, are said to have been moved into place in the past few weeks.

The aim is to recapture territory Iraq lost in an uprising that followed the 1991 Gulf war.

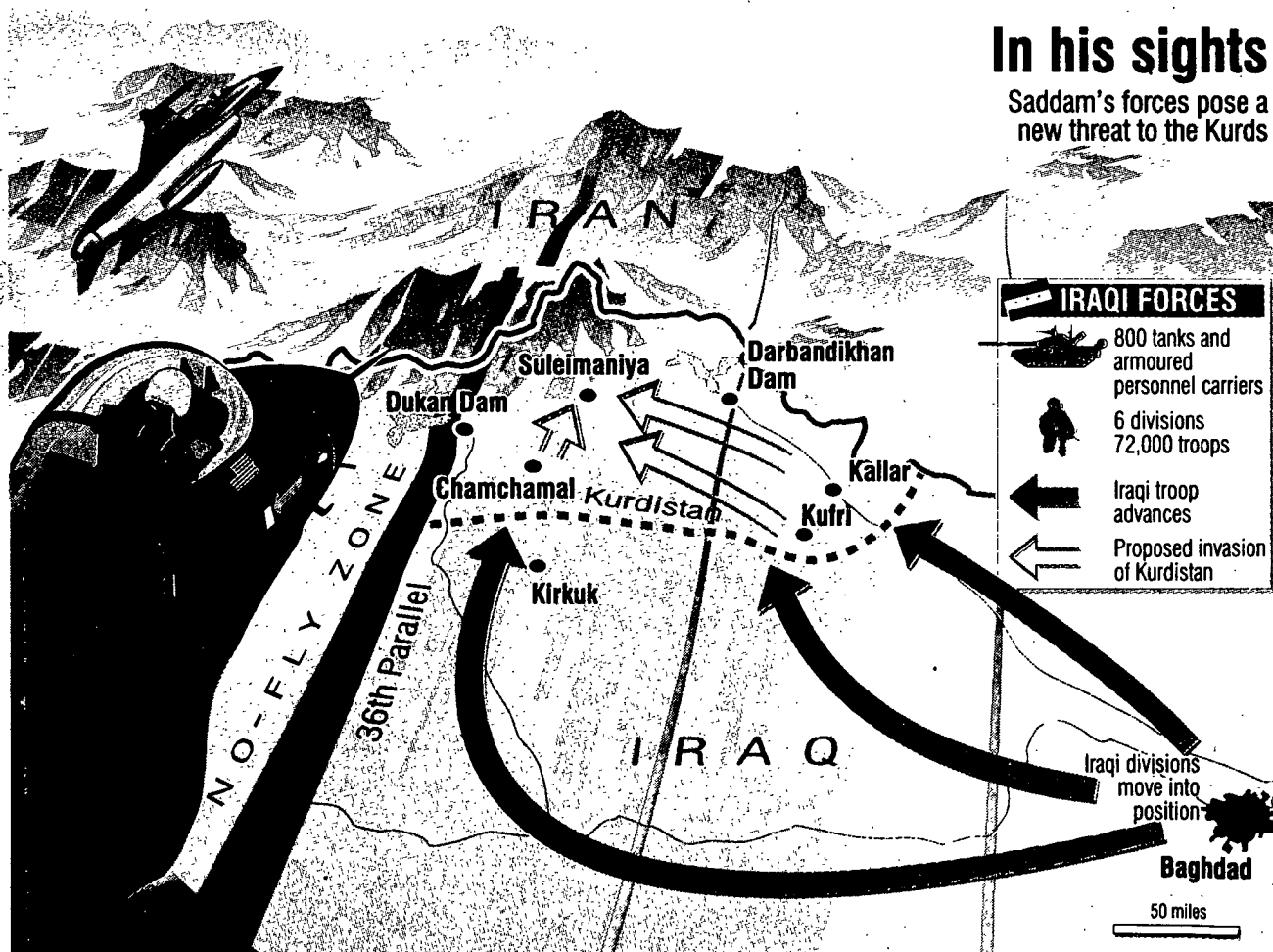
Saddam also wants to seize the dams of Dukan and Darbandikhan. Central Iraq and Baghdad are short of water and

the president believes the Kurds are cutting off their supply. Kurds deny the charge and say the shortages are due to a lack of snow last winter.

The Iraqi operation would

## In his sights

Saddam's forces pose a new threat to the Kurds



mirror its August 1996 invasion of Kurdistan, when Saddam's troops swept north to Irbil and destroyed the headquarters of the opposition Iraqi National Congress, killing hundreds of supporters. CIA agents escaped just ahead of the Iraqi columns, leaving files which Saddam used to track down and murder their associates.

As well as wanting to regain control of the area, Saddam is said to be intent on punishing the PUK for an attack in Baghdad in May, in which he believes the group assisted Iran. Eight rockets were launched on the presidential palace complex, probably the most closely guarded area in Iraq.

So furious was Saddam at the attack, which caused little damage but dented his aura of invulnerability, that he recalled Brigadier-General Mizher Rashid

al-Turfah from a military intelligence posting in Iran to lambast him for failing to uncover the infiltration. Al-Turfah has been kept in Baghdad since, and Saddam has increased the surveillance of other officers by military intelligence units.

There is little to stop Saddam. Against his 72,000 men and 800 tanks and APCs, the PUK has about 30,000 soldiers armed only with Kalashnikovs and a few anti-tank missiles.

In an attempt to head off the Iraqi operation, Talabani has sent messages to Saddam denying any role in the attack on the presidential palace.

An attack by Iraq would pose a challenge for the Americans, whose planes patrol two "no-fly zones" in Iraq. One, north of the 36th parallel, was set up to protect the Kurdish population. A second, south of the 32nd parallel, was established to protect

the largely Shi'ite population.

Both areas suffered severely when Saddam turned his forces on them after rebels took control of 14 provinces during the 1991 uprising.

The area of Suleimaniya, however, is just below the 36th parallel. Saddam's drive north would not therefore break the letter of the ceasefire agreement, but would show him subjugating the people Washington has vowed to protect.

Kurdish sources said observers had seen troop movements and feared that an invasion could be imminent.

The Iraqi source said Saddam believed the Americans would

not have the will to fight. The Arab world has increasingly relaxed sanctions against Iraq, the United Nations security council enforcing them is divided and the American presidential campaign is heating up.

One Iraqi general who knows

Saddam well said the president would believe the Americans could do little against him. "What can they do from the air?" said General Wafiq Samarra'i. "Hit his radar? Anti-aircraft installations? They are doing that anyway."

The Iraqi threat comes as the American government, facing criticism at home that its Iraqi policy is in tatters, has become involved again with a rejuvenated Iraqi opposition.

At a recent meeting in London, the Iraqi National Congress elected a new leadership. The group is forging ahead with plans to try to re-establish a presence in northern Iraq, possibly setting up a humanitarian operation to feed the poor and win sympathy within the country.

## STRATEGIQUE

# La coopération irano-arméno-grecque, garante de la stabilité régionale

L'Iran et l'Arménie développent un partenariat tous azimuts, avec pour priorité le gazoduc

L'Iran, la Grèce et l'Arménie ont signé lundi 17 juillet à Téhéran un mémorandum de compréhension mutuelle, au terme de la session de la commission de coordination de la coopération trilatérale. A l'ordre du jour de cette session, figuraient le bilan de l'action des six commissions spécialisées, ainsi que la préparation d'un plan de travail en vue du prochain sommet des ministres des Affaires étrangères des trois pays, prévu en novembre 2000 à Athènes.

Les partenaires ont souligné la volonté politique de leurs gouvernements respectifs de poursuivre et de consolider leur coopération. L'accord souligne la nécessité d'accélérer les études sur la construction du gazoduc Iran-Arménie, et de coopérer avec l'Union européenne pour le financement de l'ouvrage. La proposition iranienne d'organiser des réunions de groupes de travail dans le domaine des sources d'énergie renouvelables et du charbon, a été chaleureusement accueillie par les deux autres parties; la première réunion se tiendra dès le mois de septembre 2000 à Téhéran. Les trois parties ont également évoqué la nécessité d'étendre la coopération commerciale et d'intensifier les contacts entre leurs secteurs privés; elles attachent une importance toute particulière à la coopération dans les domaines des transports et du transit, notamment en vue de faciliter la coopération est-ouest et le développement des axes de transit nord-sud. Iraniens, Grecs et Arméniens ont également insisté sur l'importance de la coopération dans le domaine du tourisme, qui peut contribuer à améliorer les relations économiques et culturelles, et ont salué la proposition iranienne d'accueillir la première réunion de la commission chargée de l'environnement et des catastrophes naturelles.

Le ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères Kamal Kharrazi a souligné lundi 17 juillet l'importance de la coopération dans les domaines des transports et de l'énergie (oléoducs et gazoducs), mais aussi de l'évaluation des potentiels respectifs et de l'utilisation des experts.

Lors d'une rencontre lundi 17 juillet, en marge de la session de la commission trilatérale, avec les vice-ministres des Affaires étrangères d'Iran, d'Arménie et de Grèce, M. Kharrazi a exprimé sa satisfaction quant au résultat de la réunion. Cette coopération trilatérale ne profitera pas uniquement selon lui aux trois pays, mais sera également un «outil important» au service de la sécurité collective et de la stabilité de l'ensemble de la région. «Une telle coopération est fondée sur des intérêts communs, et la création de liens entre les trois pays n'est dirigée contre aucun autre Etat», a déclaré le chef de la diplomatie iranienne.

Il a formé le vœu que la réunion de cette commission trilatérale ouvre la voie à une coopération élargie, lors de la prochaine réunion des ministres des Affaires étrangères des trois pays.

Le vice-ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères, Mohammad Hussein Adeli, présent lors de la réunion, a jugé «constructif» l'échange de vues entre les dirigeants des trois pays dans les secteurs de l'énergie, de la banque, de l'industrie, des transports, du tourisme et sur le dossier des catastrophes naturelles. Son homologue arménien prévoit un «avenir brillant» à cette coopération, et a ajouté que les Arméniens sont «fermement décidés à [la] consolider». Quant au numéro deux de la diplomatie grecque, porteur des mêmes espoirs, il a estimé que cette coopération trilatérale irano-arméno-grecque pouvait être «un bon exemple à suivre pour d'autres pays».

La coopération arméno-iranienne en matière énergétique avait déjà été au cœur des entretiens trilatéraux, vendredi 14 juillet à Erévan, entre la Commission européenne, l'Iran et l'Arménie, dans le cadre du groupe de travail Commission européenne-Arménie sur la centrale nucléaire de Medzamor. La réunion était présidée par le ministre arménien de l'Energie,



Karen Galstian, avec la participation des vice-ministres iraniens des Affaires étrangères Mohammad Hussein Adeli et du Pétrole Ahmad Rahgozar, de l'ambassadeur Elio Germano et de Cornelis Wittebrood pour la Commission européenne.

Les parties ont fait le point sur la situation dans le secteur énergétique arménien, et sont convenus de la nécessité d'approvisionner l'Arménie en gaz naturel iranien, dans la perspective de la fermeture de Medzamor. La Commission européenne a accepté d'intégrer la construction de cette infrastructure stratégique au programme régional INOGATE (Transport inter-étatique du Pétrole et du Gaz vers l'Europe). La réunion trilatérale a mis au point un programme d'action global sur les aspects institutionnels, commerciaux et financiers de la construction de ce gazoduc. La Commission européenne a décidé à cet effet d'organiser avant la fin de l'année 2000 une «conférence de parrainage» dans le cadre du programme INOGATE et du groupe de travail sur Medzamor.

### L'ARMÉNIE ET L'IRAN, «DES MAILLONS IMPORTANTS DE L'AXE EST-OUEST»

Le vice-ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères, Mohammad Hussein Adeli, venu à Erévan à la tête d'une délégation pour participer aux réunions consultatives trilatérales entre l'Arménie, l'Iran et l'Union européenne, a été reçu vendredi 14 juillet par le président arménien Robert Kotcharian, le premier ministre Andranik Margarian et le chef de la diplomatie Vartan Oskanian. Outre la construction du gazoduc Iran-Arménie et le développement des relations commerciales bilatérales, les deux parties ont évoqué les perspectives de développement de l'Arménie comme pays de transit pour les ressources énergétiques ou l'importation de marchandises en Iran.

Lors de son entretien avec le premier ministre Andranik Margarian, M. Adeli a précisé que les Iraniens avaient réglé la question du financement de leur tronçon du gazoduc, et qu'ils tentaient à présent d'attirer les investisseurs vers l'ouvrage. Il s'est dit encouragé par les perspectives de développement du

transit des marchandises via l'Arménie, lequel pourra prendre un nouvel essor après la rénovation des routes et la construction du tunnel de Kadjaran. M. Adeli a salué par ailleurs le programme de développement de la région de Meghri (frontalière de l'Iran), récemment approuvé par le gouvernement arménien.

Le gouvernement arménien vient d'approuver le programme de développement socio-économique de Meghri, qui a été envoyé au chef de l'Etat pour ratification. Selon Vatché Terterian, directeur de l'administration régionale, le programme, élaboré il y a plusieurs mois par le gouvernement d'Aram Sarkisian, comprend différentes mesures concernant le développement économique de la région, l'activité des entreprises, le travail dans les domaines de l'éducation et de la culture, etc. Ce programme sera en vigueur jusqu'en 2002, et M. Terterian a indiqué que des informations détaillées sur le projet seraient fournies après sa ratification par le président Kotcharian.

Quant à Andranik Margarian, il a suggéré à la partie iranienne d'effectuer des investissements importants dans les entreprises arméniennes où l'on utilise le gaz comme matière première. Il a proposé également la construction d'un oléoduc entre l'Iran et l'Arménie et d'une raffinerie à Meghri. Le chef du gouvernement arménien souhaite faire évoluer les relations commerciales arméno-iraniennes vers la création de liens industriels.

Pour les deux parties, l'Arménie et l'Iran sont des «maillons importants de l'axe Est-Ouest», et ils continueront de prendre part aux processus d'intégration régionale et internationale.

Mais la coopération arméno-iranienne ne se limite pas au seul secteur énergétique. Au lendemain de la signature du mémorandum sur la coopération arméno-irano-grecque, les ministres de la Culture iranien Ataollah Mohadjerani et arménien Roland Charoyan ont participé le 18 juillet à une réunion de la commission mixte culturelle arméno-iranienne, durant laquelle ils ont décidé de réactualiser les accords de coopéra-

tion conclus précédemment entre les deux parties.

### INTENSIFICATION DE LA COOPÉRATION CULTURELLE ARMÉNO-IRANIENNE

M. Mohadjerani a indiqué que les deux pays pouvaient développer la coopération dans différents domaines, et en priorité le tourisme, la musique, la préservation de l'héritage culturel et la traduction d'ouvrages littéraires. Le ministre iranien de la Culture a fait observer que la République islamique d'Iran attachait une grande importance à la rénovation et à la préservation des églises en Iran, témoin la rénovation des deux anciennes églises arméniennes du nord du pays, St-Stephanos et St-Thaddée, effectuée par l'Organisation pour la Préservation de l'Héritage culturel. Il a enfin remercié le gouvernement arménien pour ses efforts accomplis en vue de la diffusion de la langue iranienne en Arménie, et a réitéré la volonté des autorités de Téhéran de porter toute l'assistance nécessaire à l'Arménie sur cette question.

Se référant à la prochaine visite du président Kotcharian en Iran, M. Charoyan a appelé à l'organisation de la Semaine culturelle arménienne à Téhéran, qui comprendrait des concerts, des projections de films, des expositions de produits d'artisanat, etc. M. Charoyan, en visite officielle de trois jours en Iran, a dit tout le bien qu'il pensait de l'idée de dialogue entre les civilisations, prônée par le président iranien Khatami. L'Iran représente à ses yeux un «bon exemple de coexistence entre Musulmans et Chrétiens» dans le monde. «La préservation de l'héritage culturel est l'un des domaines importants de la coopération entre les deux pays», a souligné M. Charoyan, et l'Arménie abrite sur son sol des échantillons précieux de l'héritage culturel iranien - parmi lesquels la Mosquée bleue -, auquel le gouvernement arménien accorde une attention particulière. Le ministre arménien de la Culture a ajouté que l'Arménie était prête à construire un Centre culturel à Téhéran, et a réclamé l'aide de l'Iran pour ce projet. Roland Charoyan a invité enfin son homologue iranien Ataollah Mohadjerani à se rendre en visite officielle en Arménie. ●

# Breaking Iranian Tradition, Women Demand Higher Education

By Susan Sachs  
New York Times Service

TEHRAN — When Maryam Barati first left her home in Isfahan three years ago to attend college in the capital, she prayed silently as each of the 320 kilometers rolled by.

She prayed that her father, who was at the wheel, would not suddenly turn the car around and declare that she, like all the women in her family for uncounted generations, could leave the family nest only to get married.

"He was very reluctant to let me go away to a different city to study," recalled Miss Barati, a 23-year-old physical education teacher-in-training at Alzahra University in central Tehran. "But he finally decided it was all right, and he realized that this has been an incredible experience for me.

Here we have to learn how to live on our own."

Her adventure is being repeated all over Iran, where young women now make up nearly 60 percent of university entrants even though women represent barely half the school-age population.

In a quiet revolution in political and social relations, they are leaving home as single women in historically high numbers, forsaking their conservative villages and towns to seek higher education wherever they can get it.

Their self-assured mobility — an independence of action that their mothers and grandmothers could not have imagined — represents a grand social experiment whose impact is making itself felt on campus and off.

"The phenomenon will change the country in ways we cannot even predict as they enter the labor market and the professions," said Elaheh

Koulai, an administrative dean at Tehran University and a moderate member of Parliament.

One reason that old taboos against higher education for women have collapsed is that Iranian universities, under the overall control of Muslim religious leaders, offer worried parents strict controls over their daughters' lives on campus. Often, the prohibitions are far more severe than the women would have faced at home.

Their dress, their visitors, even their music and reading materials are monitored closely. Still, the women say, they are relishing a fresh sense of freedom even as they realize that their newfound access to education does not guarantee them jobs commensurate with their skills.

The educational development of women has been building for decades as overall literacy rates have climbed and the poor and middle-class have gained access to education that was the near-exclusive preserve of the urban rich before the 1979 Islamic revolution.

The women — and men — now clamoring for entrance to universities are the children of that revolution, born in a baby boom that began in the early 1980s and has slowed only in the last few years. From 1976 to 1986, the national population grew from 33.7 million to 49.4 million. Today it is estimated at 61 million, with 40 percent of the people under 15.

The desire of women for university slots skyrocketed. From 1990 to 2000, the number of women attending universities tripled. In some disciplines, like medicine and social sciences, women now far outnumber men.

And while they have not broken into the labor force in comparable numbers, they have made their demands a factor in politics.

The landslide election in 1997 of President Mohammad Khatami, a moderate cleric who pledged wider social freedoms, is widely attributed to his popularity among young people and especially among young women. The failure

of conservatives to retain their hold on Parliament after elections earlier this year also is widely attributed to a backlash from young women against hard-line social restrictions.

"I don't think the conservatives as a whole have begun to really understand what the impact will be of having so many educated young women graduating from our universities," said Mohammed Javad Larijani, a veteran hard-liner who lost his seat in Parliament, in an interview after the elections. "These women are going to demand that society give value to their skills and their degrees."

Women long have been underrepresented in politics and the professions in Iran. They make up just 14 percent of the labor force, according to a recent United Nations report on human development in Iran. When they do find jobs, it is in government, where they hold 23 percent of the public sector posts, and in farming. They are overrepresented in comparison to men — by a factor of 2 to 1 — only on the unemployment rolls.

"Many trained and skilled women and girls must stay at home because of social and traditional obstacles from their families," Elaheh Koulai said. "Many men in our society don't want their wives working outside the home. But this is going to change. The process is unstoppable."

Those obstacles have not deterred many families from breaking tradition and pushing their daughters to get a university degree at any cost.

"If our daughters don't study, they won't have anything in life," said Ashraf Juyandeh, 49, a cafeteria worker in Shiraz who is trying to get her two daughters into the local university.

"I myself only finished sixth grade," she added. "Back then, the rich could afford to send their daughters to school, but traditional families considered it a bad thing. My mother was never allowed to go to university and my father could never have afforded it."

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, JULY 24, 2000

## Turkey thanks northern Iraqi Kurdish faction for curbing rebels



ANKARA, July 25 (AFP) - 22h41 - Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit on Tuesday thanked a northern Iraqi Kurdish faction for clamping down on a Kurdish separatist rebel group in a sign of rapprochement with a group it previously accused of harbouring the rebels.

After meeting Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), Ecevit told reporters that the PUK had recently started to take "more effective" measures against rebels from the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), who were hiding in their area of authority in mountainous terrain in northern Iraq, the Anatolia news agency reported.

"We appreciate this," Ecevit said.

Ecevit's remarks came in contrast to Ankara's previous stance, when it accused the PUK of providing a safe haven for the PKK which waged a 15-year armed campaign against the Turkish government for Kurdish self-rule in southeastern Turkey.

Talabani, meanwhile, said he believed Ankara was "satisfied with his faction's policies against the PKK, led by condemned rebel chief Abdullah Ocalan.

"We have rid our region of PKK military presence, starting from 1998," Talabani told reporters, adding that his fighters had confined the small number of PKK rebels remaining in his region to rural areas.

Ties between Turkey and the PUK went sour in 1997 when Talabani accused the Turkish army of using bombs against its positions during a massive incursion into northern Iraq to hunt PKK rebels.

Tension decreased after the PUK and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), its arch rival in the Kurdish-held enclave and Ankara's close ally, signed a peace agreement in Washington in 1998.

Under the Washington agreement both parties agreed to work towards setting up a regional government of power-sharing and launch a collective fight against the PKK.

"The aim of my visit is to strengthen ties with Turkey. Our ties have normalized and developed since 1998. I believe we have reached a good point through mutual understanding," the PUK leader said, according to Anatolia.

Following Turkey's capture and condemnation to death of Ocalan last year, the PKK said in September 1999 that it was ending its war on Ankara and withdrawing from Turkey to seek a peaceful resolution to the conflict, which has claimed some 36,500 lives.

But the powerful Turkish army has played down the PKK pledges as a "ploy" and continues to launch incursions into northern Iraq, which has been outside Baghdad's control since the 1991 Gulf War, to pursue the rebels.

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## Head of KDP-led Government Calls for Dissolving Armed Militia in Irbil

Kurdistan TV  
26 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Excerpt]

Head of [Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP-led] Regional Government Nechirvan Barzani chaired a meeting for the council of ministers today at 1000 [local time].

In the meeting, Nechirvan Barzani briefed the ministers with the results of his visit to the USA and highlighted the importance of the meetings [he had in the USA] for the supreme interests of the Kurdish nation.

The head of the Kurdistan regional government spoke about the recent clashes between the government's security forces and the armed guards of the Turkoman Front's headquarters. He shed light on the fraternal relationship between the Kurds, Turkomans and all other ethnic and religious groups in Kurdistan.

He said: In this country, we Kurds, Turkomans, Assyrians and Chaldeans have been living for hundreds of years in a brotherly way and without any problems. During the years of facing persecution, we shared our pains and sorrows. Kurdistan liberation movement has further strengthened and improved this relationship. We will not allow anybody to think that they can jeopardize this peace and tranquility.

In his comments, the head of the Kurdistan regional government said: From time to time, we hear that some people try to show that there are problems in Iraqi Kurdistan and that our Turkoman brothers are being persecuted. This is a great injustice to the peaceful coexistence of the people of Kurdistan, who despite their cultural differences, have been living together peacefully. In Kurdistan, especially in Arbil, the gathering place of the different religious and ethnic groups, no one feels persecuted on ethnic or religious grounds.

He further added: I can say that some people have been spreading propaganda in the name of the Turkomans. This propaganda is far from the truth and those who carry out these acts are not concerned about the welfare of the Turkomans. If they were concerned about the welfare of the Turkomans, they would have helped the Kurdistan regional government to enhance these political and cultural rights and freedoms that are available to them for the first time. They should have also helped in difficult times. All of us are aware of the PKK's atrocities and attacks on civilians and villages since the end of the [1992] uprising. Those who have been speaking on behalf of the Turkomans have never expressed any stance from these interventions of the PKK. They did not express any stance, even verbally, or issue any statement to condemn these acts that affected the whole of Iraqi Kurdistan's people of Kurds, Assyrians, Chaldeans and Turkomans.

Then, the head of Kurdistan regional government spoke about the incident that took place between the armed members of the Turkoman Front's headquarters and the security forces.



People in Arbil feel that there are people who, in the name of the Turkomans, want to spread unrest and instability.

Nechirvan Barzani said: After the incident, those who caused it started spreading propaganda and say that the Turkomans in Arbil have been attacked and that the situation of the Turkoman people is in danger. This is far from the truth. I call upon those, who are saying that the Turkomans are maltreated, to come and form an independent committee in order to see the reality of the situation of Arbil and find out if these news are true or false.

In which country of the world it is accepted to have a state within a state or for militias to arrest citizens and torture them and not allow police and security forces to investigate the situation? Furthermore, what is the purpose of these armed militias?

The Turkoman Front has more than 600 armed militias. To this day, it is not clear who are these armed militias?

As it is known, the source of every problem starts always from armed militias. And hence, we urge the Turkoman front to help us solving this problem. If the purpose of these armed militias is to protect the headquarters of the Turkoman Front, let them cooperate with the Kurdistan regional government and we will protect it for them. We are confident that by dissolving this large number of armed militias, the source of all problems and unrest will be eradicated.

At the end of his remarks, the head of the Kurdistan regional government said that law breach and considering oneself above the law should end. With confidence, we say that no one is above the law in Kurdistan. Our duty is to uphold the law. We want all rights and freedoms to be guaranteed within the framework of the law.

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### **Letter to Talabani from International Socialists**

Distributed by KuridshMedia Jul 27

International Socialists Pb. 9226 Grønland N-0134 Oslo NORWAY

Jalal Talabani President Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) Suleimania Kurdistan

### **PROTEST AGAINST REPRESSION IN IRAQI KURDISTAN**

We have been informed about the increasing violent repression in Iraqi Kurdistan. Two weeks ago, six members of the Worker Communist Party of Iraq were killed in Suleimania - by forces of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Several others have been arrested by the PUK, their whereabouts are unknown. We fear for their health and their lives. The PUK ordered the Independent Women Organisation and the Women's Protection Centre to shut down their offices on July 21. The women who were staying at the shelter and members of the IWO were arrested when they protested against this vicious attack. We condemn this wave of repression in Iraqi Kurdistan. We demand that the PUK:

Call of all repressive forces, identify and punish the murderers.

Release all WCPI prisoners.

Release the women arrested July 21, and let the IWO the Women's Protection Centre re-open their offices.

Cease all attempts to eliminate civil and political rights.

Stop the aggression against the WCPI, the IWO and the Women's Protection Center.

International Socialists Oslo, Norway

## Talabani Says Visit To Strengthen Relations; PUK Seeks United Iraq

Anatolia 25 Jul 00

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ANKARA, July 25 (A.A) - Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union for Kurdistan (PUK) of Iraq, said on Tuesday that he supposed the PUK's policies towards the terrorist organization PKK were satisfactory for Turkey.

Addressing journalists following his meeting with Ugur Ziyal, the Deputy Undersecretary of Foreign Ministry, Talabani said that they had been expending efforts to purify Northern Iraq from the PKK's military existence since 1998. He added, "PKK's existence can be in question only around Kadir Mountain. We have surrounded them in order to prevent their move. I suppose that our policies towards the PKK were satisfactory for Turkey."

Noting that his visit to Turkey aimed at strengthening relations with Turkey, Talabani said that relations between Turkey and the PUK had been improving since 1998. He said, "I believe that we had reached a good point within framework of mutual understanding."

Responding to a question, Talabani said that news reports claiming that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was preparing to recapture control in Northern Iraq, were not new. He told reporters, "these allegations are not new. We are not sure whether or not Iraq would launch such an initiative in Northern Iraq. It would be a risky move because the U.S. has some guarantee regarding the region. Saddam's military initiatives to seize control in Northern Iraq again will not be reasonable." Noting that several issues including the situation of Turcomen were discussed at the meeting, Talabani said that the PUK's main principle was to cooperate with Iraqi Turcomen.

He stressed that Turcomen should benefit from all democratic rights.

Noting that the Ankara Process and implementation of the United Nations' oil for food program were also taken up at the meeting, Talabani said, "the U.S., Britain and Turkey are responsible for implementation of Ankara Process." Responding to a question, Talabani said that Ankara did not request them to normalize their relations with Baghdad.

He stressed that their target was a united and democratic Iraq. Talabani added, "there will be a parliament which will be constituted through free elections in united and democratic Iraq. We will bring our proposals onto agenda at such a parliament."

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## Human Rights Committee's Piskinsut in Favor of Kurdish Radio, TV

Ozgur Politika 27 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text]

Sema Piskinsut, the Turkish Parliament Human Rights Investigation Commission Chairwoman and the DSP [Democratic Left Party] Aydin Deputy, said that radio and television broadcasts in the Kurdish language should be included among individual human rights. Piskinsut noted that the police harrassed them in Hakkari and therefore the people were not able to discuss the issues fully. Piskinsut, who has gained acceptance in light of the sudden raids she has been conducting in numerous police stations, held a press conference in Van, the first in her program of visits to the Kurdish provinces, which she started on Monday.

DSP Deputy Piskinsut, who conducted investigations in Agri, Hakkari, and Van, held a press conference yesterday in the Van Lake Newspaper Reporters Association's building, where she expressed the people's demand for democracy. Piskinsut noted that there are obstacles to freedom of expression in Turkey and mentioned the need to invest in democracy and human rights in the districts that are under the jurisdiction of the OHAL [State of Emergency] and in the provinces that are near the border. She said, "There is a definite need to overcome these obstacles and adopt the principles of a state of law. The struggles in the region have ended; the state should invest in the region and should enable the villagers who were forced to leave their houses to return to their repaired villages."

TV Broadcasts Should Be Included Among the Individual Rights

Piskinsut, who touched on the issue of Kurdish language broadcasts, said that every person who lives in Turkey should be able to speak freely and to exercise his individual rights. Piskinsut noted that individual rights and freedoms should include radio and television broadcasting in the Kurdish language and said, "There is no reason to make an issue out of this. Broadcasts in the Kurdish language may be permitted on the condition that these broadcasts will not damage the indivisible unity of the state."

#### **The People Are Demanding Democracy**

Piskinsut noted that during her visits and investigations, everyone anticipated that there would be improvements in democracy and the human rights and said, "There is a need to make arrangements for civil authority on this matter. For the state of law to be functional, the people should participate effectively in a consideration and assessment of the Constitution, and Turkey should shift towards a state of social understanding as soon as possible."

#### **The Police Harassed Us**

Piskinsut noted that people were unable to speak freely with them because the police harassed them in Hakkari with a camera under the auspices of "taking precautions," and said, "We entered a house in order to listen to their problems. The security camera was brought into the house also. They directed the camera into the face of the person who was speaking. For this reason, the people in Hakkari were not able to express their views freely."

#### **F-Type Prisons Should Be Debated**

Piskinsut said that they are not discussing the F-type prisons. She said that these buildings might be efficient architecturally, but that the commission is against the disorderly way in which certain sectors make use of them, without allowing any debate.

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### **Ocalan on Alleged Rift in PKK, Talabani Visit to Turkey**

Ozgur Politika 28 Jul 00 by Ebru Yazici  
[FBIS Translated Text]

PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan] leader Abdullah Ocalan evaluated the speculative reports that appeared in the press regarding him and the PKK as well as the reasons for PUK [Patriotic Union of Kurdistan] leader Jalal Talabani's visit to Turkey.

Ocalan issued a statement via his lawyers Aysel Tugluk, Hatice Korkut, and Dogan Erbas, who visited him the day before yesterday. The PKK leader said: "The reports to the effect that I have given instructions to execute those who have deserted the PKK as well as those who are claimed to be arrested by the PKK do not reflect reality. It is important to see the powers behind those who spread these rumors. Furthermore, it is necessary to understand their aims." Referring to those who spread these speculative reports and to the PUK's recent policy, Ocalan said: "They are playing a dangerous game." The PKK leader warned these people to be careful.

#### **'Their Aims Should Be Seen Clearly'**

Denying the reports that claim he has given instructions to execute those who deserted the PKK, Ocalan said: "I did not give such instructions. This is out of question. On the contrary, I believe that currently the unity among the Kurds is more important than ever." Underlining that it is important to see the powers behind those who spread these rumors, Ocalan drew attention to the role of Germany in this regard. Ocalan said the following: "It is necessary to see that in this process, Germany primarily and certain European countries will want to use certain formations, which cooperate with them and that have developed on the basis of primitive nationalism. It is of utmost importance to properly assess such speculations at a time when

we want to give a meaningful political answer to the pain that was experienced and the blood that was shed. The German intelligence assumed an important role in driving me away from Europe within the framework of the plot that was conducted against me. Germany has never been able to control the PKK, which has adopted an independent line. In this respect, it has always wanted to eliminate the PKK. It is therefore necessary to relate these speculative reports to these aims. It is necessary to assess them on this basis."

Noting that people may have different opinions at different times, the PKK leader stressed that these opinions should be expressed in unity and in suitable political platforms. Underlining that "people should leave their differences of opinion aside during this difficult and sensitive process and that they should get together in joint political platforms," Ocalan emphasized that separation may bring about dangerous outcomes. Ocalan added: "I call upon everyone to be careful and to carry out his responsibilities in the face of these dangerous games."

#### 'The PUK Wants To Provoke the War'

Evaluating PUK leader Jalal Talabani's visit to Turkey, Ocalan noted that this visit constitutes a sign of serious danger. Drawing attention to the fact that the KDP [Kurdish Democratic Party] and the PUK may further provoke war, the PKK leader said: "The KDP may establish such relations with Iraq, while the PUK establishes relations with Turkey. Talabani's recent visit in Ankara constitutes a sign of danger. The PUK might receive Turkey's support for escalating the war. With Talabani's arrival in Turkey, a painful process, which resembles the 1992 process, might start again. The more bloodshed, the happier Talabani will be. He will also profit from this war." Ocalan noted that while Talabani criticizes the PKK for "giving up its aim to establish a state or a federation" on the one hand, he provides shelter for those who deserted the PKK and attacks the PKK together with Turkey on the other. Ocalan also stressed that this behavior clearly reveals Talabani's policy.

#### 'Laziness and Lack of Faith Constitute the Real Danger'

Drawing attention to the dangers that originate from the Kurdish institutions during the democratic solution process, the PKK leader warned the relevant parties. Noting that he has formulated a solution on the basis of democracy, culture, and freedom Ocalan emphasized that this is the most realistic solution for Turkey. Ocalan also stated that the Turkish state and all the circles have to accept this solution. Pointing out that it is understood from Mesut Yilmaz's statements and President Sezer's remarks show that, though slowly, the state is making serious preparations with regard to a solution, Ocalan said: "We are faced with a more serious danger, however. In this transition process which is leading to a solution, the state does not constitute the real danger. Our laziness and the fact that we lack faith and content constitute the real danger. We want to draw everyone's attention to this fact. At a time when discussions are held on education and broadcasts in the mother tongue, it is really difficult to understand the position of our own organizations and institution with regard to this issue. I issued a great number of calls several months ago. I made several proposals including opening a village room in every village for developing the Kurdish language and culture. Unfortunately however, I have to admit that the efforts to this end are inadequate."

#### 'Do not Expect Democracy from the State'

Repeating that it is wrong to expect democracy from the state, Ocalan stressed that those who need democracy should make efforts to develop it. Ocalan continued as follows: "Let no one forget that it is the duty of the people to embrace their language, culture, and history. In this respect, all our cadres and institutions should reexamine their efforts to this end. Education in the mother tongue primarily as well as all democratic and cultural rights including the basic rights and freedoms of the Kurdish people will be granted and exercised only if necessary emphasis is put on the efforts to this end."

Defining his struggle as a "breathlessly conducted freedom struggle," the PKK leader stressed that he has carried out his responsibilities for the Kurdish people. Ocalan said: "We suffered a great deal in the struggle we conducted for the freedom of the Kurds. We lost a great number of valuable people. Currently, we are making efforts to give a meaningful political answer. I wish that everyone will be more industrious, sensitive, and faithful with regard to the basic rights and freedoms of the Kurds."

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jeudi 27 juillet 2000

## Une paix durable dans le sud-est pourrait endiguer l'exode des Kurdes



ANKARA, 27 juil (AFP) - Une récente accalmie dans les combats entre forces de sécurité et séparatistes kurdes dans le sud-est de la Turquie ainsi que des perspectives de développement économique et de la démocratie dans la région ont fait naître l'espoir d'un endiguement de l'exode des Kurdes de ce pays vers l'Europe.

Aucune évaluation officielle turque n'est disponible sur l'ampleur de cette émigration, non seulement en raison du caractère clandestin du phénomène, mais aussi parce que l'appartenance ethnique des migrants originaires de Turquie n'est pas fournie par les autorités.

Toutefois, selon la Comité américain pour les réfugiés, les Kurdes représentent la majorité des quelque 19.000 Turcs ayant cherché asile en Europe, notamment en Allemagne, durant la seule année 1999.

Ils passent habituellement par l'Italie et la Grèce, contre le paiement de sommes pouvant atteindre 5.000 dollars.

"Une personne ne peut être contrainte de quitter sa patrie que si elle a des difficultés économiques, que si elle est dans l'incapacité d'exprimer ses idées et que si elle est confrontée à l'oppression et à la violence", explique, à cet égard, Hamit Geylani, vice-président du Parti démocratique du peuple (pro-kurde).

Les Kurdes "ne peuvent protéger leur vie ou leurs biens dans la guerre. Ils vendent donc tout ce qu'ils possèdent et choisissent d'entreprendre de dangereux périple, avec souvent au bout du chemin la mort", renchérit Yakup Karademir, un journaliste kurde travaillant à Istanbul (ouest).

Quelque 36.500 personnes ont perdu la vie dans les affrontements entre le PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatistes kurdes) et l'armée turque depuis que les rebelles se sont engagés en 1984 dans la lutte armée en vue de constituer un Etat indépendant dans le sud-est de la Turquie.

Ce conflit a fortement nui au développement économique de cette région déjà très pauvre et conduit à une émigration massive.

Pour Ankara, environ 336.500 personnes ont été déplacées à l'intérieur du pays en liaison avec ces combats, mais ce chiffre ne reflète que partiellement la réalité car il n'inclut que les habitants évacués des villages et non ceux partis de leur plein gré, relèvent les experts.

Les chances d'arrêter totalement le flux des immigrés kurdes demeurent minces, Ankara n'ayant pas résolu les problèmes économiques du sud-est et n'ayant pas satisfait aux exigences culturelles de la population locale, en particulier concernant les émissions ou l'enseignement en langue kurde.

Et si les accrochages ont sensiblement diminué depuis septembre dernier, lorsque les séparatistes ont mis fin à la lutte armée suite aux appels à la paix du chef du PKK Abdullah Ocalan, emprisonné après avoir été condamné à mort, les militaires turcs ont toujours considéré ces appels comme une manoeuvre, exhortant les rebelles à se rendre.

"Tant qu'il n'y aura pas de solution durable, les gens ne se sentiront pas en sécurité parce qu'il y a toujours des risques de reprise des affrontements", dit Yakup Karademir.

Pourtant, la Turquie, candidate depuis décembre à l'adhésion à l'Union européenne, se doit en conséquence, malgré ses réticences dénoncées par des observateurs, d'améliorer la situation des Kurdes.

Autre dossier complexe pour ce pays, celui du passage par son territoire de milliers d'immigrants venus d'Asie souhaitant s'installer en Europe. Or, la Turquie ne dispose pas de loi spécifique pour faire face à cette migration illégale.

## **Internet cafe opens in Baghdad**

BBC - 27 Jul 2000 By Rick Fountain

The Iraqi Government has opened the country's first internet cafe in the capital Baghdad and has promised to set up other premises for public computer access in major cities. The Communications Minister, Ahmad Murtada, who inaugurated the Baghdad cafe, said certain websites would be blocked, including those which were considered to violate the precepts of Islam.

Even though some Iraqi citizens have acquired computers that could get them on to the world wide web, they have never had open access. Authority to do so, via modem and telephone line, has been restricted to a few official places, such as government ministries, and the only internet service provider has been the Ministry of Culture and Information.

Controls on information are so tight that satellite dishes are banned and even fax machines require authorisation. The Communications Minister, Ahmad Murtada, who opened the cyber cafe, said it had come about in spite of attempts to block the supply of equipment by British and American diplomats at the United Nations. The minister said patrons at the cafe would be allowed to access almost any website other than those which violated Islamic precepts or offended against morals or ethics. He did not explain how such rules might be enforced, but experts assume that some kind of filter would be applied to exclude material hostile to the government or the ruling Ba'ath Party.

It would also, doubtless, aim to prevent access to the Internet's innumerable amateur and commercial pornography sites. But in view of the experiences of other governments who are still struggling to make the internet manageable, Iraq's belief that it can take what it wants and keep the rest out seems at best optimistic.

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## **Baghdad seeks 'strategic cooperation' with Yugoslavia**

AFP - July 27, 2000

BAGHDAD (AFP English) - Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and his Yugoslav counterpart Slobodan Milosevic are hoping for a 'strategic cooperation' between the two sanctions-hit countries that 'reject hostile US policy'. 'Presidents Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic want a long-term strategic cooperation between Iraq and Yugoslavia,' Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yassin Ramadan told the official INA news agency late Wednesday.

'Iraq is determined to pursue its cooperation with Yugoslavia, conforming to the principles common to the two countries that reject hostile US policy,' Ramadan said.

Yugoslavia's Trade Minister Borislav Vugovic is in Baghdad heading a delegation of some 60 businessmen and officials from the defence, finance, trade and agriculture ministries looking to strengthen bilateral cooperation.

Baghdad and Belgrade had strong economic relations before 1990, with more than 50,000 Yugoslav technicians and other experts working in Iraq.

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### **Lasting peace and EU membership key to ending Kurdish exodus from Turkey**

28 Jul 2000 Agence France-Presse

ANKARA, July 28 (AFP) - Poverty, political oppression and the violent Turkish military offensive against Kurdish rebels in Turkey's southeast are the main factors driving tens of thousands of Kurds to risk their lives and fortunes trying to enter Europe illegally. "Only economic hardship, the inability to express one's own ideas and the presence of oppression and violence would force someone to leave his homeland," Hamit Geylani, deputy chairman of the pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party told AFP.

The true extent of the clandestine migration is unknown because only those caught somewhere along the hazardous route appear in the official statistics, which in Turkey, do not identify ethnic origin.

But some 21,000 Turkish nationals sought asylum in Europe in 1998, particularly Germany, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees says without specifying whether they arrived on the continent as illegal immigrants before trying to legalize themselves.

According to Goc-Der, a support group for displaced Kurds, 99 percent of them are Kurds fleeing the turmoil in the region.

Another 5,000 would-be immigrants, Turkish and foreign, have been stopped by Turkish security forces while trying to sneak into Europe since January, according to official figures.

Italy and Greece are the usual destinations for immigrants leaving or travelling via Turkey from elsewhere in Asia, who pay up to 5,000 dollars each for the journey. Ankara says some 336,500 people have been internally displaced by its crackdown on the Kurdistan Workers' Party's (PKK) 16-year rebellion for self-rule in southeastern Turkey.

The actual figure is close to 3.5 million, according to Mahmut Ozgur of Goc-der.

Yakup Karademir, a Kurdish journalist based in Istanbul, agreed the turmoil in the already impoverished region forced thousands of people to leave their homes. "They cannot protect either their lives or their property in war. So they sell their entire belongings and choose to undertake dangerous journeys that often result in death," he told AFP.

The population of Lice town, for instance, fell from 11,000 to 800 after Turkish troops cracked down on its inhabitants in October, 1993 when they refused to cooperate against the PKK, Ozgur said, citing local sources. Southeast Turkey remains the most underdeveloped corner of the country, accounting for only five percent of Turkey's 1997 gross domestic product, whereas the industrialized northwest accounts for 35 percent, according to official statistics.

While 93 percent of villagers in northwest Turkey have drinking water, the ratio falls to 70 percent in the southeast.

In 1997, Turkey came under fire from Western countries as hundreds of illegal immigrants, mainly Kurds from Turkey and northern Iraq, arrived on the southern coast of Italy. Ankara claimed that the exodus was organized by the PKK in a bid to tarnish its image.

The long-term solution to illegal immigration lies with Turkey's membership of the EU when Turks will enjoy freedom of movement within Europe and the authorities will be responsible for policing their part of the EU's external borders. In the shorter term, Ankara has to improve the democratic rights of its Kurds to promote its candidacy for EU membership, declared in December, but it has so far been reluctant to take action. Even so, observers say, the PKK's recent pledge to lay down its arms has led to a decrease in the number of people fleeing the region, and that the prospect of economic revival and a more relaxed political climate will further reduce the exodus. "I believe the end of hot conflict has minimized illegal immigration into Europe from the area," Geylani said.



## PUK's Talabani on Possible Iraqi Offensive, Relations With Turkey, PKK

Al-Hayah 28 Jul 00 by Yusuf al-Sharif: "Talabani

[FBIS Translated Text] Ankara – Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK] Secretary General Jalal Talabani has told Al-Hayah that his party is aware of Iraqi troop concentrations south of Sulaymaniyah and that he has information to the effect that Baghdad has drawn up a military plan to launch an offensive against Iraqi Kurdistan in an operation code-named "Just Punishment." He added, however, that the timing of this operation was not known although he thought it unlikely the Iraqi forces would launch the offensive in the near future. He said the Iraqi President knows the price of such an operation will be high because he will face a US military response.

Talabani's visit to Ankara last Tuesday came after an absence of 18 months, during which time relations between the two sides have been strained. Ankara's sudden invitation, however, and the warmth of his reception this time has signalled a new beginning in their relations. Informed sources said that, for the first time, Talabani did not face any criticism, censure, or allegations over cooperation with the Kurdish Workers Party [PKK]. On the contrary, he was thanked by the Turkish authorities for his useful cooperation with them and for honoring his commitment to expel all PKK elements from his area.

The visit has been seen as a fresh attempt on Ankara's part to strike a balance between its relations with Talabani and his rival, Mas'ud Barzani, in a message to the latter to undertake to protect the Turcomans in his area, particularly as they are being subjected to sporadic armed attacks that have resulted in the deaths of two of their leaders. Ankara has accused Barzani of turning a blind eye to these attacks on advice from Baghdad, at a time when Talabani is enjoying good relations with the Turcomans, who invited him for a meal while he was in Ankara.

Talabani told Al-Hayah that he had asked Turkish officials to be equitable in its dealings with the Kurdish Democratic Party [KDP] (led by Barzani) and to open a special border corridor between Turkey and northern Iraq that will come under the control of his party, along the lines of the Al-Khabur gateway, which is controlled by Barzani's party.

Turkish security sources said Ankara is satisfied with the level of security cooperation with Talabani, with the work being done by the peacekeeping forces, which are commanded by a Turkish officer at their new base in Koy Sinjaq, and also with the effectiveness of the security belt set up by Talabani's "peshmergas" at Qandil Mountain in order to stop PKK elements infiltrating from Iran. The sources added that Talabani delivered a message from the PKK to Ankara, in which it reiterated its willingness to lay down its weapons if they were given assurances that they would not be harmed and that they would be granted a general amnesty. On the future situation in northern Iraq, Talabani told Al-Hayah that stability in the north and in Iraq as a whole "depends on there being a democratic Iraqi government and on the ending of the one party era."

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## Iraqi Kurd Chief Warns of Civil War

July 26, 2000

ANKARA, Turkey (Reuters) - An Iraqi Kurdish leader said Wednesday an attack by President Saddam Hussein's troops on the Kurdish-held north would lead to civil war in the Kurdish region. Jalal Talabani said up to 50,000 Iraqi government soldiers were stationed on the edge of the mountainous Kurdish enclave, which broke away from Baghdad's rule after the 1991 Gulf War, poised with a prepared plan of attack.

"In our area facing us, are three Iraqi army corps," Talabani told Reuters in an interview during a visit to Turkey. "Altogether, there are about 15 divisions facing us, besides some forces from the Republican Guards." With the help of joint U.S.-British air patrols enforcing a no-fly zone over most of the breakaway region, Talabani said his lightly armed Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) "peshmerga" fighters were determined to face any threat. "They know that we will resist and this will lead to a new civil war in Iraqi Kurdistan," he said. "Perhaps they will succeed in occupying this or that town, but the area will turn to field for partisan war."

Iraq's restive Kurds rose up against Baghdad during the Gulf War, but an offensive by government troops forced hundreds of thousands of Kurds to flee through the mountains.

Kurdish peshmergas backed by allied air power later succeeded in wresting the area from Baghdad's grip. Intermittent fighting that then broke out between the PUK and the rival Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) of Massoud Barzani culminated in 1996 when the KDP, backed by Baghdad's forces, overran Talabani's capital, Sulaymaniyah.

A U.S.-brokered cease-fire followed in 1997. Western diplomats said they had warned the feuding Kurds they would not come to their aid if they persisted in their internecine war.

#### **PEACE IN "KURDISTAN"**

"Now we have no war, we have peace in Kurdistan. This will not give any pretext for the (Iraqi) regime to attack us," said Talabani during his visit to Turkey, which hosts the U.S.-British Operation Northern Watch air patrols.

He said Shi'ite rebels in the south of Iraq would also seize the opportunity of unrest in the Kurdish areas to step up their struggle against the Iraqi government. "Also, I think the morale of the Iraqi army is not so high as to use it in a such a risky adventure," he said.

**Talabani criticized Washington.**

"I don't think the Americans have a plan to remove Saddam," he said. "There is no plan. The Americans want to see Saddam Hussein ousted, but they have no plan to implement it, so how can they ask the Kurds to participate in it?" Instead, the graying Talabani, who has championed Kurdish nationalism since the 1960s, said the Iraqi government would collapse from within.

"We don't think the Iraqi regime is ready for any kind of democratic change," he said. "They are still continuing their dictatorship, they are still continuing their ethnic cleansing policies toward the Kurds and Turcomans." "I think there a lot of problems facing the regime and a lot of contradictions, and because the regime cannot solve these problems and contradictions, the regime will collapse."

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#### **Gore tells Talabani to follow Ankara line**

Ankara - Turkish Daily News July 27, 2000

Leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) Jalal Talabani has conveyed U.S. Vice-President and presidential hopeful Al Gore's message to Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit in which Gore advised the PUK to act in line with Ankara's policies. Meeting with Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit on Tuesday, Talabani stressed that they consider Turkey a major power in the region and take Ankara's considerations into account.

Government sources told the Turkish Daily News that Talabani has asked for help from Turkey, without specifying exactly what kind of help. "What he said to Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit was, 'we need help' without specifying what kind," said a government source. The PUK has denied press reports that Talabani asked for military equipment during his meeting with Deputy Undersecretary Ugur Ziyal on Tuesday. Government sources say Talabani touched on the Turkmen issue during his meeting with Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit and reportedly stressed that the Turkmens were another national entity in Iraq after the Arabs and Kurds. Talabani stated that Turkmens should have the same democratic rights as all Iraqi citizens. Talabani also had a lunch with Turkmen representatives in Ankara yesterday.

#### **PKK wants to lay down its arms in northern Iraq**

Government sources told the TDN that PUK leader Talabani briefed Prime Minister Ecevit about the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) activities in northern Iraq.

Government sources say Talabani has told Ecevit that the PKK terrorists who are now in northern Iraq, caught between the PUK and Iran, want to lay down their arms but are asking for a commitment from Ankara that they will not be pursued by Turkish forces. The sources stressed that Prime Minister Ecevit listened to Talabani very carefully but refrained from putting Turkey under any obligation. Ecevit stated that the government would consider and evaluate the proposal without signalling any attitude. Sources say Talabani briefed Ecevit about PKK activities in northern Iraq and

gave specific figures. Talabani has also for asked a direct link to the Habur border gate and for the implementation of Ankara the process under which the PUK and Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) have to share the Habur revenues.

Despite the high-level reception given to Talabani, government sources say they approach Talabani with caution as he has disappointed Ankara in the past. Diplomatic sources say they are content with PUK policies in the region so far, but they stress that they are going to monitor the PUK as it is important that these policies should continue.

#### Meetings with U.S. and British diplomats

Talabani also met with U.S. and British diplomats in Ankara yesterday. Western diplomatic sources stated that they were routine meetings and added that it was not the ambassadors who met with Talabani. Talabani also held talks with officials from the General Staff. In the meantime, Western sources commenting on press reports that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein has been preparing for an attack on northern Iraq, stated that they took everything regarding him seriously, but did not clarify whether they were able to verify any deployment by Iraqi military in the north.

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### **Talabani in Ankara to put relations back on track**

Ankara - Turkish Daily News July 26, 2000

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) leader Jalal Talabani met with Ministry of Foreign Affairs Deputy Secretary Ugur Ziyal and was received by Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit in a bid to put relations between the PUK and Turkey back on track. Sources say Talabani's reception by Ecevit indicates that the PUK's anti-Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) activities in recent months have pleased Turkey, which has responded positively to the PUK's requests for better relations. Talabani's last visit to Ankara was in late 1998.

Commenting after the meetings, Talabani said they had briefed Turkish officials about Iraq as a whole. "We have reached a mutual understanding with Turkish officials. We briefed our brothers on Iraq as a whole. We talked about [our] Turkmen brothers. We think that they [the Turkmens] should enjoy all their democratic rights. ... The basic aim of my visit is to strengthen our relations with our brothers."

Replying to a question about a possible attack by Saddam Hussein on northern Iraq as reported in the media, Talabani stated that Saddam wants to occupy northern Iraq, but he does not believe that Saddam can launch an armed attack on Sulaimaniya since the United States has pledged to provide security in northern Iraq. Answering reporters' questions at Ankara's Esenboga Airport yesterday, Talabani said the press reports were nothing new and that they were being published from time to time, adding that he did not give any credence to this speculation. Asked if he would ask for help from Turkey in the event of a possible attack from Iraqi forces, Talabani responded: "We always ask for every kind of help from our brothers."

Talabani also reportedly briefed the Turkish side on his meeting with U.S. Vice-President Al Gore in Washington last month and raised the issue of creating access to Habur for the PUK which would facilitate good relations with Turkey.

The PUK wants to share Habur custom revenues between the Iraqi Kurdistan Democratic Party (IKDP) and the PUK as was decided at meetings in Washington two years ago. Talabani also reportedly brought up the issue of revenue-sharing during the meetings and is keen for Turkey to put pressure on the IKDP to accept it. Turkey's high-level reception of Talabani also signals Ankara's growing unease over the IKDP's activities. Ankara has been particularly disturbed by the IKDP's using titles which give the impression of an independent state. The IKDP also has tense relations with Turkmens living in IKDP-controlled areas, especially following IKDP attacks on Turkmen Front offices in Arbil a couple of weeks ago.

Relations between Ankara and the PUK had deteriorated as the PUK supported outlawed PKK militants who used northern Iraq as a military base against Turkey. The PUK has only recently started to take some measures against the PKK presence in its area by creating buffer zones in a bid to stop PKK terrorists infiltrating Turkey. PUK officials told the Turkish Daily News that since late April the PUK has been preparing buffer zones to prevent PKK terrorists using PUK-controlled areas as a base for attacks on Turkey and other neighboring countries. Emphasizing that the buffer zones were necessary for security in northern Iraq, the officials said Ankara was satisfied with the PUK's recent policy of further distancing itself from the PKK.

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But the chances of ending the influx of immigrants from Turkey's southeast seem slim unless Ankara addresses the economic hardship of the Kurds and their demands for cultural rights such as broadcasts and education in Kurdish.

"As long as there is no lasting solution, people will not feel safe because there is still the risk of renewed clashes," Karademir said. Besides being the country of origin of many Kurdish immigrants, Turkey is also a transit route for northern Iraqi Kurds and hopefuls from poor Asian countries seeking a better life in Europe.

Turkey's lack of specific laws on illegal immigration prevents authorities from dealing effectively with traffickers and the thousands of refugees or migrants passing through its territory. Their desperation is illustrated by the testimony of a border official in Edirne province bordering Greece. Speaking on condition of anonymity, he said some of the foreign immigrants they intercepted were on their third or fourth attempt to reach the West.

"We turn them over to the police to be deported, but due to financial shortages the police cannot buy them tickets back home but leave them at a train station. Once they are free, they immediately try to cross the border again," the official said.

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RFE / RL IRAQ REPORT  
V O . 3 , N ° 2 5 , 2 8 July 2 0 0 0

**A REVIEW OF DEVELOPPMENTS IN IRAQ PREPARED BY  
THE REGIONAL SPECIALISTS OF RFE / RL 'S NEWSLINE TEAM**

**PUTIN TELLS AZIZ NOT TO BOW TO WESTERN 'BLACKMAIL'**

On 26 July, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz met with Russian President Vladimir Putin. Putin told Aziz that the two countries have an "eternal friendship" and should expand cooperation "in every sphere"--including working to lift the sanctions regime against Baghdad, Moscow's "Kommersant" reported on 27 July.

Putin told Aziz also that "the Iraqi leadership is not going to submit to blackmail" over efforts to bring its leaders to trial for war crimes, adding that any war crimes tribunal would have to indict the U.S. "because they are criminals and they have killed people blatantly and deliberately," the "Turkish Daily News" reported the same day.

Aziz has traveled to Moscow often, but this time he is there at the invitation of the Russian government. And "Kommersant" speculates that Putin's decision to meet personally with Aziz "confirms speculation about Russia's desire to restore its former allies to the orbit of its interests."

During his visit to the Russian capital, Aziz also met Russian Premier Mikhail Kasyanov to discuss Russian assistance in opening the West Al-Qurnah oil field. According to "Kommersant," this time, Aziz got his way, and Lukoil will start operation in the near future. He also met with Duma members, including Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the radical Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. And Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov is slated to meet with Aziz on 28 July on his return from Bangkok.

The U.S. Department of State criticized Moscow's decision to receive Aziz, suggesting that such sessions reduce pressure on Baghdad to meet UN terms.

**IS BAGHDAD PLANNING TO ATTACK SULAYMANIYAH?**

A recent defector from Iraqi military intelligence told London's "Sunday Times" on 23 July that Baghdad plans to attack Sulaymaniyah in PUK-controlled Iraqi Kurdistan. The forces supposedly consist of three divisions of infantry and three armored divisions. The defector said that the Iraqi operation, called "Operation Justice," will mirror its August 1966 invasion of Kurdistan in which Saddam's forces penetrated as far as Irbil and des-

troyed the headquarters of the Iraq National Congress. In addition to attacking PUK strongholds, the campaign would seek to recapture two sites which supply central Iraq with water. The defector said that Saddam Hussein believes that the Kurds are currently cutting off the supply to Iraq. The Kurds have denied this, arguing that current shortages reflect the drought and the lack of snow last winter.

According to the defector, officials in Baghdad believe that the U.S. lacks the will to intervene against such a thrust, which in any case would be just below the 36th parallel both because of upcoming elections and because of divisions in the UN Security Council. (David Nissman)

#### **ABDALLAH II SAYS 'TENSION' OVER IN JORDANIAN-IRAQI RELATIONS.**

Jordan's King Abdallah II told London's "Al-Quds Al- 'Arabi" on 19 July that "the phase of tension in Jordanian- Iraqi relations is over." He said that the air had been cleared as a result of his frank discussions with Iraqi Vice President Taha Yasin Ramadan three days earlier.

King Abdallah said that differences between Amman and Baghdad over the past 10 months were personal, rather than strategic, because Jordan had asked an Iraqi official to leave the country immediately, which Iraq considered an insult. He explained that Jordan had only acted in Iraq's interest, as the U.S. wanted to arrest this official.

Abdallah did not name the official, but the press has suggested that it was Iraqi Vice President Izzat Ibrahim, who was receiving treatment abroad. The Americans reportedly had demanded his arrest and extradition, but the Jordanians preferred that he leave immediately in order to avoid any tension in its relations with the United States. The king added that he expects an exchange of visits by Jordanian and Iraqi officials. (David Nissman)

#### **YUGOSLAV TRADE DELEGATION IN BAGHDAD.**

Yugoslav Minister of Trade Borislav Vugovic arrived in Baghdad on 25 July with a delegation of defense, finance, trade, and agriculture officials as well as 60 Yugoslav businessmen, AFP reported on 25 July.

Vugovic met with Iraqi Trade Minister Muhammad Mahdi Salih to look at "ways to reinforce bilateral economic and commercial cooperation through contracts within the oil-for- food program." INA said Iraq was interested in buying Yugoslav electronic equipment, medicine, medical equipment, and produce-transport vehicles. (David Nissman)

#### **WALLOONS TO BENEFIT FROM BELGIAN-IRAQI TIES.**

The Brussels newspaper "Le Soir" said on 24 July that Walloon Agriculture Minister Jose Happart's visit to Iraq (see "RFE/RL Iraq Report," 14 July 2000) had resulted in the promise of an agricultural deal worth "several hundred million francs, perhaps a few billion." The major beneficiaries will be Walloon breeders and producers. "Le Soir" noted that "at a time when many foreign companies are stepping up their presence on the juicy Iraqi market so that they do not miss the lifting of the embargo, this process might seem motivated by Wallonia's commercial interests."

In fact, the paper said, it is part of a larger picture, involving Belgium's commitment to the normalization of relations with Iraq, implying that Belgium might adopt a leading position in assuring the lifting of the sanctions. Happart explained that he had received the authorization of Foreign Minister Louis Michel to respond to the invitation sent by his Iraqi opposite number.

There have been other developments in Belgium over the past few months in this direction: Brussels has named a diplomat responsible purely for Iraq who will reside in Baghdad. Hans von Sponeck, the former UN coordinator in Iraq who resigned over the sanctions, has been invited to present his views to the Foreign Relations Committee in November, and Michel had stated in parliament that "politically, the embargoes were neither reasonable nor useful." (David Nissman)

#### **PAKISTANI-IRAQ BILATERAL TRADE 'ENHANCED.'**

Pakistani Minister of Information Javed Jabbar and Iraq's ambassador to Islamabad, Abdul Karim Aswad, said that their countries recently have taken several steps to enhance bilateral trade and cooperation, "Asia Pulse" reported on 20 July. They pointed to the recent visits to Baghdad by senior Pakistani officials and suggested that the two countries were now prepared to cooperate on the exchange of media information. (David Nissman)

#### **KUWAITI-RUSSIAN MILITARY COOPERATION HIGHLIGHTED.**

General Valery Manilov, first deputy of the Chief of Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, told "KUNA" on 21 July that Kuwaiti-Russian military cooperation is now "excellent in every sense of the word." Manilov said that Russia and Kuwait have an interest in deepening their cooperation in the milita-

ry area and in exchanging information in the technical field so as to bolster mutual confidence and deepen friendly relations between the two countries. The visiting Russian general also said that Moscow was ready to supply Kuwait with advanced weaponry based on the principle of bilateral cooperation and the consolidation of mutual confidence.

In the same interview, Manilov asserted that there was no military cooperation between Russia and Iraq, and that talk of Russian technology finding its way to Iraq was a "flight of fancy." Moreover, he said, Russia will not violate the sanctions regime under any circumstances. (David Nissman)

#### **IRAQ CRITICIZES SAUDI-KUWAITI MARITIME BOUNDARY ACCORD.**

Baghdad will not recognize any demarcation of maritime boundaries in the region which does not take Iraqi interests into account and therefore will not recognize a 2 July accord between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait defining the maritime border between those two states, Baghdad radio reported on 18 July. Iraq's reaction appears to have been especially harsh because Saudi and Kuwaiti sources have told the media that their agreement opens the way for Kuwait to begin negotiating with Iran on delineating the continental shelf between those two countries.

A spokesman for the Iraqi Foreign Ministry said: "Given Iraq's position as a Gulf littoral state sharing land and sea borders with Kuwait and Iran, Iraq emphasizes that any demarcation of maritime borders that does not take Iraq's legitimate rights into consideration in accordance with international law and the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea cannot be legally binding on Iraq and that Iraq will not recognize it."

According to the Kuwaiti newspaper "Al-Qabas" of 19 July, a senior Kuwaiti official has played down Iraq's objection to the agreement because "Iraq does not have the right to protest to the demarcation of Kuwaiti-Saudi sea borders. This issue does not concern Iraq as the area is far from its borders."

In addition, Iraq does not have the right to object to its borders with Kuwait as these borders were demarcated in 1993, and the borders were endorsed by UN Security Council Resolution 833 in May 1993. (David Nissman)

#### **SADDAM RECEIVES INDONESIAN ENVOY, SCORES IMF.**

Iraqi Leader Saddam Husseyn has received Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, Indonesia's trade and industry minister, according to a report from Baghdad Television of 20 July. Panjaitan handed over a letter from President Abdurrahman Wahid expressing Indonesia's desire to develop joint relations with Iraq and expand cooperation in the economic, political, and cultural domains. Saddam warned Panjaitan that "you must keep yourself very distant from the trap of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). You are aware that one of the most important factors of strength and influence is money and economy in general, that the IMF is a Zionist-U.S. trap to exploit and weaken peoples of the world." (David Nissman)

#### **UN SPEEDS UP OIL-FOR-FOOD CONTRACT APPROVAL PROCESS.**

The UN Office of the Iraq Program "Oil-For-Food" announced on 19 July that in line with Security Council Resolution 1284, the Security Council Committee responsible for approving applications for the export of humanitarian supplies under the oil-for-food program has approved an additional list of goods eligible for expedited approval procedures. The new list covers oil spare parts. Last March, the UN approved two other lists of goods subject to this speeded-up procedure, including medical goods and agricultural equipment and supplies. (David Nissman)

#### **PEACE MONITORING GROUP MEETS IN ANKARA.**

The Peace Monitoring Group, set up by the opposition groups KDP and the PUK to secure a cease-fire in northern Iraq, met in Ankara earlier this month for the first time in two years, "Anatolia" reported on 20 July.

Representatives from Turkey, Britain, and the United States were also in attendance.

The group decided to deploy the Peace Monitoring Group in the Koysanjaq region, which is in the PUK-controlled Kurdistan Regional Government, and also to meet again in the near future. (David Nissman)

#### **EXPROPRIATIONS SPARK CONFLICT IN SHAYKHAN, MOSUL.**

Ba'th Party members have been given property, including land, houses, and other possessions, seized from Kurds deported from the Shaykhan Administrative District and a region near Mosul, the Sorani Kurdish newspaper "Rizagari" reported on 16 July. These seizures sparked clashes in Mosul on 2 July between local inhabitants and emergency security force officers. Meanwhile, inside Iraqi Kurdistan, fighting broke out in

Sulaymaniyah in the PUK-controlled part of the Kurdistan Regional Government between police and Asayish (security forces) on one side, and the Iraqi Communist Workers Party (ICWP) on the other, Irbil's Sorani Kurdish newspaper "Regay" reported on 19 July. The paper also reported that the PUK Interior Ministry had directed that the headquarters of all opposition parties be moved outside the city following a car-bombing incident in Sulaymaniyah last month. The ICWP refused to move and organized a demonstration, which led to clashes with the Asayish. (David Nissman)

#### **TALABANI MEETS TURKISH OFFICIALS.**

Jalal Talabani, the PUK leader, is in Ankara this week for talks with Turkish officials on recent developments in Iraqi Kurdistan, AFP reported. The news service said that Turkey reportedly will ask Talabani to take additional measures against the followers of Ocalan, the head of the PKK. At their meeting, Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit thanked Talabani for having begun to take "more effective measures" against the PKK.

Talabani responded that "we have rid our region of PKK military presence, starting from 1998." He said there were still groups of them in his region, but that they were contained in rural areas. The Germany-based, pro-PKK "Ozgur Politika" reported on 22 July that the PUK's attacks against the PKK had been the subject of discussions among five Iraqi Kurdish parties on 20 July--representatives of the PUK, the PKK, the Conservatives Party, the Kurdistan Democratic Movement, and the Kurdistan Socialist Democracy Party. The PUK had asked for the parties' support in its attacks on the PKK, but did not receive it. (David Nissman)

#### **ANKARA WARNS KDP ON ATTACK ON TURKMENS.**

The Turkish Foreign Ministry summoned the KDP's Ankara representative, Safeen Dizayee, to warn the KDP to be more cautious in its relations with the Turkmen, the "Turkish Daily News" reported on 21 July. The warning came after an armed attack on the Turkmen Front headquarters earlier this month during which two Turkmen were killed.

At the time of the meeting, more than 200 Iraqi Turkmen assembled in Ankara's Segmenler Park and marched toward the British embassy. Sabah Ketene, chairman of the Iraqi Turkmen Association, accused the KDP of not respecting the Turkmen's basic cultural and political rights.. State Minister M. Haluk Cay, who is responsible for Turkic-speaking countries and Turkish groups abroad, said that Turkey would not permit a Kurdish state to be established in northern Iraq. Cay said that during the meeting with Dizayee Turkey urged KDP officials to put an end to such events by finding and punishing the people responsible. He also said, "actually, it is not even appropriate to have these groups represented in Turkey."

Cay concluded by stating: "Turkey attaches great importance to the life and property rights of Turkmen. It is struggling to prevent the negative effects of a lack of authority and to protect Turkmen security in northern Iraq." Later, Turkish Foreign Minister Ismail Cem told Seran Kasap, deputy chairman of the Turkmen Front, that "we expect the Iraqi Turkmen to create a bridge in the bilateral relations between Turkey and Iraq." He further stressed that Ankara's support for the Turkmen would be increased, according to a report in the "Turkish Daily News" of 25 July.

Meanwhile, Hassan Korkmaz, president of the Canadian- Iraqi Turkmen Cultural Association of Windsor, and Ismail Sukru, President of the Canadian-Iraqi Turkish Culture and Mutual Aid Association, protested the Iraqi attacks on Turkmen there. (David Nissman)

#### **FORMER KURDISH PARLIAMENTARIAN ASSASSINATED IN IRBIL.**

Ismat Hassan, a former PUK member of the Kurdish parliament, was assassinated in Irbil (Hawler), but no one has been arrested or even charged with the crime, the Voice Of America's Kurdish Service reported on 18 July. A KDP spokesman said that his group does "not wish to accuse anybody until the end of their intensive investigations." KurdishMedia.com says that he "was one of the rare members of the PUK who stayed in Hawler after it fell under the control of the KDP. (David Nissman)

#### **HALABJA MEDICAL INSTITUTE INITIATES TREATMENT PROGRAMS.**

Representatives of the Washington Kurdish Institute and the University of Liverpool met in Marly Le Roi, France, to launch a program of medical assistance for the survivors of chemical and possibly biological and radiological weapons attacks throughout Iraqi Kurdistan. The program is operated under the aegis of the Halabja Post-Graduate Medical Institute.

HMI researchers have identified 250 villages and towns as well as 31 other strategic areas bombarded by chemical weapons throughout Iraqi Kurdistan during 1987 and 1988. In these areas, the researchers have uncovered high incidences of cancer, cardiopulmonary disease, congenital anomalies and other major medical disorders.



Participants at the French meeting, including medical personnel from Iraqi Kurdistan and representatives of international humanitarian NGOs called on the international community to devote more resources to this program given the scale of medical problems now affecting some 250,000 people in Kurdistan. (David Nissman)

#### **LONDON CRITICIZES IRAQ FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.**

In its annual report on human rights around the world, the British Foreign Office criticized a wide range of Iraqi violations of human rights, including arbitrary arrests and detentions, torture, extrajudicial executions, and inhumane treatment and punishment of the Iraqi people.

The report released last week also accused Baghdad of consistently blocking reporting on the atrocities being committed. Noting that Baghdad is responsible for providing information for about 600 Kuwaiti and other foreign nationals still missing in Iraq, the London report said that Iraq has refused to provide any information or to attend the commission chaired by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which is charged with resolving these cases.

Concerning the sanctions regime, the report argues that "those who try to blame UN sanctions for the prevailing situation often ignore the fact that revenue from illegal oil sales are wasted on new palaces and theme parks...Saddam Husseyn celebrated his birthday with a cake three meters high, whose ingredients would have fed a hundred children for thirty days." And it calls on Iraq to cooperate wholeheartedly with the United Nations and to allow the newly appointed special rapporteur on human rights, Andreas Mavromattis, to visit Baghdad.

In response, Iraq National Assembly Speaker Sa'dun Hammadi said that Iraq cooperates with the International Committee of the Red Cross on the fate of Kuwaiti and Saudi missing persons, Al-Jazirah Satellite Channel Television reported on 23 July. And he said that Baghdad is ready to resume its participation in the committee in charge of the issue of missing persons if the United States and Great Britain withdraw from it.

Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Shaykh Salam Al-Sabah immediately suggested that Hammadi's statement could be "a maneuver" by Baghdad to prolong the suffering of the POWs who have been in Iraqi detention camps since 1991, according to a report by the "Kuwait Times" of 24 July. (David Nissman)

#### **KURDISH RELIGIOUS GROUPS CALL FOR END TO JOINT KDP-PUK ATTACKS ON PKK.**

The pro-PKK "Kurdish Observer" of Neu-Isenburg reported on 21 July that the Kurdistan Alevi Federation, the Yezidi Association of Kurdistan, and the Kurdistan Islamic Movement have criticized the PUK and the KDP for their attacks on the People's Defense Forces (formerly known as the ARGK, or the military wing of the PKK). Their statements, the paper says, suggest that the U.S. and Turkey are behind these attacks. The Yezidi Association statement claimed that the attacks were "knives of treason stabbed into the back of Kurdishness." (David Nissman)

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### **Turkish Deputy PM Rules out Special Status for Kurds**

ANKARA, July 29 (Reuters) - Deputy Prime Minister Devlet Bahçeli said on Saturday Turkey could not grant minority status to Kurds as that would legitimate the separatist war waged by Kurdish rebels.

Kurdish guerrilla leader Abdullah Ocalan -- sentenced to hang for treason last year -- has from his jail cell ordered his fighters to cease fire and instead wage a peaceful campaign for cultural rights for the country's 12 million Kurds.

The European Union has urged Turkish authorities to ease restrictions on the use of Kurdish language in education and broadcasting and improve its chequered human rights record as a step towards EU membership.

Turkey has so far refused, saying Kurds enjoy equal rights with Turks before the law. Only non-Moslems have minority status in Turkey under the 1923 Lausanne Agreement and rights such as that of education in their own languages.

"It is impossible for us to accept such an approach which on ethnic basis could justify a terror movement... by producing a new

minority concept that goes beyond the minority description made by the Lausanne Agreement," the nationalist Bahçeli told mainstream daily *Hürriyet* in an interview published on Saturday.

Bahçeli's conservative coalition partners appear to take a softer line on Kurdish cultural rights. Conservative Mesut Yılmaz, coordinator for Turkey's EU membership bid, said last week that now "terrorism" was over Ankara could take unprecedented steps.

Ocalan's Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) fought for self-rule in the mountainous southeast for 15 years, in a conflict that cost over 30,000 lives. Fighting has now largely ended.

Bahçeli said there was no ban on using Kurdish in daily life but he opposed any further moves such as officially allowing education in Kurdish. "That would mean handing down what the PKK has been seeking for years as middle term goals in order to reach its final target," he was quoted as saying by the daily.

The Nationalist Action Party leader also objects to abolishing the death penalty, saying that would save Ocalan's neck. Scrapping it is a condition of EU membership.

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### **The Southeast: Turkey's Open Wound Serdar Alyamac**

Izmir - Turkish Daily News July 30, 2000

After 18 years of "low-intensity-war," as it is called by some, in the Southeast, the region has started to settle down. However, it still represents an open wound for Turkey. The Southeast will occupy Turkey's agenda for a long time, even if the problems surrounding the region are overcome. Instead of terrorism or casualty counts, the Southeast is now concentrating minds with questions of the economy and cultural rights, such as education in Kurdish and Kurdish TV.

The people living in the region were undeniably socially and economically ignored, in the same way as the region itself was ignored because of the ongoing "low-intensity war." Local people have been living under Emergency Rule (OHAL) for about 18 years. This means that someone born in 1980 has no experience of living under an ordinary administration. In this way, the psychology of the people is tied up with the problems of the Southeast that people have been suffering for so long.

The fight against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was carried out under martial law in the Southeast until the establishment of OHAL in 1987. The OHAL region, including Bingöl, Diyarbakir, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Siirt, Tunceli and Van and subsequently Adiyaman, Bitlis and Mus, was established by a written government decree to reinforce the fight against the PKK. In 1990, the number of provinces in the OHAL region was raised to 13 with the inclusion of Batman and Siirt. Then Elazığ and Adiyaman were removed from the OHAL region. After 1997, six of the 11 OHAL cities, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Mardin, Mus and Siirt, were placed under the jurisdiction of neighboring cities in the OHAL region. Van was also included in the number of cities under the jurisdiction of neighboring cities in OHAL on July 30. The other four cities, Diyarbakir, Hakkari, Siirt and Tunceli were administered under Emergency Rule.

OHAL has been administered by written decree with the force of law. Furthermore, under Article 148 of the Constitution the Constitutional Court has the right to consider laws and decrees. However in war and emergency conditions, the Constitutional Court loses this right. Thus OHAL decrees do not fall within the remit of the Constitutional Court. Despite the fact that all written decrees should be approved by Parliament, OHAL decrees are not, because of their urgency. In this case Parliament cannot enforce its authority over OHAL decrees

Statistics since 1984, when OHAL was set up, reveal the human cost of the struggle. Some 4,302 civil servants, 5,018 soldiers, 4,440 civilians, and 23,279 PKK supporters were killed in the region and thousands wounded. After the capture early

last year of the PKK leader, Abdullah Ocalan, and his call for the armed members of the PKK to abandon their guns and leave Turkey, followed by the PKK ceasefire and the split in the organization after Ocalan's capture, the region finally began to settle down. But the region and its people had suffered. For example, during the fight against the PKK settlements and villages were emptied for security reasons. This situation, amongst others, served to bring the problem to the international arena. It began then to be thrown in Turkey's face, especially in the context of the process towards full membership of the European Union. Sources of livelihood in the region, principally stock-breeding and agriculture, were thrown into a very bad recession, crippling the region and leaving it in dire economic straits.

The conflict in the region has nearly come to an end. The region is settling down. However, economic problems are beginning to emerge as it does so. The state is not yet inclined to lift Emergency Rule because of the fear of terrorism and it still perceives a potential threat in the region. However, it is possible to state that in the cities and settlements there is no armed conflict. But because of this potential threat people still have to live under these rules. Lifting Emergency Rule would in no way affect the state because the military already controls the rural areas and can guarantee security there and fight the PKK without the need for Emergency Rule which is a psychological oppression of people living in OHAL cities.

#### The economic wasteland

After the region started to settle down, the government's preparations to allow people who were relocated from the Southeast after 1990 during the fight against the PKK, seems likely not to relieve the difficulties in the region. The budget allocated for this venture is TL 7.5 trillion, but a more realistic figure would be TL 700 trillion.

This gap raises the question of just how much the project can properly achieve. A total of 6,153 settlements, and 1,779 villages and other hamlets were vacated in the region and approximately 1 million people relocated to big cities for security reasons

Compulsory migration forced these people to leave their fields and animals, and most of the houses in these vacated villages are now in ruins because they are adobe and need constant maintenance, otherwise they fall into disrepair within a year. Economic life in the region relies on stock-breeding and agriculture, but stock-breeding, which used to occupy an important place in the whole Turkish sector, has died. The arable fields are also ruined because of lack of care. The international embargo on Iraq since 1990 has led to the closure of the border crossing at Habur. The solution of these economic problems would define the success of the moves to relocate some of the population.

The problem will not be solved by people who were relocated to big cities returning to their villages. They used to have animals and fields to earn a living from, but they now have nothing. Furthermore, their houses are in ruins. These people should not be forgotten after they are re-settled, but should be supported economically. The village houses can easily be rebuilt, but economic support from the state is a must. Some people who have returned to their villages, have already started to call for government economic support. There are many people who were relocated who want to return to their villages. However it is impossible to say if all of them will go back to their homes because some might refuse to return. The government's policy of large settlements for these people could be dangerous because they might lead to friction over rights to arable land.

Taking all these points into consideration, it can be seen that the region needs something else than Emergency Rule. The region's economic problems and the question of cultural rights are now more prominent than the fight against the PKK. There is a double standard in the country's judicial machinery, separating the law implemented in the Emergency Rule region from that in other parts of the country. OHAL could easily be abolished, because this would not affect the struggle against the PKK. A system based on setting up an economy that will improve stock-breeding and agriculture and arrange for investment in the region, in short one that would address the region's economic problems is essential, and should be established instead of OHAL.

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## **KNK, HADEP Leaders Urge Talabani To Try To Bring Peace Among Kurds**

Ozgur Politika 28 Jul 00

[FBIS Translated Text] The Kurdish National Congress [KNK] and the People's Democracy Party [HADEP] called on Celal Talabani --the PUK [Patriotic Union of Kurdistan] leader who declared in Ankara that he is going to wage a war against the PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan] and asked for Turkey's assistance to this end -- to abandon policies that would lead to a renewed war among the Kurds.

While KNK leader Ismet Serif Vanli noted that all Kurds would suffer from a war that was waged among the Kurdish people, HADEP Deputy leader Eyup Krageci called on Talabani to serve peace.

### **Those Who Will Lose Are the Suffering Kurdish People**

Vanli continued: "Honorable Celal Talabani's declaration of war against the PKK and his call on Turkey to lend assistance to this end will give rise to renewed tensions and conflicts among the anguished Kurdish people as well as among all the Kurdish parties. The Kurdish people have suffered continuously from civil wars. We should all fight against such quarrels and disputes."

Vanli noted that the states that rule over a divided Kurdistan always prefer the Kurdish people to fight among themselves and said, "They are against a united and powerful Kurdistan. They always want the Kurds to fight among themselves. For this reason, I am calling on Honorable Celal Talabani to give up pursuing a policy over his brothers' blood." Vanli also called on those who are simultaneously members of both the PUK and the KNK and said: "I am calling on worthy PUK friends, who are also KNK members. Let them use their influence to end the tensions that exist among the Kurdish organizations."

### **Talabani Should Assist Peace**

"HADEP Deputy leader Eyup Karageci, who made a special statement to our paper on Talabani's Ankara visit and explanations, invited Talabani to strive for the achievement of peace among the Kurdish organizations and parties. "Karageci, who drew attention to Talabani's Ankara visit, which took place "behind secret doors," said: "We do not know what Talabani said, but if the purpose of his visit is certain bargains and the annihilation of the Kurds, we as HADEP can never accept such an approach."

Karageci warned that a struggle that might occur among the Kurdish parties in southern Kurdistan would sabotage the democracy process in Turkey and continued: "Then we would face such a policy. The peace and democracy process that was initiated has given much hope to the Turkish people. At least the environment of chaos, blood, and violence has come to an end. A renewed struggle and chaos at this time, when the people are expecting a solution to the issues, would sabotage the EU process and Turkey's democratization process."

### **No One Would Benefit From This**

Karageci reminded Talabani of his duty to assist in Turkey's democratization process and in the political and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue, and said: "The KDP [Kurdish Democratic Party], the PUK, and the PKK did not benefit from struggles and tension in the past and are also not going to benefit from these today." Karageci noted that it would be beneficial for all the sides to come together for the realization of a permanent solution to the Kurdish issue in southern Kurdistan and emphasized that this is the only way that peace can be attained among the Kurdish organizations. Karageci said that HADEP is always ready to fulfill its duty on this issue.

HADEP leader Karageci called on Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit as well and said: "We want to believe that Honorable Ecevit will avoid behaving and taking a stand that would damage especially the democratization process in Turkey. All sides should be sensitive on this issue."

### **Talabani Is Making Use of Turkey**

Feridun Yazar, the Democratic Movement Initiative Group spokesman, who met PUK leader Celal Talabani in Ankara, noted that they do not think Talabani would declare a war against the PKK and said that in their meeting, Talabani had said to him, "We do not want to initiate a struggle against the PKK."

Yazar noted that he had read in the newspapers the statements issued by Talabani following the meetings he held with the Turkish authorized

officials and said: "What Celal Talabani told us and what is reported in the newspapers are two different things. During our meeting, he did not mention the struggle or the hostility against the PKK. On the contrary, he said he does not want to wage a struggle against the PKK and denied the existence of any disputes with the PKK. He said he wanted to improve his relations with the Turkish state. I assume Talabani issued this statement in order to improve his relations with Turkey."

Yazar depicted Talabani's demand for establishing favorable relations with Turkey in face of the close relations that were developed between the KDP and Turkey, and continued, "It is very likely that Talabani, who knows the Turkish state's attitude towards the PKK, has made such a statement in order to make use of Turkey because nothing has happened that would give rise to any hostility between the PKK and the PUK. I think the newspaper report depicts the words that Talabani used in order to improve his relations with Turkey. I do not think it points to a stand such as a new war strategy or a new attack."

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## **Kurds Urged To Set Up Federation in N. Iraq as Alternative to KDP, PUK Policies**

Medya TV 28 Jul 00 by Irfan Dogan

[FBIS Translated Text] Good evening from Medya TV, the voice of peace and freedom.

Dear viewers, the talks held between Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK] leader Talabani and Turkish state officials in Ankara have been concluded. Both Turkey and the PUK seem happy with the results of the talks. Even though the reason for their happiness has not been disclosed in the press, it is obvious that it concerns the policy to be pursued against the PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan] in the south. Only such a result can make Turkey happy on the issue of south Kurdistan.

It is understood that PUK leader Talabani gave significant guarantees to Turkey regarding the PKK. The talk of reviving the Ankara talks must be a sign of that. The Ankara talks were based on an agreement reached during the war between the PKK and Turkey. The fact that the Ankara talks will be revived means that Turkey will continue to pursue the policies of the war period.

Another result of the talks is that Turkey has announced its willingness to increase its initiative in the south. The important thing here is that the policies of the past will continue. However, the impasse will not be overcome by insisting on the policies of the war period at a time when peace negotiations have been stepped up in the Middle East, when the PKK has stopped the war, and when more and more efforts are being made to democratically solve the problems in the Middle East in general.

The most important issue is that the Kurdish organizations have not been able to formulate a policy that can fall in step with the developments in the region and the world. The Kurdish organizations seem to have reached an impasse with their primitive, nationalistic, and narrow approaches and their classical policies. Primitive nationalism is a policy of nonsolution. And it is a known fact that when there is a nonsolution, especially in the Middle East, you cannot escape being the extension of one state or another. It is obvious that in the Middle East, where international confrontations and conflicts of interest reign, primitive nationalistic policies can only serve these confrontations and conflicts. In fact, the PUK's talks with Turkey and its willingness to eliminate the PKK with Turkey's support are closely linked to these dead-end policies.

It is understood that the PUK wants to balance its position with the KDP [Kurdish Democratic Party] by taking Turkey's support. The PUK also wants to have Turkey on its side in case Saddam attacks. For that, it displays a stand against the PKK.

Let us assert once again that this policy is stillborn. It cannot be of use either to the PUK or to the Kurdish people. The right policy is, as we insistently say, a dialogue that can lead to a Kurdish federation among the Kurdish organizations. We must realize, however, that a federation cannot be established by a feudal approach. The only thing everybody says is my region, my area. That is because there is no democratic culture. The alternative to this impasse is the creation of a system in which all the democratic forces will participate, and where nobody will say my region, my tribe. It is a system that will decrease the influence of the tribal and feudal relations on the people. What can lead to a solution are conditions that will bring utter freedom to organization, to the election system, and to everything in between, and conditions where all the groups can express themselves within democratic boundaries. This will make the Kurds stronger both in the region and in the eyes of the world.

Since the Kurdish people's power cannot emerge because of the current tribal and feudal approaches, the Kurdish people's national power cannot

make itself felt as a political factor. The forces that do not have the people's power behind them are being forced to place second fiddle to others. Taking this into consideration, all the democratic forces, parties, and organizations in the south must create an alternative project to the dead-end policies of the KDP and the PUK and join the picture. Only in this way can the policies of the KDP and the PUK – policies that have been harming the Kurdish people for years – be foiled. Maybe, as a result, those two parties can give up their wrong policies. It is this truth and nothing else that the 10-year impasse has taught the Kurdish people.

It has become an urgent duty for the patriotic and democratic forces, individuals, and organizations to create a third [as heard] alternative -- a real, national, and democratic alternative. As a result of the struggle they have been waging, the Kurdish people have such a democratic experience as well as patriotic circles. Today, the Kurdish people have enough significant experience not to be condemned to tribal and feudal policies. This experience was oppressed and silenced in many ways until now. However, the conditions in the world and in our region are appropriate now for this experience to assume a role. The KDP and the PUK may also join in this alternative. If they do not, then there should be no hesitation about joining the picture as a third alternative, and about creating the organization, policies, and relations of this alternative. A conference may be a good idea to start with. We must all start with such initiatives, without waiting for the others to start. We must bring together such individuals, democratic circles, and even the tribes that have been hurt by the tribal and feudal policies, and make a start. With the hope that efforts will be made to prevent another war and chaos for the Kurdish people, I wish you a good evening.

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## **Defense Sources: The Race Between King Cobra and Erdogan Is Not Over Yet**

Turkish Probe July 30, 2000

Turkey has taken a significant step in one of the most important military tenders in its history. On July 21, it invited the U.S. company Bell-Textron into detailed price and contract negotiations concerning a \$4.5 billion order for 145 attack helicopters.

However, speaking to the Turkish Daily News, defense sources say that the race between King Cobra and the Russian-Israeli Erdogan has not yet ended. They add that it would be better to wait until negotiations between Turkey and Bell-Textron give a more defined nature to the tender before concluding that the U.S. company has won hands down. After eliminating Italy's Agusta (A129-I), it was announced that the U.S. company Bell Helicopter-Textron with its AH-IZ King Cobra had come in first and the Russian-Israeli Kamov/IAI consortium with its KA-50/52-Erdogan had come in second. Bell is offering its King Cobra, an upgraded model of the Super Cobra which is already being used by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK).

Following the announcement of the results, there has been some discussion in Turkish defense circles, as well as in the media, regarding the tender. Some claim that the Undersecretariat for the Defense Industry (SSM) made the right choice; others criticize the SSM for choosing the expensive option.

Defense Ministry: Helicopter tender is not over

In response to media criticism, the Defense Ministry has stated that the tender has not yet been finalized and that Bell-Textron has simply been called for negotiations.

A Defense Ministry statement made on July 25 emphasized that the decision had seriously taken into consideration Turkey's interests. "As Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit announced on Friday, Italy's Agusta has been eliminated. King Cobra came first and Erdogan second in the tender. Should negotiations with Bell-Textron fall through, negotiations will continue with the Russian-Israeli consortium," read the statement.

Moreover, the statement said that experts had worked on the tender process for more than a year before reaching this decision. It continued: "During the decision-making process, such matters as local and joint production, technology transfer and financing were taken into consideration. As a result, the final tender includes technology and know-how which will be made available to Turkish Aerospace Industries [TAI], allowing TAI to build, mount and test all the necessary parts, hand them over to third-party customers and upgrade the avionics systems in the helicopters as they become outdated."

Why is Bell leading the race?

Putting aside for a moment comments from the Defense Ministry and the media, the King Cobra does seem to be leading the race at the moment.

After finalization of the tender, officials close to the government told the Turkish Daily News that Bell had an important advantage from the outset since it had already sold its Super Cobra to Turkey and the TSK had experience in using the company's helicopters. In other words, Bell had a better chance of winning the attack helicopter project because it was able to use the sale of its Cobras and Super Cobras to Turkey in the 1990s to its advantage. For traditionalists within the TSK, Turkey would enjoy the benefits of having an attack helicopter that was co-produced with a company that has already sold similar, though less advanced, aircraft to the country.

#### Human rights violations in Turkey keeps Erdogan's hopes alive

Meanwhile, following this latest ranking in the tender, all eyes have turned to the U.S. Congress, since there is the possibility that it might prevent the sale using as a justification human rights violations in Turkey. To date, the U.S. administration cannot guarantee that Turkey will not face another embarrassing snub since it cannot put the matter before Congress until the contract is signed.

As may be remembered, the TSK had tried to buy 10 more Super Cobras, but cancelled the order in 1995 after the U.S. Congress threatened to block the sale over human rights concerns. U.S. Armenian and Greek lobbies as well as human rights groups have campaigned against Bell's interest in the contract, saying that Turkey's poor human rights record should bar it from being supplied with such powerful weaponry.

In contrast to claims that the U.S. Congress may prevent the sale, Ecevit said during his announcement on July 21 that he was confident the United States would approve the Bell contract even if there were opposition from Congress. "President Bill Clinton has made it clear that he will not accept such unfair treatment. ... If there is opposition within Congress, he has said openly that the administration will take a clear stand," Ecevit said.

A different view was expressed by an analyst who spoke with the TDN. He said that there was a possibility that the U.S. Congress would block the sale of its Cobras and that this is keeping Erdogan's hopes alive.

#### Russia still hopeful over helicopter tender

A Russian official, speaking to the Anatolia news agency last Tuesday, said that the Russian-Israeli consortium still had a chance, despite Turkey's announcement that Erdogan's position was second overall. Recalling that the official statement regarding the tender had not reached them, the official said: "As far as we can tell from Prime Minister Ecevit's statement, the U.S. and Russian-Israeli companies still have the same chances in the tender since the final decision will be taken after the companies' final offers are made."

Asked whether Russia was optimistic after the latest meeting with Turkish officials, which took place shortly after the companies were ranked, the official said: "In my opinion, our proposal is better suited to Turkey's interests than the others. Our helicopter is cheaper than the Cobra, and the Erdogan was designed with Turkey's needs in mind. The Erdogan would be produced in Turkey under export license. Turkey would have its own helicopter

manufacturing technology under our proposal, while the U.S. company would produce helicopters by assembling parts imported to Turkey from the United States."

Prime Minister Ecevit said during the announcement of results that should negotiations over Bell's King Cobra falter, the government would hold talks with the Russian-Israeli joint venture. "Bell is number one on the list, but this is not a final decision and the ranking can change," Ecevit told reporters after a meeting with defense officials. "If the price is not right during negotiations, and if we don't reach an agreement on administrative points ... then we'll hold negotiations with the next company," Ecevit said.

Meanwhile, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Ilya Klebanov, who has come to Turkey twice in recent months to lobby for the tender, said last Monday that the Erdogan still had a chance of winning the tender. "Our proposal to set up a national helicopter manufacturing school makes ours the better offer, we believe," Klebanov said, adding that Russia was thinking of holding further negotiations with Turkey.

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## Germany: Tank sales to Turkey impossible

Ankara - Turkish Daily News July 31, 2000

German Defense Minister Rudolph Scharping has stated that for the time being it is not possible to sell Leopard-II tanks to Turkey, the Anatolia News Agency reported yesterday. Speaking to the German News Agency, Scharping said he did not expect a positive decision for the sale of Leopard-II tanks to Turkey because of Ankara's poor human rights records. Stressing that Turkey has not yet asked to purchase the tanks, Scharping said there was no need to make a decision over the sale of the tanks.

Scharping also stated that the issue of the tank sale could create a political crisis in the coalition government. He added that sending Turkey a tank for testing has already spurred debate in Germany. Stating that Turkey's human rights records would be on the agenda during Turkey-European Union negotiations, Scharping said Turkey has made some progress to better human rights but it was still early to make a decision on the sale.

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## Italy protests to Turkey over immigrant ship

Reuters - 31 Jul 2000

By Steve Pagani - 1 Aug 2000 06:26GMT

ROME, July 31 (Reuters) - Italy sent a protest to Turkey on Monday after a ship carrying hundreds of foreign migrants, believed to have originated from a Turkish port, was intercepted off the southern Italian coast at the weekend. The Kalsit was reported to have set off from the Turkish port of Izmir last Tuesday for the southern Italian coast. The Interior Ministry said on Monday it had sent officials to Ankara to ask Turkey's government to respect agreed guidelines for cracking down on illegal immigration from its ports.

Police and coastguards intercepted the ship carrying some 418 men, women and children, among them Kurds, Afghans, Sri Lankans, Nigerians and Sierra Leoneans, early on Sunday morning. The vessel was guided into Crotone, a coastal town in the southern region of Calabria, and its Turkish crew detained.

The arrival of the ship with 77 small children on board comes just a week after Italy mourned the deaths of two police officers who drowned when their patrol boat was rammed by a motorised dinghy driven by members of an Albanian crime gang.

### GLOBAL APPROACH

Interior Minister Enzo Bianco called for an urgent meeting of his counterparts from Balkan states, including Greece and Turkey, to look at fresh ways to stamp on human trafficking. The appeal comes less than two weeks after an international conference on illegal immigration in Paris called for a global approach to an issue cited as one of the biggest potential problems facing the developed world in the new century.

Greek and Turkish officials were quoted by the Italian media as denying any knowledge of the Kalsit. Turkish police last week detained more than 500 would-be illegal immigrants attempting to leave Turkey. In Crotone, Red Cross officials and local emergency services met the ship as it docked at Crotone. Some immigrants were taken to hospital for checks while the rest were settled in temporary accommodation at an ex-air base at Sant'Anna di Crotone.

Most of the immigrants questioned said their goal had been to travel on to Germany and France where friends and family awaited them.

Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato has also had talks with Albanian leaders about the constant flow of illegal immigrants from Albanian shores.

In a carrot and stick approach, Amato agreed to further assistance from Italy in cracking down on Albanian Mafia gangs smuggling immigrants, but said economic aid would be linked to the progress Tirana made in dealing with the criminals. Italian helicopters would be used for the first time to patrol the stretch of Adriatic Sea separating the two countries. After concern was raised over the deal in Tirana at the weekend, Amato made clear to Albanian President Rexhep Meidani that Albanian sovereignty would be respected.

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# Saddam Welcoming an Old Enemy

## Former UN Arms Inspector Is Promised Access for Documentary

By Colum Lynch  
*Washington Post Service*

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Scott Ritter, the former UN arms inspector who angered Iraq with his aggressive pursuit of hidden weapons, was to return to Baghdad on Saturday at the invitation of President Saddam Hussein.

The Iraqi leader has agreed to provide Mr. Ritter and a documentary film crew with access to weapons facilities throughout the country so that he can judge whether Iraq has rebuilt its arsenal since United Nations inspectors left 19 months ago, Mr. Ritter said. He is also hoping to get an interview with Mr. Saddam.

The trip is scheduled weeks after Mr. Ritter published an article in an arms control magazine that said Iraq has essentially disarmed and that challenged speculation by President Bill Clinton's administration that Baghdad has the capacity to reconstitute its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs.

"My personal feeling is that Iraq is qualitatively disarmed and the Security Council should reassess its position," he said in an interview.

This marks a turnaround for Mr. Ritter, who resigned from the UN team almost two years ago to protest U.S. failure to support tougher UN inspections. Iraqi leaders, having frequently

accused Mr. Ritter of spying on their country for the Central Intelligence Agency, seem to view him now as an asset in their propaganda war against the United States.

Mr. Ritter said his reassessment of the danger posed by Iraq's weapon programs was brought about by a change in his job title.

As a UN inspector, he was under orders from the Security Council to achieve 100 percent disarmament of prohibited weapons in Iraq — a standard Baghdad never met. As an independent observer, Mr. Ritter said, he believes that Iraq's military capacity has been sufficiently reduced by the UN inspectors so that Mr. Saddam cannot threaten his neighbors.

Under terms of the Gulf War ceasefire in 1991, Iraq is required to renounce the development of medium- and long-range missiles and all chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. But UN inspectors have not been allowed to return to Iraq to test whether the government has met its obligation since they left in December 1998, just before a U.S. and British bombardment.

U.S. officials contended that Mr. Ritter was naively allowing himself to be used by Baghdad to further its efforts to reconstitute its weapon programs and said his visit would be used to support Baghdad's insistence that it has aban-

doned its illegal programs. "Having Iraq host Scott Ritter for a 'thanks for the memories' documentary is lovely, but it doesn't substitute for full cooperation with the UN inspection regime," said a national security spokesman, P. J. Crowley. "They had the opportunity to cooperate with Ritter when he was actually an inspector and didn't."

The documentary project has aroused the interest of federal law enforcement authorities. Mr. Ritter said that FBI agents had questioned him and the film's producer, Tom Osborne, about their contacts with Iraqi officials and warned that Baghdad would seek to manipulate them into joining the Iraqi cause or at least into presenting a more favorable portrait of the regime.

U.S. citizens like Mr. Ritter are usually prohibited from traveling to Iraq under the embargo imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990. Violators face up to 12 years in prison and \$1 million in fines, but there is an exemption for journalists, a definition that Mr. Ritter contends he meets.

He said he intended to interview the Iraqi deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, and the oil minister, Amer Rashid, and to visit existing and destroyed weapon facilities, where he will investigate reports by Western intelligence sources that Iraq is developing viral warfare agents in an underground installation.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JULY 29-30, 2000

## Online Ayatollah: Isolated Iranian Dissident Speaks Out on Web

By Geneive Abdo  
*Special to the International Herald Tribune*

QOM, Iran — Under house arrest in the Islamic Republic he helped establish, Iran's most prominent dissident, Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri, has broken out of seclusion via cyberspace.

His site on the World Wide Web, [www.montazeri.com](http://www.montazeri.com), offers everything from a portrait of the cleric standing on a scenic hilltop with his cane, to his latest declarations, in Persian, on politics and religion.

Open the site and a counter reveals the number of visitors since he discovered cyberspace a few months ago. One day this week the number was 14,810, a respectable figure for a man who has been confined to his home and surrounding garden in this holy city since 1997.

Ayatollah Montazeri and his loyalists are accustomed to finding their own way to liberation.

When he was exiled to the desert by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi 25 years ago, 30,000 followers made the long, arduous journey to visit him. When he was imprisoned periodically, his theology students issued underground bulletins of his latest religious decrees.

The ayatollah's wit is apparent on the net: He has

included quotes from Iranian leaders who once praised him but are now responsible for his house arrest. "I'm proud that such a person exists in the Islamic Republic," reads a quote from Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Also featured are photographs of his demolished office, after hard-line thugs broke in. Smearing on the wall is a slogan describing him as "heretic of the age."

Ayatollah Montazeri has been ostracized for many ideas, including his belief that the post of supreme leader should be decided in a national election. The supreme leader now is chosen by the Assembly of Experts, a body dominated by conservatives clerics.

Corresponding with the ayatollah, who was once in line to succeed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the founder of the republic, is a simple matter. A follower need only write him an e-mail, asking his advice on a religious or political issue. One of his sons downloads the questions and groups them according to subjects. Then the cleric will issue an opinion on those questions of most concern.

Ever since Ayatollah Montazeri publicly questioned the religious credentials of the country's supreme leader, he has been virtually incommunicado here. No one is allowed to visit him, apart

from relatives. Guards are posted around the clock outside his house to monitor anyone who enters.

Many Iranians wonder why the authorities have not found a way to log him off the net.

"Maybe technology has finally given him the

freedom he has been denied for nearly three decades," a supporter said.

"We don't think the authorities can pull the plug on his Web site, because they probably would have done so by now."

## 124 Kurdes irakiens interceptés en Italie à bord de deux camions



ROME, 31 juil (AFP) - 13h09 - 124 Kurdes irakiens sans autorisation de séjour ont été interceptés dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi alors qu'ils se trouvaient à bord de deux camions allemands sur une autoroute du nord de l'Italie, près d'Alessandria, a-t-on appris de source policière.

Les deux chauffeurs, de nationalité allemande, ont été arrêtés et étaient interrogés lundi par la police d'Alessandria.

Débarqués il y a quelques jours à Crotona, en Calabre (sud), les Kurdes étaient arrivés dimanche en train à Turin (nord) où ils avaient été ravitaillés, pris en charge par la Croix Rouge et hébergés dans un centre d'accueil de la municipalité. Ils ont quitté pendant la nuit le centre pour rejoindre les chauffeurs des camions qui les attendaient.

Les immigrants, 28 hommes, 36 femmes dont une dizaine enceintes et 60 enfants viennent de plusieurs villages du Kurdistan irakien et ils ont déposé à leur arrivée en Italie des demandes d'asile politique.

Dimanche, 418 immigrants dont une majorité de Kurdes ont débarqué au nord de Crotona à bord d'un bateau battant pavillon grec, le Kalsit.

## KURDISTAN: LA TRAHISON SEPARATISTE

Un kidnapping sanglant: voilà le sort des Kurdes. Ce peuple détient le triste privilège d'avoir été floué par ses propres frères. Car les marxistes-léninistes du PKK ont réussi, par leurs crimes, à décourager la solidarité internationale dont avait fini par bénéficier cette communauté de 25 millions d'âmes, soudée par sa culture et ses tragédies. Après l'attaque avec des gaz de combat du village d'Halabja par Saddam Hussein en 1988, le monde s'était en effet réveillé. Au lendemain de la guerre du Golfe, tous les regards se tournaient non seulement vers le Kurdistan irakien - zone désormais autonome au nord du 36<sup>e</sup> parallèle -, mais aussi sur la situation pathétique des 15 millions de Kurdes vivant en Turquie. La revendication identitaire était suffisamment juste pour qu'à l'étranger des soutiens prestigieux tentent de faire valoir leur cause auprès d'Ankara.

Pour les Kurdes? La France méditerranéenne, celle de Danielle (surnommée «la mère des Kurdes») et de François, qui reçoit leurs délégués au château de Rambouillet. Contre les Kurdes? Les Kurdes eux-mêmes. Ceux du moins qui vont transformer un combat culturel en guérilla nationaliste. Occulter la légitime résistance d'un peuple à l'assimilation pour braquer tous les projecteurs sur un suicide séparatiste. Abdullah Ocalan, dit Apo, leader du PKK, est l'auteur de ce hold-up. Un communiste? Plutôt un nihiliste. Sa stratégie? Celle du

tout ou rien. L'utopie d'un Etat kurde. L'absolutisme de la révolte ethnique. Le credo du sang et des larmes, contre celui, légaliste, des innombrables démocrates kurdes. Lesquels seront jetés au cachot par une Turquie qui fait payer à tout un peuple les exactions des hommes d'Ocalan. Car ses guérilleros n'ont pas hésité à massacrer femmes et enfants, à brûler des centaines d'écoles, au motif que tout ce qui est turc est étranger, que tout ce qui est kurdo-turc est traître. Lorsqu'on lui reprochait ces «bavures», Apo, de son refuge de la Bekaa ou de Damas, souriait dans sa moustache: «Les balles n'ont pas d'adresse...» Aujourd'hui prisonnier des Turcs, l'homme renie désormais tout en bloc. Appelle ses troupes à la reddition. En Turquie comme en Occident, où vivent des millions d'immigrés kurdes, c'est l'incompréhension. Voilà comment on transforme une cause juste - celle de l'identité culturelle - en cause perdue: celle de la haine ethnique ■ M.G.



Absurde tragédie kurde, où une juste cause a été injustement transformée en cause perdue.

31 juillet au 6 août 2000 / Marianne

## Arrivée en Irak d'un responsable humanitaire de l'Onu



BAGDAD (Reuters) - Benon Sevan, directeur du programme des Nations unies pour l'Irak, est arrivé à Bagdad pour discuter du programme pétrole contre nourriture lancé il y a trois ans pour alléger les rigueurs des sanctions imposées à l'Irak après l'invasion du Koweït, le 2 août 1990.

Sevan s'est refusé à toute déclaration à la presse, mais un porte-parole de l'Onu a dit qu'il rencontrerait des responsables gouvernementaux irakiens pour discuter de tous les aspects du programme.

Ce dernier autorise actuellement l'Irak à vendre sur six mois des quantités illimitées de pétrole pour acheter des vivres, des médicaments et d'autres biens de première nécessité.

Le porte-parole a précisé que Sevan passerait 17 jours dans le pays, et notamment dans trois provinces du Nord - Arbil, Sulaimaniya et Dohuk - sous contrôle de rebelles kurdes depuis la fin de la Guerre du Golfe marquée par l'expulsion des Irakiens du Koweït, en 1991.

Les autorités et les médias irakiens se plaignent de la lenteur des livraisons des produits achetés et ajoutent qu'elles n'ont que très peu allégé les souffrances causées à la population par l'embargo.

Bagdad a rejeté une résolution adoptée en décembre dernier par le Conseil de sécurité de l'Onu suspendant partiellement les sanctions si Bagdad se soumet à des inspections sur son armement et répond à des questions cruciales sur ses armes de destruction massive.

L'Irak a fait savoir qu'il rejeterait toute résolution ne prévoyant pas la levée de l'ensemble des sanctions.

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## Deux dirigeants du PKK condamnés à plus de deux ans de prison



BERLIN, 1er août (AFP) - 14h18 - Deux dirigeants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie, interdit en Allemagne), Hasan B. et Zeynep P., ont été condamnés mardi à Berlin à plus de deux ans de prison.

Hasan B., 43 ans, a été reconnu coupable de constitution d'entreprise terroriste, faux en écriture en bande organisée et violation de la loi sur les armes, et condamné à deux ans et demi de prison.

Zeynep P., 29 ans, qui dirigeait depuis décembre 1995 l'organisation féminine du PKK en Europe (YAJK), a été condamnée à deux ans et deux mois de prison pour appartenance à une entreprise terroriste.

Hasan B. était accusé d'être membre de la direction du PKK depuis août 1996 et d'avoir dirigé, de cette date à février 1998, puis de nouveau à partir de décembre 1998, le "bureau chargé du maintien des structures illégales du PKK en Allemagne en application des directives données par la direction" du PKK.

Ce bureau coordonne "l'approvisionnement du parti et de la guérilla en hommes et en matériel au-delà des frontières. L'ensemble de la logistique" lui incombe, avait indiqué en mars le Parquet général fédéral allemand, lors du renvoi des deux militants devant le tribunal. Il organise notamment le transfert vers l'Europe de l'Ouest de militants du PKK et vice-versa, et des faux papiers sont à ce titre établis, selon le Parquet.

Zeynep P., outre ses activités à la tête de l'organisation féminine, avait dirigé entre septembre 1997 et février 1998 la section de Westphalie (ouest) du PKK. A ce double titre, "elle était liée" au même bureau que Hasan B., avait précisé le Parquet fédéral.

Les deux condamnés ont accepté le jugement et ne feront donc pas appel, a précisé un porte-parole du tribunal de Berlin.

Ils sont en prison depuis leur arrestation -- lui en octobre et elle en décembre. Selon des sources kurdes contactées à l'époque, Hasan B. serait un "membre éminent" de la direction européenne du PKK et aurait été particulièrement actif au sein de l'ERNK, la branche politique du PKK séparatiste de Turquie.

Le PKK est interdit en Allemagne depuis une vague d'attentats en 1992 contre des intérêts turcs et allemands.

## **Russia Today U.S. Government Pressure Seen in Chopper Contest**

By Jon Wright

MOSCOW, Aug 1, 2000 -- (The Russia Journal) The U.S. government pressured fellow NATO-member Turkey into rejecting Russian firm Kamov and choosing American competitor Bell Helicopter Textron's King Cobra in a tender to build 145 attack helicopters, experts say.

Jane's Defense Group spokesman Paul Beaver said interference in the estimated \$4 billion deal came "at Madeleine Albright level," referring to the U.S. secretary of state. The view was backed by Russian analysts last week. "The Americans put a lot of political pressure on Turkey to go for the Cobra, including positions on Northern Cyprus," Beaver said. "From a political perspective, for Turkey, a NATO nation, to acquire something from the Russians, even with Israeli technology, is considered to be a bit of a concern."

Beaver added that Turkey has a long history with Bell, and in the past set up a production line for Bell's model 205 helicopter, a similar machine to the King Cobra. "Quite frankly, from a technology perspective [this deal] makes a lot of sense, too," he said. Turkey has said it will retain the option of buying the Kamov Ka-50-2, which would be produced in conjunction with Israel Aircraft Industries Inc., until full agreement is reached with Bell and U.S. Congress approves the deal.

The situation has led Kamov to say there is still hope that its tender will succeed.

Congress has in the past blocked arms sales to Turkey, prompted by America's strong Greek and Armenian lobbies. But analysts say the situation should be different this time around, following new warmth in Greek-Turkish relations.

Meanwhile, Bell said it is entering into negotiations with Turkey as to specifics of the program and relevant agreements.

"We're thrilled Bell was selected by the Turkish government for this important NATO project," Textron Chairman and CEO Lewis B. Campbell said.

"Collaborating on the ground with the aerospace industry in Turkey will allow Bell to deliver superior technology and outstanding service to the Turkish government." Venjamin Kasyannikov, Kamov's deputy general constructor, was keen to stress that the agreement had not yet been signed. "The Americans have been quicker than us and there have already been press reports that Bell has the best chance of winning the tender," he said. "However, there has not been any official decision from Turkey."

Kasyannikov claimed the Turkish government is now consulting with his firm and Bell over the cost of the deal, an issue that he said was "top secret."

"We have supporters and opponents on the [Turkish] decision board, so what they say depends on who you talk to," he said. "We've been told that the Americans are offering a better price, but it might just be bargaining by which they hope to make us lower our price." Earlier this year, President Vladimir Putin intervened in Kamov's favor, pushing for Turkey to accept a package of benefits that would go along with choosing the Russian-Israeli bid. Kamov offered an unspecified amount of helicopter-making technology and technical help in creating Turkish production facilities for the Ka-50-2 if it was picked.

Military analysts at that time agreed with the Russian government's assessment that the "heavy" Ka-50-2, based on Kamov's Ka-50 Black Shark, but with modified armaments, would favor it over the "light" King Cobra. The argument rested on the cooling of the internationally criticized 15-year conflict with Abdullah Ocalan's Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey's mountainous southeast.

Experts said heavy attack helicopters, like the Ka-50-2, were best suited to dealing with external military threats, possibly from Syria, Iran or Iraq, while lighter machines were more suited to internal deployment against Kurdish separatists.

Turkey had previously used U.S.-made Super Cobras against the Kurds, but the capture of Ocalan and the winding down of the operation seemed to favor Kamov, experts said. Jane's Defense Group's Beaver said last week that along with U.S. pressure, the decision to buy the Cobra partly showed that Turkey still saw the Kurds as a problem.

Textron said it hoped to supply Turkey with 50 aircraft initially, at a cost of approximately \$1.5 billion, building up to 145 aircraft later. The firm said Bell Helicopter Textron would be the primary subcontractor on the program, with Tusas Aerospace Industries Inc. of Ankara acting as prime contractor. In brighter news for the defense industry, Russia's Military News Agency reported last week that Russia is set to start supplying a batch of Su-30 MKI fighter planes to India in December 2001, part of a contract for 40 aircraft, estimated to be worth up to \$1.8 billion.

## **Pentagon: Saddam Contained**

1 Aug 2000 By PAULINE JELINEK Associated Press

WASHINGTON (AP) - Reflecting on a decade-long U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf, the Pentagon said Kuwait's liberty has been protected and Iraq's Saddam Hussein has not been allowed to threaten other neighbors or his own country's minorities.

That's the bottom line after major U.S. troop deployments to the region and a multibillion dollar effort to maintain so-called "no-fly zones" over Iraq, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said Tuesday. Ten years ago Wednesday, Iraqi President Saddam sent his troops to conquer neighboring Kuwait and set in motion the events that led to the 1991 Gulf War, won by a U.S.-led coalition, and to the U.S. presence that ensued. "Kuwait is free. It's rebuilt. It has a thriving economy," Bacon said in a Pentagon briefing. "Iraq is contained. It has a broken economy. It is an isolated state.

"I think that's the fundamental ... accomplishment over the last 10 years."

Meanwhile, the State Department again demanded that Saddam allow U.N. weapons inspectors to resume the monitoring work they've been prevented from doing since 1998.

"Our concerns about Saddam Hussein's desire to pursue a program developing weapons of mass destruction, those concerns remain," State Department spokesman Philip Reeker said. "We need to have inspectors on the ground." Reeker said Iraq must fulfill the disarmament conditions of the cease-fire that ended the Gulf War. "Iraq has failed to comply with its obligations under U.N. Security Council resolutions, including failing to destroy, remove or render harmless, under international supervision, its weapons of mass destruction and long-range ballistic missiles," Reeker said.

In response to reporters' questions at the regular Pentagon briefing, Bacon admitted that Saddam remains in power and probably has enriched himself while his people suffered under U.N. sanctions.

But, he said, "I would question what joy one can derive from being a strongman in a weak country, as Saddam Hussein is." He later called the Iraqi leader "an emperor in a ... weak, dispirited country."

"He's in a sense a captive in his country. He can't leave," said Bacon. "He seems to move around regularly, in order to avoid assassination or other attacks from forces that wish him ill."

Bacon said Saddam has been unable to rebuild his military partly because the United States has helped contain him but largely because the United Nations with its embargo has kept him from buying more military equipment. "He is no longer a threat to his neighbors and is not seen as a threat to his neighbors," Bacon said. "That's largely because of the containment that we have carried out." Asked to confirm that the cost of maintaining the no-fly zones has been about \$2 billion a year, Bacon said it is "slightly less than that, but it is certainly over a billion dollars a year."

The United States has a major deployment of about 24,000 troops in the Gulf, including Army troops exercising in Kuwait, the Navy in Bahrain and Air Force members stationed around the Gulf. Bacon said warplanes have flown more than 200,000 sorties in a southern Iraq no-fly zone since flights started in August 1992 and 16,000 in the North since a no-fly zone was established there in 1997. The flights are meant to prevent the use of Iraqi aircraft against the country's minorities.

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## **MBT project nears end**

Ankara - Turkish Daily News August 1, 2000

After reaching a decision in the attack helicopter tender two weeks ago, the Undersecretariat for the Defense Industry (SSM) is preparing to finalize another important multi-billion-dollar tender, the co-production of 1,000 new-generation Main Battle Tanks (MBTs).

The SSM previously announced that the final selection of the MBT tender winner will be declared after the completion of tests. The third and latest trial was completed July 28 in Sereflikochisar, a town near Ankara, while the first and second trials were carried out in Sarikamis in eastern Turkey and Kayseri, respectively.

Following the completion of the trials, the SSM will prepare a report on the MBTs' performance and will submit its findings to the Defense Industry

Executive Committee, chaired by Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit. The final decision on the MBT project which envisages the initial manufacture of 250 tanks, only part of a total 1,000, is expected to be announced mid-August.

Defense sources have said that in addition to the trials' success, the contribution of local companies to the MBT project would play an important role in determining the winner of the tender. Like the attack helicopter tender, Turkey wants to increase Turkish companies' contribution to the MBT project.

Turkish prime contractors have teamed with some foreign companies offering MBT designs. The United States' General Dynamics Land Systems, offering the M1A2 fitted with a diesel engine, has teamed with BMC. Germany's Krauss-Maffei Wegmann, bidding with the Leopard 2A6, has established a consortium with Otokar. Offering the Leclerc is France's Giat Industries teamed with Roketsan and Ukraine's Ukraspetsexport teamed with Asmas is offering the T-84.

Although a German company has been included in the MBT tender, there is still uncertainty over the Krauss-Maffei Wegmann proposal since there is a possibility that the German government may veto the sale of tanks to Turkey under the pretext of Turkey's human rights record.

Another project, the upgrade of 170 M60 tanks, which was previously published in the press as being given to Israeli Military Industries (IMI) still remains uncertain. At a June 2 Defense Industry Executive Committee meeting, it was decided that IMI would be the sole source for the upgrade instead of a tender being opened for modernizing the M60 tanks. Later it was learned that the Executive Committee had only decided to open negotiations with IMI and had not yet offered them the project.

As the SSM continues to finalize the tender, it has been learned that the U.S. administration objected to the decision to deem the Israeli company the sole source for modernizing the tanks. The United States stated that the Turkish side should seek permission from the U.S. administration to upgrade the M60s since the United States had donated the tanks. Upon this development, the Turkish Land Forces (KKK), in a letter to the U.S. side, has asked permission for the upgrade.

The United States also offered to conduct the upgrades, to be carried out by U.S. companies, if the SSM opens a tender for the project.

The KKK plans to complete the upgrade of the M60 tanks within two years. The tanks will be upgraded at an initial cost of approximately \$170 million. The upgrade program could exceed \$1 billion if the KKK decides to modernize the entire fleet.

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### **US, Britain blocking contracts to repair oil terminal: Iraq**

AFP - 1 Aug 2000

BAGHDAD, Aug 1 (AFP) - Iraq accused the United States and Britain on Tuesday of blocking contracts for the repair of a disused Gulf oil terminal whose start-up would boost export capacity to more than three million barrels per day (bpd).

"US and British representatives on the UN sanctions committee are blocking the approval of contracts allowing the import of equipment for repairing Mina al-Amaya" oil terminal, Oil Minister Amer Rashid told Al-Qadissiya newspaper. "The first contracts signed by Iraq have all been blocked," he said.

Rafed Debuni, head of state-run Southern Petroleum Company, said on June 7 that the offshore terminal, which was damaged during the 1980-1988 war against Iran and destroyed during the 1991 Gulf War, would be in operation "soon" with a loading capacity of 700,000 bpd. In May, the Middle East Economic Survey reported that Iraq preferred to repair the second terminal rather than reopen a pipeline through Syria to boost its UN-controlled oil exports.

Iraq currently uses the Gulf terminal of Mina al-Bakr, west of Mina al-Amaya, that is also in need of repair, and a pipeline running from northern fields through Turkey to the Mediterranean. Under the oil-for-food accord, Iraq, which has been under embargo since its August 1990 invasion of Kuwait, is authorised to export crude in return for essential goods.

But a UN sanctions committee has to approve Iraq's contracts with foreign suppliers. Iraq has repeatedly complained of delays in the approval pro-



cess, pinning the blame on the US and British representatives on the committee, although the United Nations has accelerated the procedure since March.

According to Rashid, the UN sanctions committee has blocked "447 contracts, worth 294.9 million dollars, for the oil sector" during phases IV, V and VI of the programme. The director of the UN programme for Iraq, in a statement issued before his visit to Baghdad starting on Tuesday, put the figure at 282 million dollars. The sanctions committee has now agreed "on a list of parts and equipment which would be approved by a group of (technical) experts" rather than the committee itself, as part of the new "procedural improvements", explained Benon Sevan.

He said that in the food, health, education and agriculture sectors, lists have been drawn up of products which would not need to be submitted to the sanctions committee for approval.

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### **Targeting the tyrant**

The Guardian - 1 Aug 2000

Efforts to dislodge Saddam should focus on family feuds, not financing the opposition

Special report: Iraq, Said Aburish

Ten years after the invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein is still with us. Although Kuwait was liberated in early 1991 and Iraq is a military shadow of its former self, the nature and number of the problems created by the Iraqi dictator's historic blunder have increased. But for an act of God, Saddam will continue to haunt us for the foreseeable future.

The coalition created to eject Saddam from Kuwait is no more. Except for the US and Britain, most countries would like to see the sanctions imposed on Iraq lifted. The US and UK insist on a literal application of the sanctions and are open in calling for the replacement of Saddam. Meanwhile, he has refused to cooperate with UN weapons inspectors for more than two years. Before then, their reports insisted that he had not complied with security council resolutions calling for the elimination of his weapons of mass destruction. With efforts to disarm Saddam in limbo, Iraq's exports of oil are determined by the UN under the oil-for-food programme aimed at providing the Iraqi people with adequate supplies of food and medicine.

But oil-for-food has not worked. Tens of thousands of Iraqis have died of malnutrition and other maladies. Two programme directors, Denis Halliday and Hans von Sponeck, have resigned in protest against the sanctions. Many humanitarian organisations, individuals and countries have supported the Halliday-Sponeck position. Although they do not absolve Saddam, he has achieved a propaganda victory. The world expects more from functioning democracies than from a thug.

Except for the Kurds, Saddam's Iraqi opponents operate outside their country. Neither they, nor the many plots against him by Iraqi army officers, have managed to unbalance Saddam. In fact, he has used the plots and the alliance between his opponents and the US to his advantage. To Saddam, this is an excuse for greater oppression of his people.

Internationally, he has driven a wedge between the US and Britain and the rest of the world. This is particularly true of the Arab masses outside Iraq. Because they are not subject to his brutality, they see him as a hero who has successfully stood up to the west. Arab leaders fear their people's reaction and are opening channels of communication with Iraq. Non-Arab countries, including the Russian Federation, China and France, want to readmit Iraq to the international community and trade with it.

Saddam has used the determination of the US and Britain to replace him to maintain an extremely efficient security system. Run by his two psychopathic sons and other members of his family, the security apparatus has eliminated thousands of Iraqis. In addition, army officers are rotated on a regular basis, units close to Baghdad have no ammunition, and only three people know Saddam's movements.

All Middle East governments prefer Saddam to the prospect of a civil war in Iraq. A violent upheaval in Iraq might spill into their territories or weaken their regional positions. To Saudi Arabia and Turkey, a victory for Iraq's Shia majority would be a victory for Islamic fundamentalist Iran. To Turkey, Iran and Syria, a divided Iraq with a free Kurdistan would incite their Kurds to rebellion. The scenarios are endless and so are the unacceptable dangers they would produce. Saddam comes out first because he is the second choice of all of his neighbours.

Even the US and Britain have no solution to what might follow Saddam's departure. Despite the rhetoric, their no-fly zones and frequent bombing of Iraqi facilities and troops, both countries know that only a military invasion of Iraq would guarantee that Saddam is replaced by someone acceptable to

them. In reality, this is not an option. The US and Britain do not have the international backing or mandate to invade Iraq; there is nothing in UN resolutions which calls for Saddam's removal; hundreds of thousands of troops would be needed to invade and control Iraq; the British and American people are tired of the Iraqi problem and would not support such a costly operation; and the reaction in the Arab and Islamic worlds would be violent.

With his neighbours more secure with Saddam in power, and the US and Britain restricted from invading Iraq, the only open option is to leave the job of toppling Saddam to the Iraqis themselves. But they suffer from limitations and divisions which have played into Saddam's hands. The Iraqi opposition is so divided that the US and Britain spend more time trying to unite them than they devote to removing Saddam. Many Iraqi opposition leaders have no following on the ground. Others quarrel among themselves as to who should be leader.

On the popular level the prospects for an uprising are all but nonexistent. The Iraqis remember what happened in 1991, when they rebelled in response to western calls and propaganda. They were abandoned to Saddam's troops, who killed tens of thousands of them. In 1995, the Iraqi national congress attacked Saddam's forces from the north of Iraq, which had been liberated by the Kurds as a first step towards a general uprising. The attackers occupied several northern towns and asked for US air support. When the US refused to intervene, the Kurds split into supporters and opponents of the anti-Saddam movement and the rebellion eventually fizzled out.

The failure of the 1991 popular uprising, the 1995 military attack and other CIA-sponsored attempts to unseat Saddam leaves the Iraqi army as the one organisation capable of removing him. Conspiring against Saddam means overcoming the huge security apparatus of more than 200,000 full-time civilian and military informers. Run by Saddam's second son Qussay, a 34-year-old who is as capable, calculating and murderous as his father, it is probably the most efficient in the world. It is backed by the Special Republican Guard and the Republican Guard. The officers of these privileged units repay Saddam through total loyalty. Most of them fear what might happen to them should Saddam be toppled, and the opposition, the US and Britain have not made effective direct appeals to them. Instead of repeating Saddam horror stories, promising these special units an amnesty after their leader's departure might induce them to act.

Unless they are offered an incentive to change sides, the commitment of the Republican Guard to Saddam eliminates the last hope for a revolution or coup in the traditional mould. But the strength of Saddam's regime is also the source of its weakness. Because the army and security systems are run by his sons and cousins, a simple family feud might lead to an implosion and the disintegration of the small Tikriti clan which surrounds him.

This is not far-fetched. Saddam's sons are vying for power. His brother Barzan, a former security chief, is opposed to his nephews. The world has been so preoccupied with Saddam's ability to make and use weapons of mass destruction, it has ignored the tribal nature of his rule and its inherent weaknesses. Concentrating on this is a better way of ridding the world of the tyrant of Baghdad than spending millions of American dollars backing feckless, inept and out-of-touch opposition groups.

Said Aburish is the author of *Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge* (Bloomsbury).

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### **Declaration of war from the PUK**

KurdishMedia.com n̄ 1 Aug 2000

(Translated from German: *junge Welt*, 01 August 2000, By Nick Brauns)

PUK attacks Workers Communist Party in Iraqi Kurdistan; call for urgent action from Amnesty International The human rights group Amnesty International has issued an urgent appeal in order to save the lives of members of the Workers Communist Party of Iraq (WCP-I). The party, which is active in northern Iraq, was attacked by armed groups of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which dominates the region, and has been declared illegal.

In June, the PUK had cut off electricity and water to the offices of the WCP-I in the regional capital of Suleymanieh, and had demanded that the party abandon the city. The justification for this action was that the party was an *ilraqî* party, even though organized only in the Kurdish areas of the country. The WCP-I was also accused of maintaining an armed force. The fact is that the WCP-I, just as all the other large parties in South Kurdistan, maintains a militia for self-defense purposes.

After WCP-I members demonstrated on 13 July in front of the Interior Ministry in Suleymanieh against the repression against them, dozens of communists were arrested in various cities. One day later, PUK security forces occupied the headquarters of the WCP-I. Four leading members of the

party were killed when the PUK fired upon a vehicle of the Center for Women's Rights. In addition, two cadre members of the Iranian branch of the Workers Communists Party, who were in Suleymanieh to assist Iranian refugees there, were killed. Another Iranian, wounded upon capture, is threatened with being turned over to Iran.

The PUK attacks have also been directed against the Independent Women's Organization, which is closely allied with the WCP-I; the President of this organization, Nasik Ahmad, was taken into custody. The Center for Women's Rights in Suleymanieh, which offered refuge to women persecuted by Islamists, has been closed. Three leading members of the WCP-I are being held as hostages in PUK headquarters in order to force the other members of the party to depart the PUK-controlled territory, while 17 members of the WCP-I Executive Committee have been forced, along with their families, to vacate their homes in Suleymanieh. The current whereabouts of many arrested members of the party, including many women, is unknown. Amnesty International fears that the prisoners are being tortured.

The WCP-I, formed from four communist organizations in 1993, has made a name for itself in northern Iraq (iSouth Kurdistan) for its work among the unemployed and among women. Since a section of the party is also active in Iran, the most recent attacks against the party could have been instigated by the regime in Tehran, which acts as a patron to the PUK. Since the creation of the no-flight zone following the end of the Gulf War in 1991, northern Iraq has with the concurrence of the USA been under the control of the two biggest Kurdish parties, the PUK and the Kurdistan Democratic Party

(KDP). Both of these parties have now declared war on the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which has withdrawn its guerrilla units from Turkey into northern Iraq. The PUK, which was earlier allied with the PKK, thereby assured itself of support from both Washington and Ankara. The blows dealt to the WCP-I may also serve to provide a quieter background against which the PUK could launch a greater war against the PKK.

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## PKK collapse continues

- Many terrorists are considering escape and surrendering to the police and military but are afraid of the treatment and punishment they will get in Turkey

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Ankara - Turkish Daily News

A Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) separatist terrorist, going by the code-name "Ali," who has surrendered to the security forces, said that executions are still being carried out within the organization in the name of "cutting out the infection," the Anatolia news agency reported yesterday.

Ali said that the PKK had been stunned into disbelief by the capture of Abdullah Ocalan and that the senior officers had banned the lower ranks from watching TV or listening to the radio. In addition, instructions issued to the PKK by Ocalan through his lawyers were never passed on to the lower ranking members.

Ali also stated that relations between Iran and the PKK were good and that a "school" had been set up on the Iranian side of Mt. Kandil to teach Kurdish and Turkish as well as political and military instruction. Iran is also said to be supplying medical aid and other supplies to the PKK. He said that Iranian army operations mounted against PKK camps in Iran were all carefully coordinated attempts to pull the wool over Turkey's eyes and convince Turkey that Iran was serious about its promises to rid itself of the PKK.

He went on to say that many terrorists are considering escape and surrendering to the police or military but are afraid of the treatment and punishment they may experience in Turkey, which is why many of them want to flee to Europe.

## Cem meets with Kouchner on behalf of Kosovar Turks

- While Kouchner thanks Cem for Turkey's contribution to the rebuilding of Kosovo, Cem says that the happiness of all the Kosovars is extremely important for Turkey



Ankara - Turkish Daily News

Foreign Minister Ismail Cem met with United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) President Bernard Kouchner on Monday to discuss the problems which Kosovar Turks have faced since the end of NATO operations in Kosovo last year. Last week Cem met with the representatives of the Turkish community in Kosovo, and Kosovar Turks complained at that meeting about the restrictions imposed on the Turkish language by the Albanian majority in the breakaway Yugoslavian republic.

Prior to his meeting with Kouchner, Cem said that peace in Kosovo was Turkey's priority and that Ankara was ready to put more work in towards that end. Stressing that peace and stability in Kosovo was the United Nation's priority as well, Cem said: "Kosovo is both Turkey's history and its present. Providing happiness and peace for all the people living in Kosovo is extremely important to Turkey. As a result of the importance Turkey attaches to Kosovo, we have contributed to the region both economically and militarily with the support of the Turkish people."

Indicating that the Turkish community in Kosovo is facing certain problems, Cem said he would handle the issue with Kouchner. Speaking after Cem, Kouchner thanked Turkey for its contributions in helping to rebuild Kosovo. Stressing that UNMIK's basic mission in the region was to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244, Kouchner said that the group had done a great deal so far but added that there were still things to be done. Kouchner said that he and Cem would discuss the problems of Kosovar Turks in the context of upcoming local elections.

Cem had met with the Representative Council of Kosovar Turks and the Turkish Democratic Union in Kosovo last week. During that meeting, he stated that Turkey was not happy with some of the developments in Kosovo after NATO's operation was successfully concluded there last year. Stressing that maltreatment of the Turkish community would negatively affect Kosovo's future, Cem indicted that the Turkish government had introduced much-needed initiatives both at the United Nations and NATO to protect the rights of the Turkish Kosovar community.

## PKK executes former members

- A group of former PKK members fleeing from the organization say that the PKK will execute, or already has, some 33 former members

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

A group of former members of the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) which fled from the organization's camps in northern Iraq, issued a statement last Monday, saying that the PKK will execute some 33 former members who fled the organization but were later recaptured, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The group calls itself "The Freedom Initiative" and comprises the remainder of a 60-man group who

managed to escape from the PKK camps in northern Iraq. A total of 33 of them were subsequently recaptured by the PKK, and there are reports that they are awaiting execution, if they have not already been executed. Former PKK committee members are also in the group.

In the written statement, The Freedom Initiative said that the PKK was unhappy with seeing reports of executions leaked to the press. Following these reports, a group of German deputies from the Democratic Socialist Party has been invited by the PKK to its camps in northern Iraq and have accepted to go. The statement said that this was a positive development, since the visit would be a good opportunity for the outside world to learn about what is going on inside the PKK, but warned that the PKK could mislead the deputies by not taking them to the camps where the captives are being held.

The statement said that Freedom Initiative members could provide the German deputies with reliable information about the location of the camps and the names of the captives. The statement also claimed that the captives were kept in poor conditions in the caves where they are being held.

Experts say that the PKK has had image difficulties since reports of executions of its own members appeared in the European press.

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## Ocalan regrette que ses appels n'aient pas été "entièrement" compris



ANKARA, 3 août (AFP) - 17h13 - Le chef de la rébellion kurde de Turquie, Abdullah Ocalan, a regretté que l'Etat turc n'ait pas "entièrement" compris ses appels à la paix et à une solution du conflit kurde, et souhaité une amnistie pour les rebelles du PKK, dans un communiqué diffusé jeudi par ses avocats.

"Des pas ont été faits sur la voie de la paix (...) mais ni l'Etat ni d'autres groupes de la société ne m'ont entièrement compris", a-t-il dit au lendemain de l'anniversaire de son appel, lancé le 2 août 1999 depuis son île prison d'Imrali (nord-ouest).

Dans cet appel, Abdullah Ocalan avait demandé aux membres de son mouvement, le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), de déposer les armes et de se retirer de Turquie.

L'année qui vient de s'écouler "a servi la paix en Turquie et dans sa région mais celle-ci n'a pu être globale", a affirmé le chef du PKK.

Ocalan s'est cependant félicité que la Turquie soit actuellement à un "bon stade" d'une solution démocratique du conflit kurde, critiquant le manque de "créativité" des Kurdes dans la recherche d'une solution.

Le dirigeant kurde a d'autre part demandé au gouvernement turc d'adopter une amnistie incluant tous les militants du PKK.

"Une amnistie générale qui comprendrait tout le monde est nécessaire pour une paix sociale", a-t-il déclaré.

Ocalan a été condamné à mort en juin 1999 pour trahison et séparatisme pour avoir pris la tête pendant 15 ans de la lutte armée du PKK pour la création d'un Etat kurde indépendant. En janvier, Ankara a suspendu le processus d'exécution sur demande de la Cour européenne des droits de l'Homme, qui a réclamé un sursis pour pouvoir statuer sur le fond.

"Je suis convaincu que la démocratisation vaincra", a ajouté Ocalan.

A la demande de son chef, le PKK a annoncé en septembre 1999 l'abandon de la lutte armée et son retrait de Turquie. Depuis, le sud-est anatolien, qui était le théâtre de la rébellion kurde, vit une atmosphère de détente et les affrontements y ont quasiment cessé.

Un porte-parole de l'état-major turc a récemment indiqué que quelque 500 rebelles kurdes étaient toujours présents en petits groupes dans les montagnes turques et 5.000 autres dans les pays voisins de la Turquie.

# Ayatollah Kills Effort To Remove Press Curbs

## Supreme Leader Backs Conservatives, Angering Parliament Reformers

By Geneive Abdo

Special to the International Herald Tribune

TEHRAN—Blocking a major reform by the new Parliament and infuriating some members, Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Sayed Ali Khamenei, on Sunday killed a bill that would have revived banned progressive newspapers.

Angry moderates and members of the conservative minority — supporters of the supreme leader — then began scuffling on the floor of the Parliament for several minutes before order was restored.

Bypassing Parliament, elected in February, Ayatollah Khamenei used his extra-legislative powers to intervene. He issued a letter that was read aloud to the 290 Parliament members.

"If the enemies infiltrate the press, this will be a big danger to the country's security and the people's religious beliefs. I do not deem it right to keep silent," the ayatollah's letter said. "The bill is not legitimate and not in the interest of the system and the revolution."

The microphones carrying the comments of protesting deputies were apparently switched off, although live coverage of the session on state radio and television continued.

Deputies had scheduled a debate and votes on amendments to a press law that was passed in the last days of the outgoing, conservative legislature. Passage was virtually assured.

But the last-minute intervention of Ayatollah Khamenei, who has final say in key matters of state, forced an indefinite suspension of the matter amid shouted protests and scuffles on the floor of the chamber.

Some Parliament members voiced outrage and threatened to resign. Others said they planned to write to Ayatollah Khamenei in protest. Analysts said they believed that the ayatollah had taken the action in order to kill efforts to revive a free press, which conservatives consider a major threat.

It was the press that had become the voice and power behind the reform movement. Ayatollah Khamenei, in a major speech in April, said that some newspapers had become "bases of the enemy."

For this reason, conservatives in the judiciary closed several publications, beginning in April, and imprisoned at least half a dozen newspaper editors and prominent commentators. Some received up to five years in prison; others were released on bail but banned from future press activity.

Under the proposed legislation, publishers, not individual journalists, would be responsible for the material published.

Moderate Parliament members knew that the extent of their power remained uncertain.

Even if they had rallied a majority to approve the bill, the legislation could still be vetoed by the Guardian Council, a body of conservative clerics and jurists who are charged with deciding if legislation conforms with Islamic law. The council often uses this power as a cover to veto legislation it disagrees with for political reasons.

Mohammed Reza Khatami, deputy speaker of Parliament and the head of the Islamic Iran Participation Front, the moderates' largest faction, which functions like a political party, last week acknowledged the movement's limitations.

Mr. Khatami, the brother of President Mohammed Khatami, said the new members of Parliament should lower their expectations for change.

President Khatami, in a speech on July 29 in which he announced he would run for re-election next May, warned of dictatorial tendencies.

"The reform we propose is against dictatorship," he said, noting that Iranians had shown their approval for reform in the course of the elections. "As long as this is the people's vote, this will form the basis" of government actions, he said.

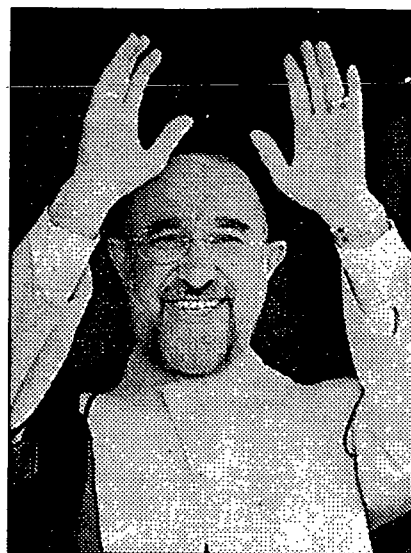
But Iran's constitution does not grant supreme rights to the people. The Parliament speaker, Mehdi Karroubi, a senior cleric approved by Ayatollah Khamenei to lead Parliament against the wishes of moderates, reminded members of the limitations of democratic rule.

"Our constitution has the elements of the absolute rule of the supreme clerical leader, and you all know this and approve of this," he said. "We are all duty-bound to abide by it," he warned Parliament.

Trying to counter the gains moderates have made through the ballot box in city council and parliamentary elections, conservatives have asserted their power in the judiciary and law enforcement — the institutions they dominate.

The judiciary, in fact, has become the major battleground. Mahmoud Hashemi-Shahrudi, the judiciary chief appointed last year, vowed to bring about vast reforms whereby judges would be compelled to issue verdicts based on legal, not political, considerations. But since last year, he has waffled on his commitment, and many major court rulings have suggested that politics still rules the bench.

Informed sources said dissension had



Vahid Salemi/The Associated Press

President Khatami responding to applause on a tour of western Iran.

emerged within the ranks of the judiciary and that some judges recently had sent a letter to the judiciary chief demanding that he force conservative colleagues to comply with the law.

Many moderates now say publicly that it will take many years to achieve political pluralism, which can come only from profound institutional change.

Since President Khatami was elected in a landslide in May 1997, there was widespread optimism that reform would happen fast. But those hopes now have been dashed.

### ■ Director of Weekly Sentenced

Tehran's press court sentenced the director of a pro-reform weekly to a two-month prison term and a one-year ban on any further press activities, reports said Sunday, Agence France-Presse reported from Tehran.

Ahmad Hakimipour of the Omide-Zejan paper was found guilty of "publishing comments offensive to the head of Iran's elite Revolutionary Guards and the corps itself," the Bahar newspaper reported.

He has 20 days to appeal the verdict. Omide-Zejan is among the few pro-reform publications left since the conservative courts began a crackdown on the press following moderates' victories in February elections.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,

MONDAY, AUGUST 7, 2000



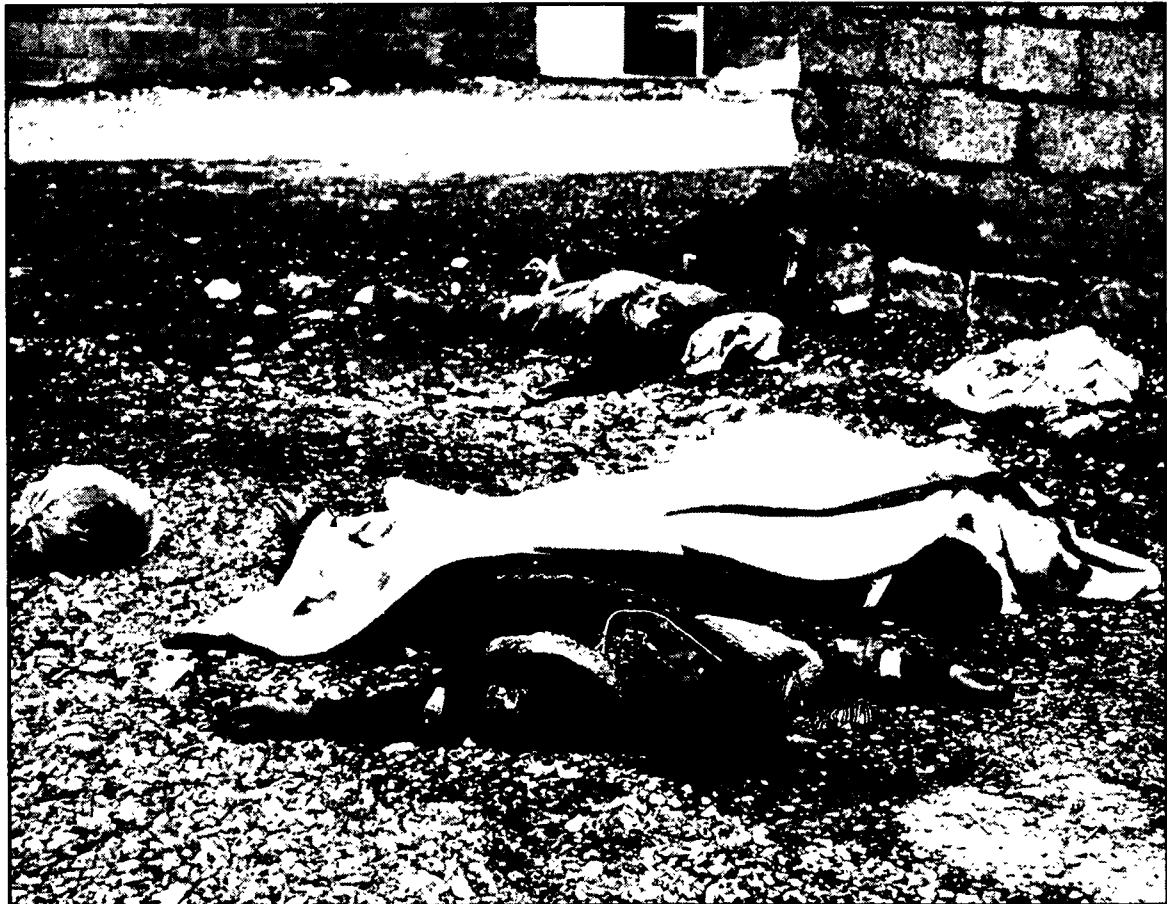
THE MONDAY REVIEW  
The Independent 7 August 2000

# It is as important as ever to keep Saddam Hussein in his cage



PETER  
HAIN

*'Our pilots do not fly  
over Iraq for the hell of it,  
but to stop Saddam from  
attacking his own people'*



Victims of an Iraqi gas attack litter the streets of the Kurdish village of Halabja in 1988 Rex Features

IT IS 10 years since Saddam Hussein sent his forces into Kuwait - 10 years of confrontation, 10 years of sanctions, 10 years of commitment by Britain and our allies to contain the threat posed by this aggressive and thoroughly unpleasant regime.

Not surprisingly, the anniversary of the invasion has provoked the question - has that 10 year commitment been worth it? The answer, without the slightest shadow of a doubt, is yes.

It is too easy for critics of our policy to point to the suffering of the Iraqi people and blame the sanctions imposed by the United Nations. It is too easy for those critics to question the continued action by British and Allied planes over the no-fly zone and accuse us of carrying out a bombing campaign against Iraq.

It is too easy for critics to conclude that we have achieved nothing. I would reject the criticism.

Ten years is a long time - long

enough for critics to forget the victims of Saddam who need the protection of British airmen.

Our pilots do not fly day after day over Iraqi territory for the hell of it. They do not take action for the sake of it. They are there to stop Saddam Hussein using his aircraft against the Kurds and the Shia - his own people, whom he has attacked in the past.

Ten years is long enough for critics to forget the oppression of the Kurds and the Shia, which led us to establish those no-fly zones.

It is very easy to forget that for most of the last decade we patrolled the no-fly zones peacefully. But, once Saddam launched a systematic campaign to shoot down our aircraft, we had to respond. There have been about 850 direct threats against our aircrew in the past year and a half, including missile attacks and heavy anti-aircraft fire.

Our pilots take action only to defend

themselves against this kind of attack.

I make no apology for defending our airmen against critics who ignore the reason why they defend themselves while working to defend innocent civilians on the ground below.

When I appeared on *Newsnight* the other evening, Jeremy Vine repeatedly accused Britain of conducting a bombing campaign against Iraq. The truth is that the last time UK aircraft dropped bombs in the no-fly zones was on 29 June, despite having been targeted and shot at since then.

Does anyone think that those British planes should allow themselves to be shot out of the sky? They are not taking part in an indiscriminate bombing campaign. The selection of targets is painstaking. Only military sites clearly connected with a threat to our aircraft are targeted, and even then only when we are wholly satisfied that the risks to civilians are minimal.

It makes me impatient on behalf of



our pilots when critics take Iraqi claims of civilian casualties at face value. They should be treated with the utmost caution – the same caution that our pilots use.

Iraq deliberately locates air defence batteries next to civilian areas. It claims military casualties as civilian victims. It has been known to claim civilian deaths on days when we have not dropped any bombs and even on days when we have not been flying.

Britain has no wish to prolong the confrontation in the no-fly zones and I am certain our pilots have no wish to stay there, thousands of miles from their families, any longer than is necessary. If Iraq stopped shooting at our aircraft, there would be no further bombing. It is as simple as that.

It makes me impatient, too, when critics glibly blame the humanitarian suffering in Iraq on the UN sanctions, instead of putting the blame where it belongs – on Saddam Hussein. The sanctions are deliberately designed to allow Iraq to import food and medicine necessary for humanitarian needs.

Britain worked hard in the Security Council to secure the adoption of Resolution 1284 last year, which removes the ceiling on the amount of oil Iraq is allowed to export.

Iraq is now back among the top five

oil exporters and the amount that will be available this year for humanitarian and food purposes is likely to be around \$12bn (£8.2bn). There is no reason why anyone outside the Iraqi regime should be blamed for the condition of the Iraqi people.

As the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said recently, the government of Iraq is in a position to improve the health of the Iraqi people.

But it suits Saddam to let his people suffer, and to use that suffering to exploit credulous critics of our policy. It is not the fault of sanctions that half of the anti-cancer drugs delivered to Iraq remain undistributed. It is the result of Saddam's policy. It is a scandal that Iraqi doctors cannot get the drugs they need, despite all the efforts we have made to make those drugs available within the sanctions policy.

It is a scandal that the Iraqi government sets the current daily food ration at a paltry 1991 calories, while exporting food to other countries.

And it is a scandal that the regime uses revenue from illegal oil sales not to buy the food and medicine, which it claims it cannot afford, but to buy 10,000 bottles of whisky and 50 million cigarettes each month.

Saddam Hussein is playing politics with suffering. In northern Iraq, where

Saddam's writ has not run, the same sanctions apply, but the situation is much better – health indicators have actually been improving. Infant mortality rates are now lower than before the sanctions were imposed.

If Saddam Hussein were to allow a new disarmament body into Iraq, he could quickly move towards suspension of sanctions if he cooperated with the weapons inspectors.

Credulous critics have no answer to the question – how else do you propose that the international community prevents Saddam building up the weapons of mass murder? How do they propose to stop him using these weapons again on his own people – the Kurds, the Shias – or his neighbours?

Saddam has ruled by intimidation and fear, ruthlessly repressing all opposition. He gassed thousands of his own Kurdish population to death. He started a war with Iran, which cost more than a million lives. Ten years after the Gulf war, Security Council Resolution 1284 is on the table and offers a path out of sanctions. It is up to Saddam Hussein to take that path.

*The writer is minister of state at the Foreign Office*

## Scott Ritter, ex-membre de l'Unscop, est devenu l'avocat de l'Irak

ON A VU des responsables de l'ONU démissionner à cause de l'Irak : Dennis Halliday et Hans von Spöcken, qui avaient en charge le programme humanitaire des Nations unies dans ce pays, ont rendu leur tablier, le premier en septembre 1998 et le second en février 2000, suivi, quarante-huit heures plus tard, par Jutta Burghardt, la représentante du Programme alimentaire mondial. Tous trois entendaient dénoncer les effets catastrophiques sur les populations irakiennes de l'embargo imposé à l'Irak, les insuffisances de la formule dite « pétrole contre nourriture » et la bonne conscience des gouvernements occidentaux. Scott Ritter, lui, veut aller plus loin. Il veut réhabiliter l'image de l'Irak en dénonçant la fallacie, selon lui, des informations américaines à son sujet.

Scott Ritter est cet expert américain du désarmement, ancienne bête noire de l'Irak, qu'il accusait de mentir et de cacher des armes de destruction massive, l'homme

qui, en août 1998, a démissionné de l'Unscop, la commission de l'ONU chargée de désarmer Bagdad, pour protester contre l'attitude, trop conciliante à ses yeux, du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU vis-à-vis de ce dernier...

### RÈGLEMENT DE COMPTES

Comment ce même Scott Ritter entend-il informer ses compatriotes « de manière objective » sur ce qui se passe en Irak ? En réalisant un documentaire qui montre que l'Irak « n'est pas la menace » dont parle Washington et qu'il a « qualitativement » satisfait les exigences de l'ONU en matière de désarmement. Pour mener à bien son projet, Scott Ritter a emprunté de l'argent à un Américain d'origine irakienne et vient d'effectuer un séjour de six jours en Irak qu'il a conclu, jeudi 3 août, par une conférence de presse.

Lui, dont les Irakiens avaient demandé le renvoi à cause de la brutalité de ses méthodes, que la presse de Bagdad traitait d'espion

et dont de nombreux diplomates occidentaux dénonçaient l'arrogance et le comportement intolérable vis-à-vis des Irakiens, a rencontré de nombreux responsables et a été longuement reçu, mardi, par le vice-premier ministre Tarek Aziz. Il n'a pas filmé de sites supposés militaires, afin que, a-t-il expliqué, Bagdad et Washington n'exploitent pas les images à des fins antinomiques : le premier pour affirmer qu'il est en règle et le second pour accuser l'Irak d'avoir nettoyé les sites en prévision du tournage.

Nombreux sont les experts et les gouvernements qui estiment que l'Irak a été très largement désarmé, qu'il n'est plus un danger pour ses voisins et que les zones d'ombre qui subsistent sont inévitables et devraient pouvoir être neutralisées par une vigilance continue. Mais Scott Ritter n'est pas le mieux placé pour plaider. Il n'a plus mis les pieds en Irak depuis août 1998 et c'est lui qui, dans un entretien publié en septembre de la même année par le quotidien israélien *Ha-*

*aretz*, mettait en garde contre les tricheries irakiennes.

L'Irak, disait-il, vit sous un « régime de contrôle et de terreur », le président Saddam Hussein a enjoint à ses subordonnés de mentir aux inspecteurs du désarmement, les circuits de dissimulation sont tels que l'Unscop a dû avoir recours à l'expertise israélienne pour décoder les systèmes de communication militaires irakiens... Aujourd'hui, Scott Ritter n'a vraisemblablement pas fini de régler ses comptes avec Washington. C'était déjà en partie pour cela qu'il s'était confié au *Haaretz*, critiquant très sévèrement l'administration américaine, qui ne l'a pas laissé aller aussi loin qu'il l'aurait souhaité dans les inspections sur le terrain et dans la coopération avec les services secrets israéliens. Il faisait alors l'objet d'une enquête de la CIA et du FBI, qui le soupçonnaient d'être un agent israélien. Il s'en est toujours défendu.

*Mouna Naim*

# Leading Iran Journalist Arrested in Crackdown

## Move Follows Killing of Press Reform Bill

By Geneive Abdo  
*International Herald Tribune*

TEHRAN — Iran's hard-line Press Court on Monday ordered the arrest of a prominent pro-reform journalist as a crackdown on independent news outlets appeared to gather momentum.

A team of 10 police officers arrived early in the morning at the home of Ahmad Zeidabadi, who was regular contributor to dailies before they were banned and is now on the staff of the moderate newspaper Hamshahri. They arrested Mr. Zeidabadi and seized his personal papers, documents and videotapes, a family member said.

The arrest, the latest in a series in which a number of leading editors and publishers have been jailed, followed intervention on Sunday by Ayatollah Sayed Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader, to quash a plan by the new pro-reform majority of Parliament to ease restrictions on the press.

In a challenge to the deputies, elected in a national poll in February, Ayatollah Khamenei used his constitutional power to intervene in the legislative process, saying the press bill was not in the interests of the nation or the Islamic rev-

olution.

Iran's reform movement reacted with caution to the leader's order, with some deputies calling his action illegal and others searching for a compromise. Had it passed, the press bill would have made prosecution of writers like Mr. Zeidabadi much more difficult.

"The motion did not go through legal channels," said Mohsen Armin, deputy chairman of the parliamentary committee on national security and foreign policy.

The public suppression of the bill was unprecedented, prompting a debate over whether the constitution permits the supreme leader to remove a bill outright from Parliament's agenda. In the past, such decisions were made in secret and the source of the order was never revealed.

President Mohammed Khatami, a former newspaper publisher and the patron of the independent news media, was on a visit to Iran's Kurdish areas and has not commented publicly on the press controversy.

Some deputies said they planned to request a meeting with Ayatollah Khamenei in the hope of reaching a compromise whereby the bill could be

rewritten and resubmitted for consideration.

The proposed bill was intended to make it difficult for conservatives in the judiciary to imprison journalists who may write articles unpopular with the establishment. One provision in the bill, for example, would have required that publishers, rather than individual journalists, be charged with press crimes.

The new press bill was a key campaign promise in the February election among reformers, who also promised to

eliminate the intrusion of law enforcement from citizens' private lives. Shortly after the national elections, in which reformist candidates captured a majority of seats in the new 290-member assembly, conservatives in the judiciary began closing 20 pro-reform newspapers and journals and imprisoned at least half a dozen journalists. Some journalists have been released on bail, but others were given stiff prison terms.

The judiciary closed the publications after Ayatollah Khamenei declared in a national speech that some pro-reform publications were "bases of the enemies."

The press had been a powerful political weapon for the reform movement, which was able to propagate its ideas to gain the support of public opinion.

Ayatollah Khamenei repeated his sentiment concerning the press Sunday in a letter to Parliament that ordered that the legislation be quashed. He said greater press freedom could destabilize the Islamic system.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, AUGUST 8, 2000



Hasan Sarbakhshian/The Associated Press

A sit-in was held Monday in Tehran at Parliament to support Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei.

## La Turquie va signer deux conventions de l'ONU intéressant les Kurdes

ANKARA, 10 août (AFP) - 16h44 - La Turquie va signer la semaine prochaine deux conventions des Nations Unies sur les droits de l'Homme intéressant notamment les Kurdes, a indiqué jeudi à l'AFP un diplomate turc.

Ces documents obligent les pays signataires à reconnaître à leurs citoyens le droit de "déterminer librement leur statut politique et de poursuivre librement leur développement économique, social et culturel".

"Notre représentant permanent à l'ONU va signer la convention sur les droits civils et politiques, et celle sur les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels", a précisé ce diplomate, sous couvert de l'anonymat.

La raison principale de la réticence d'Ankara à signer ces documents était "la situation dans le sud-est", où le parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) a mené pendant quinze ans une guérilla armée pour obtenir une autonomie kurde, a précisé le diplomate.

"Mais nous avons maintenant atteint un stade qui nous permet de les signer", a-t-il ajouté.

Les combats dans la région ont pratiquement cessé depuis septembre dernier, lorsque les rebelles ont décidé d'arrêter la lutte armée pour poursuivre leur but par des moyens pacifiques, à l'appel de leur chef Abdullah Ocalan, condamné à mort et emprisonné en Turquie.

"Mais signer les conventions ne veut pas dire que nous les adoptons entièrement", a ajouté le diplomate. "Elles seront soumises au parlement pour ratification et le résultat des discussions pourrait être l'expression de réserves sur certains articles".

Depuis qu'elle a été déclarée candidate à l'Union européenne en décembre dernier, la Turquie est sous pression pour améliorer son bilan négatif en matière de respect des droits de l'Homme, en particulier les droits de sa population kurde.

Le gouvernement refuse jusqu'ici d'accorder aux Kurdes des droits culturels spécifiques, comme un enseignement ou une télévision dans leur langue.

## Venezuelan Visits Iraq, Angering Washington

### Chavez, Defiant, Tells OPEC to Show its Power

By Brian Knowlton  
International Herald Tribune

President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela traveled to Iraq on Thursday, becoming the first head of state to visit the country since the 1991 Gulf War.

The visit, and Mr. Chavez's planned talks with President Saddam Hussein, drew sharp protests in Washington. A State Department official said Thursday that Iraq was using the trip "as a propaganda tool."

The U.S. State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher, had earlier called it "particularly galling" that the first state visit to Iraq since the Gulf War was being made by a democratically elected leader.

But Iraq welcomed the visit as a step back from the international isolation it has suffered since its troops invaded Kuwait in 1990.

Mr. Chavez, who went to Iraq in his current tour of OPEC countries, brushed off the U.S. criticism. "We have our dignity," he said. "Venezuela is a sovereign country that can take the decisions it sees fit."

Earlier, after meeting with President

Mohammed Khatami of Iran, Mr. Chavez made a defiant call for greater OPEC unity and influence.

"The time has come for OPEC to show its power," he said, according to an Iranian state radio report monitored by Agence France-Presse.

"The only way to counter international pressure is for OPEC to strengthen its political will."

Venezuela holds the rotating presidency of OPEC, and Mr. Chavez was half-way through a tour of the 10 fellow member-states of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

With OPEC under pressure from industrialized countries to increase production and lower prices, Mr. Chavez has been seeking greater cartel unity in defense of oil prices. Venezuela will host

an OPEC summit meeting beginning Sept. 27 in Caracas, the first time cartel leaders will have convened since 1975.

Because of United Nations sanctions banning international flights to and from Iraq, Mr. Chavez first flew to Tehran, then to the border town of Kermanshah, then took a helicopter to the Mothuriyah area before boarding a black Iranian

government limousine to cross the border. Because his circuitous travel did not violate any UN sanctions.

Accompanied by Venezuela's top oil and energy officials, Mr. Chavez flew Thursday in Mr. Saddam's presidential helicopter to Baghdad, where OPEC was founded in 1960, for his planned meeting with Mr. Saddam.

The Iraqi president had been expected to meet him at a Baghdad airport but, for explained reasons, was not there.

The official Iraqi press praised Mr. Chavez for defying the U.S. will. "We salute him for his principled moral stand" in the face of "silly American criticism," said an editorial in the newspaper Thawra.

Mr. Chavez's trip has helped ease past frictions with Iraq caused by the flouting of OPEC production quotas by Venezuela, the only Latin American member of the cartel and a major oil supplier to the United States.

Iraqi Oil Ministry officials now say they can work with Venezuela to lobby against production increases, in defiance of Saudi Arabia. The world's leading oil producer, Saudi Arabia said last month that it would increase its oil production by up to 500,000 barrels per day.

Iraq, not a part of the cartel's quota system, now exports about 2.5 million-barrels a day of crude oil under the oil-for-food program established by the United Nations to help relieve Iraqi suffering after years of economic sanctions.

Mr. Chavez has angered the United States in the past by seeking improved relations with countries such as Cuba and China.

## LU DANS LA PRESSE TURQUE : LE TRAITÉ DE LAUSANNE PRÉVOIT LA LIBRE EXPRESSION DE L'IDENTITÉ KURDE

*Voici de larges extraits de l'article de Sûkrû Elekdag, ancien ambassadeur turc à Washington, paru le 31 juillet dans le quotidien turc Milliyet, consacré aux obligations turques découlant du traité de Lausanne, signé en 1923, qui consacre la légitimité de la Turquie en droit international :*

"Je l'avais déjà écrit une fois dans mes colonnes", sous le titre de "Brisons les tabous" (Milliyet 10-09-1999) : Selon le traité de Lausanne, tout citoyen turc est libre d'utiliser la langue qu'il souhaite, par exemple le kurde, dans le cadre des émissions de radio ou de télévision ou bien pour des publications écrites. C'était la première fois que cette disposition du traité de Lausanne avait été portée à l'attention du public. Et pourtant, nos médias n'y ont pas donné beaucoup d'échos à l'époque. Cela étant, lors de la visite à Ankara, de Gunther Verheugen, commissaire européen chargé de l'élargissement, la question des publications et des émissions en kurde a été à l'ordre du jour l'année d'après. Et la situation a soudainement changé. De nombreux journalistes ont soutenu que nos citoyens de langue kurde pouvaient bénéficier de ces droits et ont cité des dispositions du traité de Lausanne.

Cependant, certains de nos amis académiciens, nous ont prévenu que notre "interprétation" du traité était erronée. De plus, il nous a été signalé que tel était le point de vue officiel. C'est pourquoi nous considérons qu'il serait intéressant de soulever à nouveau le sujet.

Les paragraphes 4 et 5 de l'article 39 du traité de Lausanne disposent : "Aucune restriction ne devrait être imposée dans la libre utilisation par un national turc de la langue de son choix dans les rapports privés, dans le commerce, la religion, dans la presse, ou dans les publications de quelque sorte que ce soit ou encore dans les réunions publiques.

Bien que l'Etat dispose d'une langue officielle, des facilités adéquates devraient être mises à la disposition des nationaux turcs parlant une langue autre que le turc pour l'utilisation orale de leur langue devant les tribunaux".

Comme on peut le voir, le paragraphe 4 est clair et sans équivoque, ne nécessitant aucune interprétation. Il est vrai qu'il n'y avait aucune référence dans le paragraphe aux média radiophoniques et télévisuels, puisque à l'époque la radio était limitée et la télévision inexistante. Cela étant, le paragraphe devrait être interprété selon notre époque. Ainsi, cela veut dire que tout national turc est libre d'émettre à la radio ou à la télévision dans la langue qu'il souhaite.

Penchons-nous à présent sur les justifications de nos amis académiciens :

Comme nous le savons, la section III du traité de Lausanne, sous le titre de "Protection des minorités", n'accorde le statut de minorité qu'aux citoyens non musulmans. En d'autres termes, la "norme religieuse" (Musulman / non- Musulman) est pris comme le fondement du concept de minorité, et non la race ou bien la langue.

Dans la section III, les articles 38-44 comprennent des dispositions relatives à la "protection des minorités". Et c'est l'article 39, paragraphe 4, qui procure "à tout national turc" certains droits, comme cela est cité ci-dessus.

Nos amis académiciens mettent l'accent sur ce point et soutiennent que le fait de placer cette disposition, aménagée pour garantir certains droits aux citoyens turcs, dans cette section du traité, crée un conflit du point de vue des mécaniques générales du traité de Lausanne. Ils soutiennent également que comme le traité ne reconnaît que

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les non-musulmans comme des minorités, on ne pourrait aboutir à la conclusion que certains droits (la liberté d'émission et de publication dans la langue parlée) sont accordés à certains groupes qui ne jouissent pas du statut de minorité.

Nous insistons sur le fait que ce point de vue n'a aucun fondement, en fait la règle générale de l'interprétation des traités est que "le traité doit être interprété en bonne foi conformément au sens ordinaire des termes du traité dans leur contexte et à la lumière de son objet et de son but" (La Convention de Vienne sur les traités, article 31).

Partant de ce principe, lorsqu'on donne leur sens ordinaire aux termes de l'article 39, paragraphe 4, le sens des dispositions demeure pleinement clair et, par conséquent, ces termes n'ont nul besoin de plus d'interprétation. En fait, les procès-verbaux du traité de Lausanne corroborent ce point de vue.

La question des minorités a été vivement débattue au cours des négociations de Lausanne. En prenant en considération l'article 5 du Pacte national d'Ankara, qui promet que les droits accordés aux minorités par des traités européens devront être donnés mot à mot aux minorités en Turquie, les Alliés ont longuement essayé d'obtenir de la délégation turque la reconnaissance des minorités sur la base de la race et de la langue.

En fait, il a été décidé au cours de la Première Commission en présence d'Ismet İnönü que les minorités en Turquie devraient avoir les garanties comparables à celles existant dans les traités européens (Première Commission, N° de minute : 14, le 31 décembre 1922).

Cette décision a été inversée lors de la Sous-commission des Minorités où Dr. Rıza Nur représentait la Turquie. Notre représentant a refusé jusqu'au bout le principe de protection des minorités fondé sur la race ou la langue.

Comme on le verra, le traité de Lausanne n'a pas conduit au séparatisme en ne garantissant pas aux Kurdes le statut de minorité. Tout au contraire, il leur a accordé, sur le fondement d'une loi et des droits individuels, le droit d'utiliser leur propre langue dans les publications et des émissions de radio et de télévision, et, dans ce contexte, d'adopter leur propre identité.

Je pense que cela sera énormément bénéfique si M. Mesut Yılmaz et M. İsmail Cem expliquaient les considérations ci-dessus au peuple turc.

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## Turkey to sign two UN conventions

- Ambassador Volkan Vural will sign two UN conventions to strengthen Turkey's position vis-a-vis human rights criticism

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

Turkey is expected to sign onto two important U.N. conventions in the week to come, two pacts which Ankara had previously refused to sign. Diplomatic sources say that the Political and Civil Rights Convention and the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Convention will be signed by Ambassador Volkan Vural, Turkey's permanent representative to the United Nations.

The two conventions, which are basic pillars of the post-World War II international order, have been available for signature since 1966. Sources say the government mandated that Vural sign the documents with its authority decision number 2000-384 at its meeting of March 9 of this year. Under the Cabinet decision, Vural is expected to sign the two conventions before August 16 when his tenure in New York is due to end. Signing the documents will be Vural's last important act at his U.N. post, after which he will return to Turkey to assume the post of secretary-general for European Union coordination.

Diplomatic sources say the decision on the two pacts was supported by the Foreign Ministry. Stressing that Turkey was already far ahead of the two conventions in terms of compliance, the ministry stated that it would be in Turkey's advantage to sign onto them.

TURQUIE

# Visitez la Turquie, ses plages, ses minarets, ses tortionnaires

Avant son retour à Londres, le correspondant du quotidien *The Independent* dresse un tableau sévère de la politique d'Ankara à l'égard de la population kurde.

THE INDEPENDENT

Londres

**A**llez donc visiter la Turquie", m'avait-on dit. Trois ans se sont écoulés. Depuis, il s'est passé bien des choses dans ce pays. Jugez-en vous-même. Deux séismes dévastateurs. Bilan : 18 000 victimes. La capture spectaculaire et le procès du chef des rebelles kurdes, Abdullah Öcalan, unique détenu d'une prison insulaire. La fin de la guerre froide entre la Turquie et la Grèce. La candidature de la Turquie jugée enfin recevable par l'Union européenne.

"La Turquie ? Vous en avez de la chance !" Ces paroles m'avaient été dites peu avant mon départ là-bas comme correspondant de presse. Or c'est maintenant, alors que je suis de nouveau sur le départ, dans l'autre sens, que je repense à ces gens qui m'enviaient à l'idée d'aller vivre en Turquie. Leur image de ce pays ? Les plages de sable fin, une mer bleu azur, les minarets pittoresques, les souks grouillant de monde, l'arche d'un temple dédié à un dieu inconnu sur les rives de la mer Egée. Je ne veux pas contester cette image idyllique ; simplement, elle n'est pas complète. Tenez, en ce moment, c'est au Sud-Est - terme d'autocensure pour désigner le Kurdistan - que je repense.

Mon image de la Turquie, c'est par exemple ma visite de Siirt, ville maudite de ce Sud-Est, où les populations élèvent du bétail en pleine rue, après que leur village eut été incendié par les forces de sécurité turques. Un policier en civil m'ayant repéré en ce lieu - moi qui suis un journaliste exerçant son activité dans un pays officiellement candidat à l'entrée dans l'UE -, il me fit escorter par deux voitures de police. Résultat : ce déploiement de force rendit toute interview de la population impossible. A la sortie de la ville, mon chauffeur et moi fûmes arrêtés par un barrage routier et retenus une heure pour vérification d'identité. L'interrogatoire fut correct à mon égard, mais musclé dans le cas de mon chauffeur kurde.

## "JE QUITTE LA TURQUIE AVEC DES SENTIMENTS MITIGÉS"

Autre souvenir : les propos tenus par le Premier ministre turc, Bülent Ecevit, après la capture d'Öcalan : "La Turquie n'a pas de tradition raciste." Ce jour-là, à la sortie de Siirt, les soldats ordonnèrent à mon chauffeur de retourner à la voiture et m'interrogèrent sur ce qu'il avait bien pu me dire à propos de "notre pays". "Mais, rien, voyons", leur répondis-je, "il se contente de conduire la voiture." Alors, imaginez ce qu'ils lui auraient fait s'il avait eu le malheur de critiquer le régime et si je l'avais dénoncé ? "Que pensez-vous de cette province de notre pays ?" me demanda le responsable local. Je parcourus des yeux les montagnes sauvages battues par le vent et lui répondis que je trouvais la région pleine de charme malgré sa pauvreté. "Les gens d'ici" - traduisez les Kurdes - "sont pauvres parce qu'ils le veulent bien", me rétorqua-t-il.

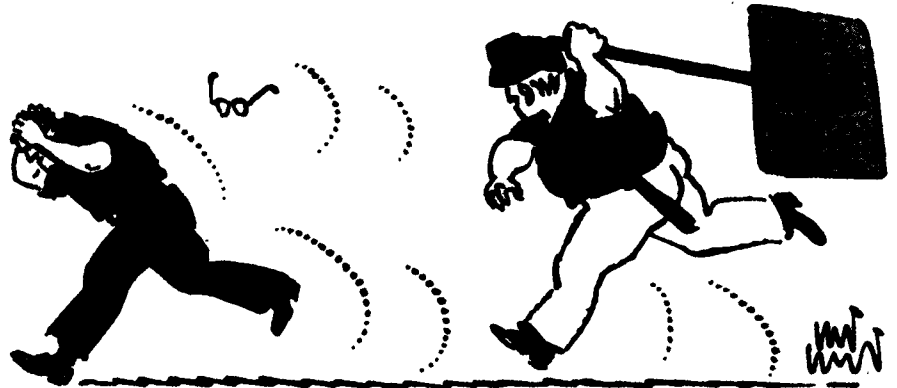
Encore un autre souvenir ? Ma première visite à Diyarbakir, la plus grande ville kurde sur le territoire turc. Un ami qui étudiait en Turquie voulait m'accompagner, mais son professeur le menaça de l'exclure du cours s'il se rendait dans une zone aussi "dangereuse". Ainsi, bien que Diyarbakir ait cessé d'être considérée comme une zone à risques, les Turcs bien-pensants étaient encore horrifiés à l'idée de s'y rendre. Mais alors, qu'en

était-il pour les Kurdes nés là-bas ?

Quand ils me demandent : "Que connaissez-vous de la Turquie ?" les Turcs changent littéralement d'expression si je leur cite non pas les complexes touristiques, mais les villes kurdes en proie à la violence. A ma première visite à Diyarbakir, j'avais encore la naïveté de croire que les autorités turques m'aideraient dans mes recherches. Ainsi, je me rendis à la police pour enquêter sur une série de meurtres non élucidés. On me dirigea vers le service de presse du gouvernement, où un responsable m'expliqua courtoisement que si mes recherches continuaient à Diyarbakir, "la police finirait par m'arrêter sans qu'on puisse intervenir".

C'est en Turquie que je fis la connaissance pour la première fois de victimes de tortures. L'un d'entre eux, un Kurde, me raconta les conditions de son arrestation alors qu'il se rendait d'Istanbul au Kurdistan pour voir ses parents. Il fut battu, aspergé successivement d'eau bouillante puis d'eau froide, et soumis à des décharges électriques sur les organes génitaux.

Voilà pourquoi je quitte la Turquie avec des sentiments mitigés. D'un côté, je vais regretter Istanbul et les Turcs en général. De l'autre, quand on me demande pourquoi je n'aime pas ce pays, je réponds que c'est un tout. Car, derrière le visage rassurant de la Turquie occidentalisée, se cache le visage masqué du tortionnaire et de ses victimes kurdes. **Justin Huggler**



▲ Sur la pancarte : Droits de l'homme. Dessin de Tan Oral paru dans Cumhuriyet, Istanbul.

DU 17 AU 23 AOÛT 2000

COURRIER INTERNATIONAL N° 511

Les dernières  
images de

# La cité engloutie

Au sud-est de la Turquie, la ville antique de Zeugma est en train de sombrer dans les eaux de l'Euphrate. Connu de longue date, le projet du barrage de Birecik n'a ému l'opinion internationale que les dernières semaines avant l'inéluctable catastrophe. Une part importante du patrimoine de l'humanité vient de disparaître. En exclusivité, ses derniers instants.

Par Léopold Sanchez

Photos : Stéphane Compoint/Corbis Sygma

Vue nocturne de la villa romaine. Ses mosaïques, déposées au fur et à mesure de leurs découvertes, ont été replacées dans leur cadre architectural par ordinateur, en respectant emplacement et orientation. En arrière-plan, le barrage de Birecik.



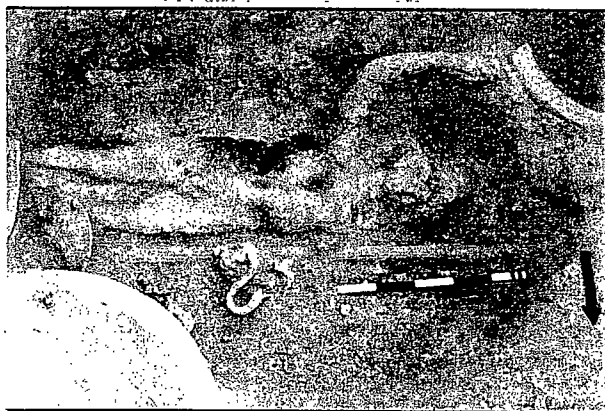


## Zeugma-le-Pont, une ville de garnison sur l'Euphrate

**F**ondée par les Grecs, vers 300 av. J.-C., sur les débris du royaume séleucide laissé par Alexandre le Grand, Séleucie-Zeugma fut, pendant plus de deux siècles, la frontière entre le monde hellénistique et l'empire des Parthes. A cet endroit, la vallée de l'Euphrate était particulièrement fertile. Mais, plus important encore, ce lieu abritait l'un des rares ponts enjambant l'Euphrate, comme l'attestent des historiens de l'Antiquité comme Polybe, Strabon, Pline l'Ancien ou Cicéron... Zeugma ne veut-il pas dire « pont » en grec ?

— A l'époque séleucide, un pont de bateaux liés par de puissants câbles assurait de manière quasi permanente la traversée du fleuve. Une bonne partie du commerce entre la Chine, la vallée de l'Indus, la Mésopotamie, la Perse et le monde romain transitait donc par Zeugma. On peut supposer que, après les conquêtes de Trajan sur les Parthes, ce pont en bois fut remplacé par un ouvrage d'art, quoique aucun vestige de ce type, pied-droit ou piles de pont, ne vienne corroborer cette hypothèse sur le terrain, explique le professeur Leriche. L'infortuné Crassus fut l'un des nombreux généraux romains qui empruntèrent cette voie pour faire traverser le fleuve à son armée. Forte de cinq mille hommes, la célèbre légion III Scythica, l'une des quelque trente légions de l'empire,

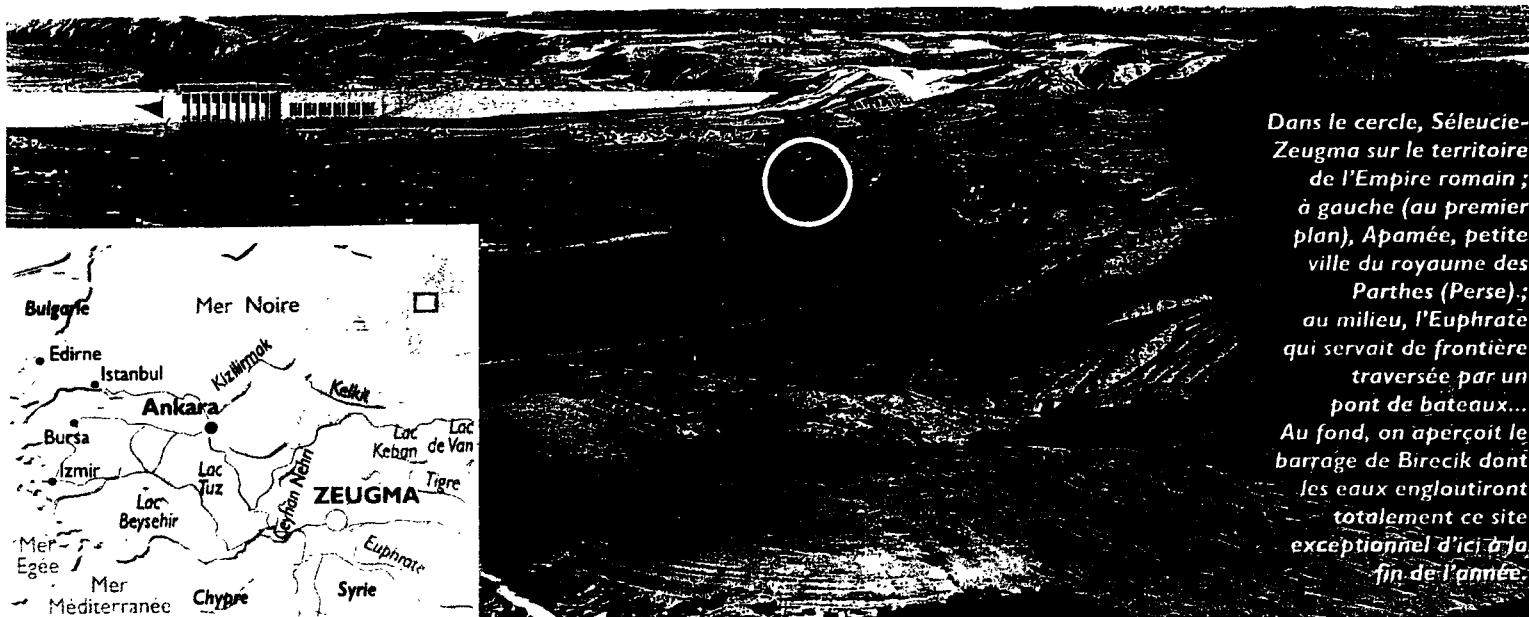
resta cantonnée au cours des deux premiers siècles de notre ère. Les millions de sesterces dépensés chaque année par les soldats ont certainement contribué à enrichir les habitants de la ville. Zeugma se trouvait au cœur d'une zone d'échanges culturels. C'était un lieu stratégique de première importance pour l'économie et la politique romaines en Orient. D'où la présence, attestée par les sceaux et les pièces de monnaie qu'on vient d'y découvrir, d'une population très nombreuse et très cosmopolite. Les descendants des colons grecs y côtoyaient les soldats romains ; les indigènes parlant le syriaque faisaient du commerce avec les Parthes ou les habitants des lointaines contrées, au-delà du Tigre. En 260 après J.-C., les Sassanides (Perses) envahissent la cité et l'incendient. Les habitants de Zeugma quittent leur ville en quelques heures. C'est alors que survient un tremblement de terre qui déclenche un glissement de terrain. Les richesses de la cité antique sont recouvertes par plusieurs mètres de boue. Protégées ainsi du pillage, de l'air et de la lumière, elles sont parvenues intactes jusqu'à nous. On trouve la dernière mention littéraire de ce lieu mythique vers 1048, soit peu de temps avant l'arrivée des croisades francs qui créeront dans la région le comté d'Edesse.



**V**oilà plus de vingt ans qu'on sait qu'un projet de barrage menace d'engloutir le site antique de Zeugma. Rien n'a été entrepris, sinon pour le sauver, du moins pour l'étudier convenablement. Lorsqu'on pense que l'Etat français pave grassement des fonctionnaires en poste dans la région. C'est un scandale !

C'est avec ces mots de colère que Pierre Leriche, directeur de recherche au CNRS et spécialiste de l'archéologie urbaine de l'Orient hellénisé, me reçoit dans son petit bureau, sous les combles de la vénérable Ecole normale. Sa colère fait écho à celle qu'il poussa, six ans auparavant, à la lecture d'un article de son confrère australien David Kennedy dans la revue *Archeologia* (n° 306) alertant l'opinion internationale de l'urgence à sauver l'une des villes les plus importantes de l'Empire romain d'Orient. Connue des archéologues depuis le début du siècle, mais inexplorée faute de moyens, Zeugma est située sur le haut plateau anatolien, au sud-est de la Turquie. Avec une vingtaine d'autres sites antiques, de la plus grande importance pour l'étude de la civilisation gréco-romaine sur le front oriental du bassin méditerranéen, elle est menacée de disparaître avec la mise en eau du barrage de Birecik sur l'Euphrate. Un projet qui s'inscrit dans un vaste programme hydroélectrique national élaboré depuis le milieu des années 80.

Ce cri d'alarme aura eu le double



Dans le cercle, Séleucie-Zeugma sur le territoire de l'Empire romain ; à gauche (au premier plan), Apamée, petite ville du royaume des Parthes (Perse) ; au milieu, l'Euphrate qui servait de frontière traversée par un pont de bateaux... Au fond, on aperçoit le barrage de Bircik dont les eaux engloutiront totalement ce site exceptionnel d'ici à la fin de l'année.

# Vingt sites antiques disparaîtront à jamais

avantage de donner deux années de sursis aux archéologues pour tenter d'arracher quelques trésors des vestiges de la cité et de faire démarrer la mission française, dirigée par Pierre Leriche, qui y travaille depuis cinq ans, de concert avec les équipes australo-américaine et turque de David Kennedy et Mehmet Onal. Par ailleurs, l'archéologue australien aura trouvé un écho aux Etats-Unis, et notamment auprès de l'archéologue américain David Packard, fils du fondateur de la société informatique Hewlett-Packard, qui est aujourd'hui l'un des principaux mécènes du programme de sauvegarde de Zeugma, avec un budget de 50 millions de dollars consacré aux fouilles, à la restauration et à la préservation des pièces et objets découverts sur le site.

— Mais, c'est tout de même dommage, poursuit le professeur Leriche, que notre métier, qui devrait être essentiellement un exercice de patience et de lenteur studieuse, soit devenu une course contre la montre.

En effet, c'est avec un compte à rebours dans la tête qu'une équipe d'une quarantaine de personnes s'est lancée dans une vaste opération de sauvetage. Sans eux, les richesses artistiques de cette ancienne colonie greco-romaine seraient demeurées inconnues. Car le site, dont un bon tiers est déjà inondé depuis quinze jours, doit disparaître progressivement, d'ici à la fin de l'année, sous les 350 mètres d'eau d'un lac artificiel. La ville, comme sa voisine Apamée, que les archéologues ont eu à peine quelques mois pour fouiller, n'étant pas construite en marbre, comme certaines cités romaines, mais en calcaire, elle ne résistera pas longtemps à la pression.

Les archéologues, qui ont exhumé déjà quantité de trésors dans la partie basse, se désespèrent de savoir que d'autres richesses inconnues vont définitivement leur échapper. D'autant plus que le résultat des premières fouilles laisse augurer de ce que l'on aurait pu encore découvrir : une statue en bronze du dieu Mars, 3 753 pièces de monnaie en argent et en bronze, plus de 65 000 sceaux

officiels racontant les archives de la ville... Mais surtout, plus d'un millier de mètres carrés de fresques et de mosaïques qui ornaient les riches villas patriciennes, dans un état de conservation exceptionnel, et dont certaines sont déjà considérées comme des chefs-d'œuvre de l'art antique.

— Si nous avions disposé de quatre mois supplémentaires, nous aurions pu dépasser les grands musées comme Antioche ou Tunis, regrette Mehmet Onal, en faisant référence aux deux plus belles collections de mosaïques antiques au monde.

Détachés des murs et des sols par un procédé scientifique d'encollage, des pans entiers de fresques et de mosaïques, qui révèlent déjà un style propre à Zeugma, attendent sous des bâches plastiques que soit construite la nouvelle aile du musée où l'on prévoit de les exposer après restauration. Les pièces les plus importantes, comme la statue de Mars ou celle d'un satyre en marbre, ont trouvé un abri au Musée archéologique de Gaziantep, à une heure de voiture de là.

## Une Pompéi turque

Avec l'engloutissement de Zeugma, c'est l'un des sites les plus remarquables de l'Antiquité, sur la route reliant le bassin méditerranéen à l'Asie, qui vient d'être rayé de la carte, sinon de la mémoire de l'humanité. Dominée par son acropole (le Belkis Tepe), sur laquelle était construit un temple dédié à Tyché, déesse de la Fortune, la cité était, à cette époque florissante, peuplée de grands édifices publics et de riches maisons privées. A l'image de cette luxueuse villa découverte dans la partie basse, et sur laquelle les archéologues ont concentré leurs recherches avant qu'elle ne soit engloutie par les eaux. On y a retrouvé un ensemble spectaculaire de mosaïques, reproduisant des scènes de la mythologie, telles que les légendes d'Ariane et de Dionysos, d'Achille ou de Pasiphaé, enfouies sous une couche d'argile qui avait conservé in-

tactes les couleurs et la finesse de l'exécution. Particularité qui s'explique par le fait que la ville fut recouverte par une coulée de boue, après un violent tremblement de terre qui en avait chassé les habitants. Nous sommes en présence d'une Pompéi turque ayant traversé deux mille ans pour nous raconter, par le détail, la vie de ses habitants. Ainsi, les aspects domestiques et fonctionnels, tels que les citernes, le réseau des canalisations d'eau en céramique enveloppant des tuyaux en plomb ou les égouts, qui mesurent 2,50 mètres de haut sur 1 mètre de large, ont permis d'estimer la population à une vingtaine de milliers d'habitants. Chiffre considérable pour l'époque, et qui classe Zeugma parmi les dix grandes cités de l'Empire romain.

Devant l'importance de cette découverte, que d'aucuns, le professeur Leriche en tête, qualifient déjà de « plus grande découverte archéologique de ces cinquante dernières années », on est étonné que les autorités internationales s'y soient pris aussi tardivement pour explorer le site. D'autant plus que la menace qui pèse sur lui et qui se double d'un drame écologique et humain — des milliers de paysans ont dû abandonner leurs maisons et leurs terres pour trouver refuge dans les villes voisines ou à Ankara — est prévisible depuis une vingtaine d'années. Ces dernières semaines, les habitants du village de Belkis, tout proche voisin de Zeugma, ont assisté impuissants au spectacle des flots engloutissant leurs maisons. Expropriés dans la panique et le manque d'organisation, ces villageois, pour la plupart des agriculteurs cultivant les pistachiers, attendent encore d'être relogés dans des cabanes de fortune, quand ils ne sont pas déjà partis tenter leur chance dans les grandes métropoles du Nord-Ouest, vers Izmir, Istanbul ou Ankara. ■

LÉOPOLD SANCHEZ

A paraître : les Aventuriers des mondes disparus, de Thierry Piantanida et Nassera Zaid, photographies de Corbis-Sygma, aux éditions du Chêne, 184 p., 298 F.

# La Turquie, principal obstacle à une coopération accrue entre l'Arménie et l'OTAN

Dans un entretien accordé à la presse, Vahram Gabriélian, chef du Département du contrôle des armements et de la sécurité internationale auprès du ministère arménien des affaires étrangères a désigné le refus persistant de la Turquie de normaliser ses relations avec l'Arménie comme un obstacle considérable sur la voie de la coopération entre Erévan et l'OTAN. Le responsable arménien a ajouté que l'Arménie attendait le concours de l'Alliance atlantique pour infléchir les positions qualifiées hostiles d'Ankara à l'encontre de l'Arménie. "L'attitude non constructive et erronée de la Turquie envers l'Arménie et le blocus qu'elle exerce sur notre pays provoquent dans l'opinion publique arménienne une certaine hostilité à l'égard de l'OTAN, ce qui compromet par ailleurs le développement d'un réel partenariat entre l'Arménie et l'Alliance atlantique" a indiqué M. Gabriélian, en ajoutant que "la Turquie, pays voisin de l'Arménie et membre de l'OTAN, est toujours considérée comme une menace pour la sécurité de l'Arménie". La Turquie, qui se flatte d'avoir été parmi les premiers pays à reconnaître l'Arménie après l'effondrement de l'URSS, n'a toujours pas établi de relations diplomatiques avec Erévan et conditionne la normalisation de ses relations avec l'Arménie et la levée du blocus terrestre qu'elle lui impose depuis huit ans à un règlement du conflit du Haut Karabagh qui en passerait par le rétablissement de la souveraineté azérie sur la région peuplée d'Arméniens. Les relations entre la Turquie et l'Arménie se sont par ailleurs compliquées du fait des revendications affichées par la diplomatie arménienne concernant la reconnaissance du génocide des Arméniens en 1915, même si la Turquie, qui se refuse à reconnaître l'existence d'un tel génocide, n'a pas clairement indiqué si cette question intervenait dans l'objectif d'une normalisation de ses relations avec Erévan.

Selon M. Gabriélian, la position de la Turquie concernant le conflit du Haut Karabagh comme d'autres questions régionales va à l'encontre des objectifs de l'OTAN et de ses intérêts dans le sud du Caucase. Le diplomate arménien a fait remarquer à cet égard que l'impartialité affichée par l'OTAN dans le conflit du Karabagh contrastait avec la ligne

ouvertement pro-azérie choisie par la Turquie. Il a donc exprimé l'espoir que la direction de l'Alliance atlantique fera en sorte que la position de l'un de ses membres les plus importants au sud-est de l'Europe se mette en conformité avec sa propre politique. En d'autres termes, l'Arménie compte sur l'influence de la direction de l'OTAN sur la Turquie pour qu'intervienne une normalisation de ses relations avec Ankara, normalisation sans laquelle la Turquie sera toujours perçue comme une menace par l'Arménie, a-t-il ajouté en mettant en avant l'occupation persistante du nord de Chypre par les troupes turques depuis leur invasion de 1974. Il a d'ailleurs désigné cette menace turque comme la cause principale de la présence de troupes russes sur le territoire de l'Arménie, tout en rappelant que l'Arménie ne réservait pas ses relations de partenariat stratégique à la seule Russie et qu'elle était toujours désireuse de développer sa coopération avec l'OTAN, notamment dans le cadre du programme de partenariat pour la paix, un sujet qui devrait être au coeur des entretiens qu'aura à Erévan le secrétaire général de l'OTAN George Robertson lors de sa visite prévue à la fin septembre en Arménie.

M. Gabriélian en veut pour exemple la coopération militaire de l'Arménie avec la Grèce, un autre pays membre de l'OTAN et entretenant des relations difficiles avec la Turquie. La Grèce est après la Russie, le deuxième partenaire de l'Arménie dans le domaine de la défense. Dans le même temps, la coopération entre l'Arménie et les États-Unis s'est développée dans ce secteur, notamment à l'occasion de la visite dernièrement à Washington du ministre arménien de la défense Serge Sarkisian, qui a signé un accord sur l'interdiction des armes de destruction massive et les situations d'urgence avec son homologue américain. Les États-Unis avaient débloqué alors une aide de 300'000 dollars en vue de financer des équipements devant servir à lutter contre la dissémination des armes de destruction massive. M. Gabriélian a conclu en soulignant que la diplomatie de l'Arménie visant à maintenir l'équilibre entre l'OTAN et la Russie était dans l'intérêt du rapprochement nécessaire entre les deux puissances.



JEUDI, 17 AOUT 2000

# En Iran, la répression contre la presse se durcit

LE MONDE / MERCREDI 16 AOÛT 2000

**LA BATAILLE** de l'élection présidentielle du printemps 2001 est pratiquement ouverte en Iran, où la guerre entre les factions adverses qui continuent de se partager le pouvoir s'accroît de semaine en semaine. La presse, principal vecteur d'expression politique en l'absence de véritables partis, en est, pour l'heure, le principal enjeu. En annonçant officiellement dès juillet, dans une démarche totalement inédite, qu'il se portait candidat à sa propre succession, le président réformateur Mohammad Khatami a probablement accéléré les choses.

Le dernier épisode en date - et le plus spectaculaire - de la partie en cours a eu lieu samedi 5 août. Le Guide de la République, c'est-à-dire sa plus haute autorité, l'ayatollah Ali Khameneï, a usé de sa suprématie pour contester, avant même qu'il n'ait eu lieu, un débat parlementaire. Il a solennellement demandé par écrit aux députés de s'abstenir de discuter le texte d'amendements destinés à édulcorer une loi extrêmement restrictive sur la presse. Celle-ci, adoptée le 17 avril par le Parlement sortant à majorité conservatrice, était l'ultime coup de pied de l'âne porté à la nouvelle Assemblée, composée en majorité de partisans du changement.

Cette loi prévoit notamment, d'après les extraits publiés alors par des journaux, que la presse sera placée non plus sous la supervision du seul ministère de la culture, mais sous celles, conjuguées, de la police, du pouvoir judiciaire et des services de renseignements. Elle dispose qu'outre le directeur responsable d'une publication, les journalistes seront passibles de procès devant le tribunal spécial de la presse ou même les tribunaux révolutionnaires, si

leurs écrits menacent la sécurité nationale - et tout ou presque en Iran peut être arbitrairement placé sous cette catégorie. Elle interdit la parution, sous un autre titre, de journaux fermés par une décision de justice - pratique qui, au cours des deux dernières années, a permis à de nombreuses publications de renaître de leurs cendres - et prive du droit de l'exercice de sa profession tout journaliste ayant fait l'objet d'une condamnation. Toute aide étrangère, directe ou indirecte, est interdite.

## FEU VERT AUX CONSERVATEURS

Non sans avoir protesté contre la décision du Guide - à propos de laquelle ils se sont d'ailleurs divisés -, les réformateurs ont dû avaler la couleuvre et oublier leur projet de redonner la liberté de parole aux journalistes, projet dont ils avaient fait la priorité des priorités. Leur représentant à la tête de la commission parlementaire de la culture, Ahmad Pour-Nejati, a néanmoins présenté sa démission pour, a-t-il dit, reprendre sa place de député ordinaire dans l'Hémicycle et se battre. Un débat s'est ouvert sur la conformité, ou non, de la décision du Guide à la Constitution. Mais son initiative a d'autant plus surpris que les mécanismes institutionnels existents qui auraient pu bloquer la réforme si elle avait été jugée trop audacieuse.

De fait, tout texte de loi adopté par le Parlement doit être soumis à l'approbation du Conseil des gardiens, un organisme qui tient le rôle de vigile de la conformité des lois à l'islam. Si ledit Conseil rejette une loi approuvée par le Parlement, un arbitrage est rendu par le Conseil de discernement des intérêts de la République; lequel Conseil, lui aussi dominé par les conservateurs, est présidé par l'an-

cienn président de la République, Ali Akbar Hachémi Rafsandjani, plus déterminé que quiconque, disent les connaisseurs, à se venger de l'humiliation que lui ont infligée les amis de M. Khatami lors des dernières législatives: élu de justesse bon dernier à Téhéran, il a préféré renoncer purement et simplement à son siège. Il n'a pas pour autant pardonné.

En intervenant en amont de la procédure, M. Khameneï, qui est la principale figure de proue du camp conservateur, mais qui entretient une relation personnelle privilégiée avec le président Khatami, qu'il écoute et parfois « entend », a-t-il voulu jouer l'apaisement, et circonvenir les vagues qu'aurait pu soulever la procédure régulière et l'aggravation des luttes entre factions? C'est possible, mais les conservateurs ont vu dans son initiative un feu vert pour sévir. Des manifestations de soutien à la décision du Guide ont été organisées. Commencées dès le mois d'avril, c'est-à-dire avant même l'entrée en vigueur de la nouvelle loi sur la presse, les interpellations de journalistes et de personnalités politiques et les suspensions de journaux par le pouvoir judiciaire qu'ils contrôlent ont repris de plus belle.

Dans la seule période du 4 au 12 août, cinq personnalités du courant réformateur ont été interpellées: il s'agit de l'hodjatoleslam Hassan Youssefi Echkevari, des journalistes Ahmad Zeid-Abadi, Massoud Behnoud, Ibrahim Nabavi et Mohamad Ghouchani. Un cinquième, Machaollah Chamso-lwæzine, a vu sa condamnation à deux ans et demi de prison confirmée. Parallèlement, deux hebdomadaires, l'un national, *Tavana*, et l'autre régional, *Techmen-é-Ardebil*, ainsi que le dernier grand quo-

tidien réformateur national, *Bahar*, proche de la présidence, ont été suspendus; Ahmad Hakimi-Pour, directeur de l'hebdomadaire *Omid-é-Zanjan*, a été condamné à deux mois de prison ferme et un an d'interdiction de toute activité journalistique et le directeur de *Techmen-é-Ardebil* a été condamné à verser une amende d'un million de rials (quelque 800 francs).

Quelque vingt-cinq publications, toutes réformatrices, sont désormais fermées ou suspendues pour des durées indéterminées et leurs responsables entraînés en justice. Nombre d'intellectuels et de journalistes qui sont à l'avant-garde du combat pour les libertés bénéficient d'une liberté sous caution en attendant leurs procès. Avec quelques nuances, ce qui leur est reproché, c'est d'être les porte-parole d'une pensée politiquement non correcte, de contrevvenir aux principes de l'islam et de dilapider les acquis de la révolution.

La ténacité de l'aile dure du régime et sa capacité de nuisance risquent de décourager plus d'un Iranien, face à l'incapacité des partisans du changement à briser le carcan institutionnel empêchant la mise en œuvre des réformes promises. La libéralisation de la parole était jusqu'à maintenant le principal, sinon l'unique point inscrit à leur actif. Ils paraissent aujourd'hui incapables de la défendre. Nombreux sont toutefois les réformateurs qui ne s'en inquiètent pas trop, préférant s'en tenir aux effets, selon eux dévastateurs pour leurs adversaires, des tours de vis que ceux-ci donnent. Prennent-ils leurs désirs pour des réalités?

Mouna Naim

## Fermeture d'un bureau de défense des droits de l'Homme à Diyarbakir



ANKARA, 16 août (AFP) - 16h02 - La principale organisation turque de défense des droits de l'Homme a appelé mercredi le gouvernement à autoriser la réouverture de son bureau à Diyarbakir, capitale du sud-est à majorité kurde, fermé la semaine dernière sur décision des autorités de l'état d'urgence.

Le bureau de l'Association des droits de l'Homme (IHD) a été fermé pour trois mois samedi en raison d'un "danger pour la sécurité publique", a expliqué à l'AFP le secrétaire général de l'IHD Nazmi Gur.

"La fermeture est intervenue une demi-heure après que les représentants de l'IHD eurent repris leurs activités, suite à l'expiration d'une interdiction de trois mois imposée précédemment pour les mêmes raisons", a-t-il dit.

Les décisions prises par les autorités de l'état d'urgence, qui contrôlent la plus grande partie du sud-est, ne peuvent faire l'objet d'un recours en justice, a-t-il ajouté.

"Nous demandons au gouvernement de lever cette interdiction, contraire au récent processus de démocratisation et (de respect) des droits de l'Homme qui doit nous permettre de rejoindre l'Union européenne", a souligné M. Gur.

L'IHD avait ouvert un bureau à Diyarbakir en 1987, trois ans après le début de la lutte armée du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) pour obtenir une autonomie kurde.

La Turquie a déclaré l'état d'urgence dans la plupart des provinces du sud-est en 1987 et a adopté une loi spéciale conférant de larges pouvoirs aux autorités chargées d'appliquer l'état d'urgence, y compris le droit de fermer des associations.

Les combats ont pratiquement cessé dans le sud-est depuis que le PKK a annoncé en septembre dernier l'abandon de la lutte armée.

## Ankara signe deux textes sur les droits de l'Homme, peut-être avec réserves



ANKARA, 16 août (AFP) - 18h28 - La Turquie a signé deux conventions des Nations unies sur les droits de l'Homme mais étudiera d'éventuelles réserves à apporter à ces documents en vue de les soumettre au vote du parlement, a annoncé mercredi le ministère des affaires Etrangères.

"La Turquie a signé la convention sur les droits civils et politiques et celle sur les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels mardi à New York", a indiqué le ministère dans un communiqué.

Les deux conventions promeuvent la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion, condamnent la torture et garantissent aux minorités la liberté d'expression culturelle et linguistique.

L'adhésion de la Turquie à ces deux conventions met un terme à de longues années de réticence en raison des affrontements avec les séparatistes armés du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) dans le sud-est du pays.

Selon le communiqué du ministère des Affaires étrangères, le refus d'Ankara de signer ces textes avait conduit à une "désapprobation dans la communauté internationale", et "la non-acceptation de ces accords était considérée comme un défaut pour (le) pays, qui est candidat à l'adhésion à l'Union européenne".

Le communiqué précise cependant que ces conventions ne seront soumises au parlement pour ratification qu'après une étude approfondie des deux textes en vue d'établir d'éventuelles réserves sur certains articles.

Depuis qu'elle a été déclarée candidate à l'Union européenne en décembre dernier, la Turquie est sous pression pour améliorer son bilan en matière de respect des droits de l'Homme, en particulier concernant les droits de sa population kurde.

Le gouvernement a toujours refusé d'accorder aux Kurdes des droits culturels spécifiques, comme un enseignement ou une télévision dans leur langue, par crainte de sécession.

Le PKK a annoncé en septembre dernier, à l'appel de son chef Abdullah Ocalan, condamné à mort et emprisonné en Turquie, la fin de la lutte armée et sa volonté de parvenir à une solution pacifique du conflit.

## Ankara reconnaît avoir mené un raid aérien contre le nord de l'Irak



ANKARA, 18 août (AFP) - 18h51 - Ankara a reconnu vendredi avoir "mené une opération" contre des rebelles kurdes de Turquie dans le nord de l'Irak mardi et "étudie les allégations" selon lesquelles ce raid aérien aurait tué des dizaines de civils comme l'affirment deux organisations kurdes.

"La Turquie mène des opérations dans le nord de l'Irak de temps en temps dans le cadre de sa lutte contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK)", a indiqué un porte-parole du ministère des Affaires étrangères dans un communiqué.

"Lors d'une opération de ce type le 15 août, les mesures nécessaires ont une fois de plus été prises pour s'assurer que la population civile ne serait pas touchée", a souligné Huseyin Dirioz. "Toutefois, nous étudions les allégations selon lesquelles des civils ont été atteints", a-t-il ajouté.

Le Parti communiste irakien (PCI) a affirmé vendredi que 41 civils kurdes avaient été tués et 57 autres blessés dans un raid mené mardi par l'aviation turque contre les villages de Loulane et de Khazina, dans la province d'Erbil (nord-est du Kurdistan irakien).

Jeudi soir, le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), qui contrôle en partie le Kurdistan irakien, avait annoncé qu'un raid de l'aviation turque avait fait 38 morts et 11 blessés dans un camp de bergers.

L'armée turque lance fréquemment des opérations contre les rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) retranchés dans le nord de l'Irak, région échappant au contrôle de Bagdad depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe, en



Le PKK avait annoncé en septembre dernier qu'il arrêterait sa lutte armée lancée en 1984 et se retirait de Turquie, mais l'armée turque avait répliqué qu'elle pourchasserait les rebelles jusqu'au bout. Les militaires turcs pensent que plusieurs centaines de rebelles sont réfugiés dans le nord de l'Irak.

En juillet 1999, l'Iran avait ainsi affirmé qu'un raid de l'aviation turque avait fait 5 morts et 10 blessés dans un village iranien proche de l'Irak. Ankara avait répliqué en affirmant avoir bombardé un camp du PKK dans le nord de l'Irak.

La tension avait baissé lorsque des responsables des deux pays avaient signé en août 1999 à Ankara un accord de coopération anti-terroriste à leur frontière commune.

La région d'Erbil fait partie de la zone d'exclusion aérienne imposée par les alliés à l'aviation irakienne pour protéger la population kurde au nord du 36ème parallèle après la guerre du Golfe.

## **Plus de 40 Kurdes tués et 57 autres blessés en Irak dans un raid turc**



DUBAI, 18 août (AFP) - 12h51 - Le Parti communiste irakien (PCI) a affirmé vendredi que 41 Kurdes avaient été tués et 57 autres blessés dans un raid mené mardi par l'aviation turque dans le nord de l'Irak.

"Les avions turcs ont perpétré un nouveau massacre contre les habitants des villages de Loulane et de Khazina dans la province d'Erbil, dans le nord-est du Kurdistan irakien, tuant 41 civils, dont la majorité des femmes et des enfants", a affirmé un communiqué du PCI, obtenu par l'AFP.

"Cinquante-sept autres civils ont été blessés dans le raid au cours duquel les appareils turcs ont largué 12 bombes", a ajouté le texte.

Le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), qui contrôle en partie le Kurdistan, a pour sa part affirmé jeudi que 38 civils avaient été tués dans ce raid qu'il a également attribué à l'aviation turque.

"Un camp estival abritant des bergers et leurs familles dans le Kurdistan irakien a été visé par un raid de l'aviation turque qui attaquait des cibles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) dans le triangle frontalier entre l'Irak, l'Iran et la Turquie", a affirmé le PDK.

"Trente huit civils ont été tués, onze autres blessés et quatre sont portés disparus", a ajouté le PDK dans un communiqué reçu à Dubai.

L'armée turque lance fréquemment des opérations contre les rebelles kurdes-turcs du PKK retranchés dans le nord de l'Irak, région échappant au contrôle de Bagdad depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe, en 1991.

## **Ex-Spy Spins Web of Collusion in Turkey's**

By AMBERIN ZAMAN, Special to The Times  
Aug 19, 2000

## **War Against Kurds**

ANKARA, Turkey--For years, Turkey's political establishment faced--and managed to fend off--assertions that it colluded with drug traffickers, hit men and gunrunners in its 15-year war against Kurdish separatists.

Since the separatists' defeat last year, however, the allegations have resurfaced from an unlikely and embarrassing source--a former chief of counterintelligence for Turkey's spy agency. Mehmet Eymur, who served in the National Intelligence Agency for three decades, is creating an uproar here with his popular 5-month-old Web site, whose reports tarring dozens of officials are picked up daily by Turkey's newspapers and hastily denied by the accused.

From self-imposed exile in Washington, the former spy faces criminal charges at home for divulging state secrets.

But there is little doubt that his painstakingly documented disclosures are bringing new pressure on the government to prosecute officials accused of collaborating with mobsters who trained Kurdish mercenaries to fight Kurdish rebels.



Western governments have faulted successive Turkish administrations for laxity in fighting this country's flourishing drug trade. The State Department has reported that as much as 75% of the heroin seized in Europe last year "transited Turkey, was processed there or was seized in connection with Turkish criminal syndicates."

Turkey's prime minister, Bulent Ecevit, is credited with cracking down on drug lords. An alleged Kurdish heroin kingpin, Urfi Cetinkaya, was arrested in Istanbul this week.

Yet politicians and security officials implicated in drug-related corruption scandals remain untouched. Several, including a man privately described by U.S. drug enforcement officials as a "well-known heroin chemist," were reelected to parliament last year.

Eymur's decision to remove himself to Washington has invited speculation that he is being encouraged by the U.S. government. Some critics say he is trying to discredit Senkal Atasagun, the national intelligence chief who forced him into retirement two years ago.

"He is waging psychological war under the American flag against the Turkish army, in line with the CIA's directives," said Dogu Perincek, the leader of a small leftist party who is on the former spy's list of accused.

In a telephone interview, Eymur vigorously denied the charges, saying he's seeking only "to help Turkish justice" while remaining outside the country and "waiting for Turkey to become a full-fledged democracy."

"If there was even one Turkish official [whom I could rely on], if he could send me his phone number, I would gladly shut down my Web site and call him," Eymur stated recently on the site, <http://www.atin.org>, which has had nearly 1 million visitors since its March 8 launch.

Among other incriminating evidence, the site carries transcripts of the alleged confessions of a Kurdish rebel-turned-informer named Mahmut Yildirim, who has been linked to the slayings of several prominent Kurdish intellectuals and drug dealers. Yildirim, whose intelligence agency code name was "Green," was promptly freed after telling police interrogators of his connections with top Turkish officials, the site alleges.

In its battle against the separatists, the Turkish state is widely accused of having enlisted

many such characters, who, under state protection, killed Kurdish drug dealers and muscled in on their trade. Eymur has claimed that "Green," whose whereabouts remain a mystery, shared drug profits with "various police chiefs and [members of] the gendarmerie. This is not a secret."

Turkish officials have consistently blamed the drug trade on rebels of the outlawed separatist Kurdistan Workers Party, whose leader, Abdullah Ocalan, was captured, tried for treason and sentenced to death last year as the insurgency collapsed.

But intriguing evidence of ties between government officials and Turkish criminals, including drug dealers, emerged in November 1996 after a car crash in the small town of Susurluk. A police chief and a convicted heroin smuggler were among the dead. Sedat Bucak, a Kurdish lawmaker, survived the crash and claimed to have lost his memory.

A parliamentary investigation into why this unlikely trio was traveling in the same car came to nothing, and critics of the government suspect a cover-up. Bucak has been reelected to parliament.

"Unfortunately," Eymur said, "in Turkey, one scandal ends only to be followed by another."  
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## Khatami In (Iranian) Kurdistan.

Iran Report  
RFE  
21 August 2000

President Mohammad Khatami visited Kurdistan Province in the first week of August. At a meeting with local military, Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, and law enforcement commanders, he said that "Praise be to God, today, Kurdistan is one of the safest areas in the country and that is the result of the people's vigilance as well your efforts and self-sacrifice."

This may be reassuring news for the local population, but they have bigger economic concerns. This may explain why Khatami -- accompanied by his three ministers of Construction Jihad, Education, and Mines and Metals, as well as the acting-minister of Post, Telegraph, and Telephone -- was to inaugurate 289 development projects, too. One of the projects Khatami discussed during his stops was the Baneh reservoir dam, which he said would become operational in three years. Another was the Kurdistan Steel Mills Complex near Qorveh, construction of which began five years ago at a projected cost of 81 billion rials (about \$46 million), 35 billion of which have already been spent. 63 telecommunication projects became operational during Khatami's visit, too.

Khatami said that since the revolution, the literacy rate in the region has climbed from 29.7 percent to 70 percent. Khatami criticized local officials for not preventing wastage of local water resources, and he said that the reduction of local forests from 500,000 hectares to 320,000 hectares was a national disaster. During a 6 August speech in Sanandaj, Khatami said that the city suffers from "poverty and [a] high rate of unemployment," according to IRNA. Khatami added that the province suffers from the "pain of chronic deprivation," and he suggested that the government's "long-term projects" and the Third Five-year Development Plan would give the matter "due attention."

Such words will be welcome, but they may not be enough. The region suffered a great deal of devastation during the war with Iraq -- many towns and villages were leveled and subject to chemical attack. There has been some reconstruction of local infrastructure in the years since the war, but a great deal remains to be done. Local management was not used, furthermore, and as unemployment climbed, many local youth left for the cities to find work.

Another local problem is that Kurds' constitutionally-guaranteed ethnic and cultural rights are being ignored. Locals "expect Article 15 of the constitution, that permits the teaching of local languages and literature, besides teaching Persian, will be put into action after 20 years. Local radio and TV programs would be increased. ... expansion of universities and research centers would be on the agenda," "Fath" reported in February.

There is a possibility that some of the expectations of voters from the predominantly Kurdish provinces will be met by the sixth parliament. After the first round, in which 18 Kurds were elected, candidate Seyyed Fatah Hussein said that he expected there would be more Kurdish instruction at the university in Sanandaj, and he called on the Khatami government to have more Kurdish officials, Istanbul's "Ozgur Bakis" reported on 4 March. Subsequently, a 40-member faction representing the predominantly Kurdish provinces was formed. Its objectives are somewhat mysterious, because Kermanshah representative Ismail Tatari said it would not have a leader and it has "no objective except to exalt Iran, "Afarinesh" reported on 8 June. (Bill Samii)

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## Vague de protestation contre un projet de réforme des prisons turques



dimanche 20 aout 2000

ISTANBUL (AP) -- La vague de contestation contre le système carcéral turc s'étend. Dimanche, la police a arrêté 40 proches de prisonniers, portant à 80 le nombre d'interpellations en deux jours de manifestations contre les projets de réorganisation des prisons, rapporte l'agence officielle Anatolie.

Le gouvernement envisage en effet de supprimer les grands blocs communs, pour enfermer les prisonniers dans des cellules d'une à trois personnes, que les détenus qualifient de "cercueils".

Selon les défenseurs des droits de l'homme et les familles de détenus, cette réforme rendrait les prisonniers plus vulnérables face aux abus dont se rendent coupables les gardiens.

Selon les autorités, il s'agit de mettre un terme à la situation actuelle, dans laquelle ce sont les détenus qui contrôlent quasiment ces prisons surpeuplées, souvent en proie à des grèves de la faim ou des prises d'otages.

La plupart des détenus vivent dans des blocs où ils sont jusqu'à 100. Selon les responsables de l'administration pénitentiaire, les prisonniers politiques font de ces blocs de véritables centres d'endoctrinement.

Toujours selon eux, 10.000 des 74.500 détenus de Turquie sont liés à des groupes gauchistes, kurdes ou islamistes.

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## L'Irak ripostera au raid aérien turc contre le nord de l'Irak



BAGDAD, 21 août (AFP) - 21h06 - L'Irak a affirmé lundi qu'il était déterminé à "riposter" au raid aérien turc mené la semaine dernière contre le nord du pays, faisant 40 morts et des dizaines de blessés.

"L'Irak se réserve le droit de riposter à cette agression à l'endroit et au moment opportuns", a déclaré le porte-parole du ministère irakien des Affaires étrangères, cité par l'agence officielle irakienne INA.

Il a affirmé que "40 Irakiens ont été tués et des dizaines d'autres blessés dans le raid".

"Nous condamnons vigoureusement ce crime commis par les troupes turques contre des civils irakiens (...) qui constitue un des maillons d'une chaîne d'agressions menées par Ankara contre l'Irak depuis 1991", date de la guerre du Golfe, a ajouté le porte-parole.

Vendredi, le ministère turc des Affaires étrangères a reconnu qu'Ankara avait "mené une opération" contre des rebelles kurdes de Turquie dans le nord de l'Irak mardi et "étudie les allégations" selon lesquelles ce raid aérien aurait tué des dizaines de civils comme l'affirment deux organisations kurdes.

"La Turquie mène des opérations dans le nord de l'Irak de temps en temps dans le cadre de sa lutte contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK)", a indiqué dans un communiqué un porte-parole du ministère.

Le Parti communiste irakien (PCI) a affirmé vendredi que 41 civils kurdes avaient été tués et 57 autres blessés dans un raid mené mardi par l'aviation turque contre les villages de Loulane et de Khazina, dans la province d'Erbil (nord-est du Kurdistan irakien).

La région d'Erbil fait partie de la zone d'exclusion aérienne imposée par les alliés à l'aviation irakienne pour protéger la population kurde au nord du 36ème parallèle après la guerre du Golfe.

Jeudi, le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), qui contrôle en partie le Kurdistan irakien, avait annoncé qu'un raid de l'aviation turque avait fait 38 morts et 11 blessés dans un camp de bergers.

L'armée turque lance fréquemment des opérations contre les rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) retranchés dans le nord de l'Irak, région échappant au contrôle de Bagdad depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe, en

mercredi 23 août 2000, 17h11

## Le MGK insiste sur l'urgence de mesures anti-islamistes et séparatistes



ANKARA, 23 août (AFP) - Le Conseil national de sécurité (MGK) turc, qui réunit les plus hauts responsables civils et militaires, a serré les rangs mercredi pour réaffirmer sa détermination à lutter contre la menace islamiste et reléguer au second plan les divergences entre président et gouvernement.

"Le MGK est unanime sur la nécessité d'adopter d'urgence des mesures pour éliminer rapidement les fonctionnaires impliqués dans des activités islamistes et séparatistes visant à détruire le régime démocratique et laïc", souligne un communiqué publié au terme de la réunion mensuelle du MGK, organe à travers lequel l'armée exerce une influence directe sur la politique.

Le MGK demande en outre que ces futures mesures visent aussi à prévenir l'infiltration dans l'appareil d'Etat des membres de ces mouvements.

Cet appel intervient alors que le président Ahmet Necdet Sezer a rejeté par deux fois, au nom du respect de la constitution, un décret du gouvernement de coalition du Premier ministre Bulent Ecevit qui facilite le renvoi de tout fonctionnaire soupçonné de sympathies islamistes ou pro-kurdes, sur la base d'un rapport de deux inspecteurs.

M. Sezer, ex-président de la Cour constitutionnelle, a expliqué qu'il n'était pas opposé à la teneur du décret, mais que ses dispositions devaient faire l'objet d'une loi au parlement.

Son refus a provoqué la fureur de M. Ecevit et de sa coalition, qui l'a accusé d'avoir "même sans le vouloir, encouragé les ennemis du régime".

"Le message du MGK n'est pas vraiment adressé à Sezer mais à l'extérieur, au gouvernement et au parlement, pour réaffirmer que l'important n'est pas un problème entre le président et le gouvernement, mais la menace islamiste et séparatiste", a indiqué à l'AFP un diplomate occidental.

"C'est un message vis à vis de l'extérieur et de ceux qui pensent --les islamistes par exemple-- que l'épisode du décret a ouvert une brèche dans la détermination de l'Etat à lutter contre l'intégrisme", selon un autre diplomate.

Les partis d'opposition, dont le parti islamiste de la Vertu (Fazilet), des organisations de défense des droits de l'Homme, barreaux d'avocats et syndicats ont dénoncé le décret --inspiré par l'armée qui voit dans le fondamentalisme musulman le principal danger pour l'Etat laïc-- comme une violation des droits de l'Homme.

Le gouvernement s'est plié mardi de mauvais gré à la demande du président en annonçant qu'il allait présenter un projet de loi au parlement, qui reprendra ses sessions en octobre.

Mais même s'il bénéficie d'une majorité absolue au parlement, il n'a aucune assurance que la loi soit adoptée, de nombreux députés y étant opposés en raison de la sensibilité de leurs électeurs.

M. Ecevit, chef du Parti de la gauche démocratique (DSP, centre gauche), dirige une coalition composée du Parti de l'action nationaliste (MHP, extrême droite) et du Parti de la Mère patrie (ANAP, centre droit).

Le politologue Ilter Turan, cité par la chaîne de télévision privée NTV, a estimé que l'appel du MGK visait surtout le parlement.

"L'attitude de l'aile militaire du MGK vise à ce que la lutte contre le séparatisme et le fondamentalisme ne soit pas entravée", a-t-il dit.

Selon Cuneyt Arcayurek, du journal Cumhuriyet, il s'agit d'un "message général" adressé aux civils afin qu'ils mettent de côté leurs divergences. "Les généraux ne prennent pas partie, ils veulent des résultats concrets", a-t-il estimé.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 2000

# Turkey's Move On Rights Pact Brings Wary Kurdish Cheers

By Douglas Frantz  
New York Times Service

ISTANBUL — Turkey's decision to end a 34-year holdout and sign two UN conventions guaranteeing the social and political rights of minorities has been greeted with tempered enthusiasm among the country's Kurds.

Since 15 years of armed conflict between the army and Kurdish guerrillas ended last year, Kurdish leaders in southeastern Turkey have been looking to the government for progress on granting new rights to the region, including assurances that Kurdish could be spoken freely and be used to educate their young people.

Allowing the language to be used officially remains a sensitive issue for Turkey, and Parliament can attach restrictions to the conventions before ratifying them. But the government is intent on improving its human rights record in hopes of joining the European Union, and better relations with the country's 12 million Kurds is regarded as crucial, in part because the Kurds have vocal political allies in Europe.

"Certainly it is a step of maximum importance for Turkey to sign these conventions," said Serafettin Elci, a Kurdish political leader and former government minister. "However, what usually happens here is that the implementing of the conventions doesn't take place. If they can manage to put these conventions into practice this time, it will help Turkey in bringing tensions down and in solving the Kurdish question."

The UN conventions date to 1966, and

130 countries have signed them. Signers agree to protect freedom of speech, adhere to restrictions on torture and forced migration, and promote economic and social rights of minorities.

Volkan Vural, Turkey's ambassador to the United Nations, signed the agreements and said they showed the importance Turkey attributed to human rights.

Turkey's Constitution does not recognize Kurds as a minority, defining them instead as Turks. The government has argued that they have the same rights as other citizens, but Kurds have demanded the right to use their language and culture to maintain an ethnic identity.

Since the cease-fire last year, a state of emergency has been lifted in southeastern Turkey, and military checkpoints have been relaxed. But human rights advocates said Kurdish activists were still being arrested and tortured regularly.

## LA TURQUIE SIGNE DEUX CONVENTIONS DES NATIONS-UNIES : DES RÉSERVES SONT À PRÉVOIR

Le ministère des affaires étrangères turc a, le 16 août 2000, annoncé la signature par la Turquie de deux conventions des Nations Unies sur les droits de l'homme. Ankara a précisé que qu'il étudiera d'éventuelles réserves à apporter à ces documents en vue de les soumettre au vote du Parlement.

Selon un communiqué publié par le ministère, " la Turquie a signé le Pacte sur les droits civils et politiques et le Pacte sur les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels mardi à New-York. "Les deux conventions promeuvent la liberté de pensée, de conscience et de religion, condamnent la torture et garantissent aux minorités la liberté d'expression culturelle et linguistique. Le communiqué indique que le refus d'Ankara de signer ces textes avait conduit à une "désapprobation dans la communauté internationale", et "la non-adoption de ces pactes était considérée comme un défaut pour (le) pays, qui est candidat à l'adhésion à l'Union européenne".

Le communiqué précise cependant que ces conventions se seront soumises au Parlement pour ratification

après une étude approfondie des deux textes en vue d'établir d'éventuelles réserves sur certains articles. Le gouvernement turc a toujours refusé d'accorder aux Kurdes des droits culturels spécifiques, comme un enseignement ou une télévision dans leur langue. Le Parlement semble peu propice à faire des réformes en ce sens d'autant plus qu'il est composé à majorité de nationalistes (DSP), voire d'ultra-nationalistes (MHP).

Par ailleurs, on sait que la Turquie est co-signataire de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme ainsi que la Convention contre la torture du Conseil de l'Europe. Ces signatures ne semblent guère gêner le régime turc de violer d'une façon récurrente et massive les droits de l'homme garantis et protégés par ces conventions, quitte à payer de temps à autre, des " dédommagements " symboliques à certaines victimes qui ont le courage, la persévérance et les moyens de saisir la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme.



21-22 AOUT 2000

## 242 cassettes banned in Diyarbakir

- The majority of the banned cassettes are in Kurdish

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

Amid the debates over the use of Kurdish in broadcasting and education, the Diyarbakir Governor's Office banned the sale of 242 music cassettes, most of which are in Kurdish. A list of the banned cassettes has been sent to music markets in Diyarbakir.

Turkey refuses to grant the right of education and broadcasting in Kurdish, saying that the country's official language is Turkish, which means that the use of other languages is not allowed in public. Free use of language is a demand put forward by the European Union.

Some of the 242 cassettes whose sale is banned in Diyarbakir are: "Zalim Aynur" by Emin Arbani, the first singer to make a pop cassette in Kurdish, "Boyle Olur mu?" by the folk music singer Songul Karli, cassettes by Grup Kizilirmak, Grup Yorum, Grup Munzur and Kutup Yildizi, "Istanbul Konserleri" by Ferhat Tunc, "Ozgurluk ve Demokrasiyi Cizmek" by Selda Bagcan, many cassettes by Sivan Perver, a Kurdish singer who is currently living in Europe and many Kurdish cassettes by Aram, Grup Revsen, Grup Berxvedan, Grup Amed, Seyhmus Kaya, Grup Sirvan and Grup Rojhilat, together with a great many cassettes by Ahmet Kaya. Kaya, a protest singer who is currently living in France, does not usually make cassettes in Kurdish and the reason for the ban on his cassettes probably stems from their content.

But in the meantime, music sector representatives in Diyarbakir say that the ban on the cassettes simply further promotes sales.

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## Elci calls for recognition of Kurdish identity

- Speaking in Van, the former chairman of the banned DKP says that the government should take concrete steps for the solution of the Kurdish issue

Mert Gozde

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

Serafettin Elci, the former chairman of the banned Democratic Movement Party (DKP), said over the weekend that the government should undertake concrete steps to solve the Kurdish problem.

Elci and his associates held a meeting last Saturday in Van. The meeting was the second of a series of regional meetings held as part of a project to establish a liberal Kurdish party.

Speaking at the meeting, Elci listed the group's demands from the government as follows: "The Kurdish identity should be recognized legally, the right to education in the mother tongue should be granted, freedom of association should be granted, those who want to return to their abandoned villages should be provided financial assistance and a general amnesty for all crimes -- including those related to terrorism -- should be enacted to ensure societal peace."

### Why Kurdish identity?

Noting that the steps he and his associates advocate won't be popular with all sectors of Turkish society, Elci said, "We don't need to fight, we don't need to slaughter each other and waste our economic potential in destroying each other."

Elci said, "The solution of the Kurdish problem is dependent upon the recognition of Kurdish identity."

As to why Kurdish identity is the first precondition for a solution to the issue, Elçi explained: "According to Article 66 of the Constitution, all the citizens of Turkey are Turks. So whether you like it or not, you are accepted as a Turk before the law. What we want is that the Kurds' existence in Turkey also be recognized legally."

### Cultural rights

Asserting that all social rights, including the right to education in the mother tongue, should be granted to the Kurds, Elçi claimed that those ruling Turkey refuse to grant this right, saying by way of justification that the official language is Turkish.

"Those in power say that the official language is Turkish and that no other language can be used in education," Elçi said. "In no part of the world can such an absurd excuse be accepted, because in no part of the world is the official language a barrier for education in another language. In many countries, education is conducted in several languages. You don't need to go far to find an example of such a country; in Turkey, for instance, where the official language is Turkish, education in nine other languages is allowed. No authority forbids this but when it comes to Kurdish, authorities begin to say that the official language is Turkish and that education in another language isn't allowed. This absurd practice should immediately be gotten rid of. Turkey shouldn't put forward such arguments if it wants to become a part of the civilized world. Because everybody can see that in all international treaties -- including the two United Nations covenants Turkey just recently signed -- the right to education in one's own mother tongue is guaranteed. Therefore, there is no point in refusing any longer in that regard. All rights, including the right to education in one's own mother tongue, should immediately be granted."

### Criterion for happiness

Saying that the official ideology, which, according to him, is chauvinist Turkish nationalism, should be dispensed with immediately, Elçi pointed out that it is written "How Joyful is the Person Who Says 'I am a Turk'" on every mountain in Turkey.

"We wholeheartedly want our Turkish brothers to be joyful," Elçi commented. "We want everybody to be joyful. But we have a grievance: The precondition for joyfulness should not be to become a Turk. Citizenship, not ethnicity, should be the grounds for being joyful. The duty of the Turkish state should be to make all the citizens of this country joyful. This understanding should prevail throughout all state authorities. The state should be the state of all citizens, not just those of the same race. Turkey defends the rights of those who aren't Turkish citizens abroad just because they are ethnic Turkish but refuses to grant Kurdish people, who played an important role in the foundation of Turkey, their rights."

LE MONDE / JEUDI 31 AOÛT 2000 /

## La Turquie négocie l'achat de six navires de guerre à la France

**PARIS.** La Turquie négocie avec la France l'achat d'occasion de six bateaux de guerre que la marine nationale a désarmés depuis 1999. Il s'agit de six Avisos déplaçant 1 000 tonnes à pleine charge et destinés à la lutte anti-sous-marine et anti-surface au profit de missions de surveillance des eaux côtières. Cette acquisition entre dans le cadre plus général d'un accord de coopération en matière de défense, signé à la mi-janvier 2000 entre les deux pays. Ces Avisos A 69, construits à Lorient, devront subir des aménagements avant toute livraison.

La marine turque a déjà acheté d'occasion à la France cinq chasseurs de mines, de la classe du *Circé* (500 tonnes à pleine charge), conçus à Cherbourg, qui avaient été modernisés et lui ont été livrés entre 1998 et 1999.



24 heures  
 Mercredi  
 23 août 2000

KURDISTAN IRANIEN ■ REPORTAGE

# Petits boulots pour combattre le chômage

Sur le plan économique, la situation ne s'est guère améliorée depuis l'élection de Mohammad Khatami.

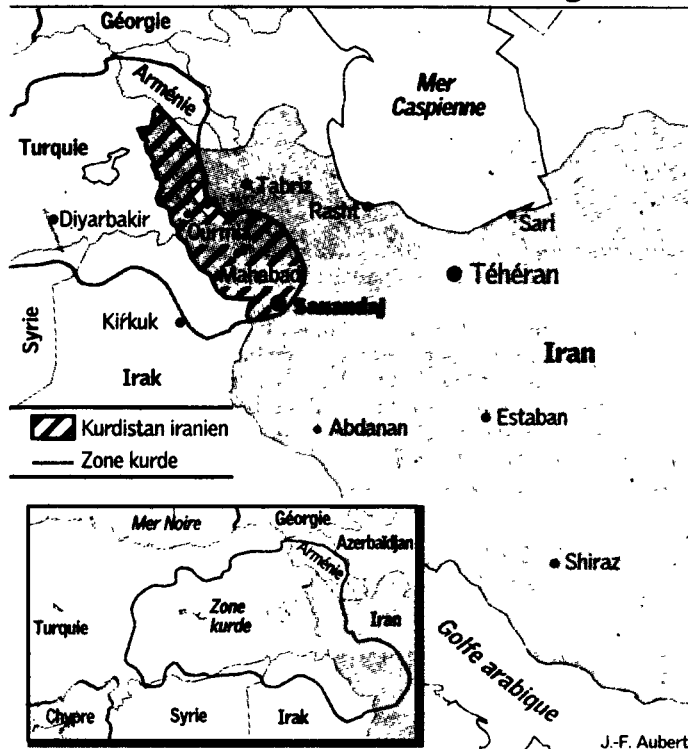
SANANDAJ  
 SIAVOSH GHAZI

« Les Kurdes forment le peuple iranien le plus ancien et personne ne peut prétendre être plus Iranien que les Kurdes ». Cette phrase prononcée par Mohammad Khatami, lors de sa tournée électorale avant les élections présidentielles de mai 1996 est toujours dans les esprits des habitants de Sanandaj, la capitale de la province du Kurdistan. La cité est bordée de petites montagnes. Depuis la révolution, sa population a pratiquement triplé. La ville compte aujourd'hui près de 400 000 habitants. La nuit venue, les lumières des maisons construites sur les pentes des collines environnantes donnent un air magique à la ville. La province du Kurdistan a une population de 1,4 million d'habitants, mais il y a un peu plus de quatre millions de Kurdes dans les autres provinces frontalières.

## Petits boulots

« Ici, ce qui nous touche le plus c'est le chômage », affirme Ahmad, un jeune Kurde qui vient de terminer ses études secondaires. En effet, si le taux de chômage officiel pour l'ensemble du pays est de 13,5%, dans la province du Kurdistan, il dépasse les 18%. Mais en réalité, il est plutôt proche des 30%, en particulier chez les jeunes qui sont prêts à faire n'importe quel petit boulot. Non loin du bazar, avenue Eghelab, une vingtaine de jeunes vendent du pain à même le trottoir. Tôt le matin, ils vont faire la queue pour acheter tout le pain cuit dans la boulangerie pour le revendre un peu plus cher aux gens qui ne veulent pas perdre leur temps dans

## Kurdistan iranien: le fléau du chômage



les files d'attente. « Je gagne 5000 rials », dit Mohammad, âgé de 27 ans. Cela représente environ 5 francs.

## Notable évolution

Ces petits boulots se sont multipliés avec la crise économique. Récemment, la police de la ville a démantelé un réseau de trafiquants qui utilisaient des petits garçons pour vendre des chewing-gums étrangers avec des photos de femmes dénudées. Deux cent onze personnes ont été arrêtées. « Allez faire un tour autour du Bazar de temps en temps, tous les journaliers qui font des petits boulots et la plupart des porteurs viennent de notre région ou des provinces frontalières », affirme un chauffeur de taxi.

Si sur le plan économique,

la situation ne s'est guère améliorée depuis l'élection de Mohammad Khatami, en revanche, sur le plan culturel, il y a une évolution notable. Deux hebdomadaires kurdes ont été créés. Le premier, *Abidar*, appartient aux conservateurs. Le second, *Sirvan*, est dirigé par les réformateurs. Les deux titres publient plusieurs pages en langue kurde. Plusieurs demandes d'autorisation pour des journaux entièrement en langue kurde ont été soumises, mais on attend toujours la réponse. « Surtout, depuis trois ans, de nombreux livres en kurdes ont été autorisés à être publiés », affirme un journaliste de *Sirvan*. Reste que dans les écoles, le kurde n'est toujours pas enseigné. A l'Université libre is-

lamique de Sanandaj, il y a deux cours de langue kurde, créés il y a trois ans.

«Nous demandons la création d'une université kurde dans la ville et l'autorisation d'enseigner le kurde dans les écoles», affirme le député réformateur Jalal Jalalizadeh. Les Kurdes, qui sont majoritairement sunnites, demandent également une plus grande liberté religieuse.

Portant fièrement l'habit traditionnel kurde, Jalalizadeh fait partie des nouveaux députés réformateurs qui ont conquis la région. Aux dernières élections législatives, les réformateurs ont remportés la majorité des six sièges de la région. Signe de la montée des revendications culturelles, c'est au prix d'une campagne vigoureuse sur

l'identité kurde et surtout en prenant la défense d'Abdollah Ocalan, le chef du PKK de Turquie, aujourd'hui emprisonné, que l'ancien député conservateur, Bahaedine Adab, a été réélu haut la main en février dernier à Sanandaj.

#### L'un des scores les plus forts

Loin des déchirements des premières années de la révolution, le Kurdistan a massivement participé aux différents scrutins depuis les élections présidentielles. En 1997, les électeurs kurdes ont voté à plus de 70% pour Mohammad Khatami, qui a obtenu dans cette région l'un de ses plus forts scores. Une évolution notable par rapport aux élections précédentes. «En 1993, le Kurdistan a mas-

sivement voté pour Ahmad Tavakoli, le seul adversaire de l'ancien président Rafsandjani. Le Kurdistan était la seule région où Ahmad Tavakoli est arrivé en tête», affirme Jalal Jalalizadeh. Lors des élections locales de février 1999 puis aux législatives de février dernier, la participation a également dépassé les 70%. «Les Kurdes soutiennent toujours à plus de 80% le président Khatami. Il sera réélu à une majorité encore plus forte», affirme Jalal Jalalizadeh. Avant d'ajouter: «Cette participation électorale montre que la majorité des Kurdes veulent satisfaire leurs revendications culturelles à l'intérieur du système politique. La situation est bien différente de l'Irak ou de la Turquie.» □

## Le PDKI veut négocier

Depuis l'élection de Mohammad Khatami, le Kurdistan connaît un calme sans précédent. Au début de la Révolution islamique, Sanandaj était, avec Mahabad, le centre de la rébellion autonomiste, qui combattait les armes à la main le nouveau pouvoir islamique.

Aujourd'hui, on est bien loin de cette période troublée. «Depuis 1997, il n'y a pas eu d'actions armées», affirme un responsable local. Les deux principaux partis autonomistes, le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan iranien (PDKI) et le Komala (mouvement maoïste) sont depuis longtemps réfugiés au Kurdistan irakien.

Signe de l'évolution des mentalités, le PDKI a même distribué des tracts pour demander à la population de soutenir les candidats réformateurs.

Selon le gouverneur de la province, Ramezanzadeh, un proche du président Khatami, très apprécié par la population, le PDKI a même fait une demande de négocier avec Téhéran par l'intermédiaire de Jalal Talebani, chef de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan d'Irak. Aucune réponse n'a été donnée pour l'instant.

«Le président Khatami a proposé le dialogue entre les civilisations. Si un parti accepte les principes démocratiques et choisit le langage de la raison, il peut avoir des activités politiques dans le cadre de la Constitution», affirme le député réformateur Jalal Jalalizadeh.

S. G.

## Trois rebelles du PKK et un soldat tués lors de combats dans le sud-est



DIYARBAKIR (Turquie), 25 août (AFP) - 15h43 - Trois rebelles kurdes du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) et un soldat ont été tués dans des affrontements dans la province de Sirnak (sud-est), a-t-on annoncé vendredi de source officielle.

Les affrontements se sont déroulés près de la ville de Beytussebab, à une cinquantaine de km de la frontière irakienne, indique un communiqué de la superpréfecture de Diyarbakir (sud-est), chargée de coordonner la lutte contre le PKK, sans préciser quand ils se sont produits.

Les affrontements dans le sud-est ont très considérablement diminué depuis que le PKK a annoncé fin septembre 1999 qu'il mettait fin à ses quinze ans de lutte armée pour la création d'un Etat kurde indépendant dans le sud-est; après la condamnation à mort de son chef Abdullah Ocalan en juin de la même année pour trahison et séparatisme.

Quelque 36.500 personnes ont été tuées dans les violences entourant la rébellion du PKK.

## US think tank report: Turkey's defense vital to Western interests

- The Rand corporation report argues that Turkey is a geostrategic power and should be included in an antimissile system due the threat posed to it by such weapons in the Middle East. It also says that Turkey and the West should cooperate to protect regional energy resources

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

A prominent United States-based think tank has issued a report emphasizing the strategic importance of Turkey and proposing that the nation be included in Western antimissile defense, the Anatolia news agency reported yesterday. The report, "The Future of Turkish-Western Relations" from Washington, D.C.'s Rand corporation, argues that Turkey is a geostrategic power which should be included in an antimissile system due the rapidly expanding threat posed to it by missiles in the Middle East.

The 96-page report was prepared by Zalmay Khalizad, Ian O. Lesser and Stephen Larahee, who among them have served the U.S. government in various capacities, including seats on the National Security Council (NSC) and posts in the State and Defense departments.

**The report states that Turkish-Western relations are based on four key points and lists them as follows:**

1. Turkey's position in the world is unique in that it lies in close proximity to the oil states of the Gulf of Basra, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Both the Gulf of Basra and the Caspian Sea are within 1,500 kilometers of Turkey's Incirlik military airbase. For this reason, the countries of the West must cooperate with Turkey as a matter of priority in order to protect these energy sources. By means of agreements to be reached between the United States, European countries and Turkey, the threat to the security of these energy resources can be minimized or eliminated.
2. Missile systems are becoming more and more widespread in the Middle East and these pose a very real threat to Turkey. For this reason, Turkey must definitely be included in any missile defense program that may be established in the region in the future.
3. At the same time, Turkey must be included in any strategy drawn up against Russia. Ankara expects assurances in this regard from both the European Union and the United States.
4. In the eventuality that the decision taken at Helsinki to accept Turkey as a candidate for EU membership fails to produce positive results, this would damage the regional interests of both the United States and Turkey. For this reason, it is the best interests of the United States to support Turkey's future EU membership becoming a reality.

### Turkey's vital interests

The report maintains that it is impossible for Turkey to defend its vital interests unassisted and noted that a current issue was whether Turkey would accept the redeployment of foreign troops on its soil, but stated that it would be to Turkey's benefit to accept any changes to be made. The report also stated the following opinions: "In relations between Turkey, Europe and the United States, it is vitally important for Washington to take on the role of catalyst and leader. If it fails to assume this role, then the harmony required for American-European-Turkish relations will not come about. This will result in the West being insufficiently equipped to handle threats posed to it in the international arena."

### Ozal's rule affected Ataturk's principles

In chapter two of this five-chapter report, changes in Turkish society in recent years together with the effect these changes have had on foreign policy are reviewed. Stating that "very significant changes have been seen in recent decades in Turkish society, politics and the economy," the reports list the following viewpoints: "These changes really accelerated while the country's eighth president, Turgut Ozal, was in

office. This period saw rapid economic reforms, a high rate of development and many new political movements. During this period, some of the founding principles of Ataturk's reforms in effect since the formation of the Turkish Republic -- namely secularism, the opening up to the West and etatism -- were seriously affected."

The most important developments from the point of view of Turkish-U.S. relations, according to the report, are the rise of Turkish nationalism, the polarity observed in Turkish society and the forming of a dynamic private sector.

### **Turkey: Too important to be neglected**

The report states that the start of the 21st century saw Western interest in Turkey and the region at unprecedented levels and argues that "Turkey is too important a country to be neglected."

Stating that "Turkey has always been a part of the European system," the report says, "There is no clear answer to the question as to whether this position is deep-rooted enough to encompass a cultural and political identity".

Citing the Helsinki decision as a turning point in this regard, the report argues that "the Helsinki decision created as many problems as it solved."

The report also states that Turkey views itself as a regional superpower in its relations with the United States, but that in its relations with the EU, Turkey sees itself as an economic partner wishing to reach the international market. It finally states that the future of transatlantic relations will play a key role in the development of Turkey's relations with the West.

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## **Nouveau raid anglo-américain sur l'Irak**



jeudi 17 aout 2000,

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Des avions britanniques et américains ont pilonné des positions de DCA dans le nord de l'Irak en réplique à des tirs de batteries antiaériennes, a fait savoir l'armée américaine.

Il s'agit du quatrième raid anglo-américain de ce type en une semaine.

Selon un communiqué militaire irakien, la DCA a ouvert le feu sur des avions britanniques et américains en patrouille dans les zones d'exclusion aérienne décrétées dans le nord et le sud du pays.

"Les forces irakiennes ont lancé des missiles sol-air et ont tiré sur les avions à partir de sites situés au nord de Mossoul", a précisé pour sa part en Allemagne le commandement des forces américaines en Europe.

"L'aviation alliée a répondu aux attaques irakiennes (...) tous les avions ont quitté la zone sans encombre", a-t-il ajouté.

Les avions américains et britanniques surveillent les zones d'exclusion aériennes imposées après la guerre du Golfe en 1991.

Ces zones, que Bagdad ne reconnaît pas, ont été instituées pour protéger les Kurdes du Nord et les Chiites du Sud contre d'éventuelles attaques des forces irakiennes.

## Trial of HADEP mayors continues

- Diyarbakir DGM rules against releasing suspects and adjourns trial until all evidence can be collated

Ankara - Turkish Daily News

The mayors of Diyarbakir, Bingol and Siirt, all members of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP), are on trial in Diyarbakir. They are accused of having ties to the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) separatist terrorist organization, the Anatolia news agency reported yesterday.

Of the total 22 suspects standing trial, only the eight who had earlier been formally arrested attended the hearing at Diyarbakir No. 2 State Security Court (DGM). One suspect pleaded guilty but expressed his regret at what he had done, adding that the information he had given the state regarding the other suspects was true. Another pleaded guilty but in mitigation admitted surrendering voluntarily to the police and said that he had told everything he knew to the security forces.

All the others pleaded innocent and their lawyers asked that they be released due to the eight months each had spent in detention to date, adding that apart from the statements given to the police there was no concrete evidence upon which to hold them in detention.

The prosecution asked that the suspects be kept in detention. After a short recess, the court ruled that the suspects should be kept in detention and adjourned the trial until all evidence could be compiled. Should the mayors be found guilty of the charges against them, they face up to seven years each in prison.

## La nouvelle commission de désarmement de l'Irak est opérationnelle

### La secrétaire d'Etat américaine, Madeleine Albright, a rencontré le chef de l'Unmovic, Hans Blix

NEW YORK (Nations unies)  
de notre correspondante

Huit mois après sa création, le 17 décembre 1999, le nouvel organisme de l'ONU pour le désarmement de l'Irak, la Commission d'inspection, de vérification et de surveillance (Unmovic), est techniquement en mesure de reprendre les inspections dans ce pays. Politiquement cependant, le retour des inspecteurs est, pour le moment, hors de question, car en dépit des affirmations de la CIA selon lesquelles Bagdad aurait repris la production d'armes prohibées, le statu quo convient à tout le monde.

Le chef de l'Unmovic, le Suédois Hans Blix, qui au cours des dernières semaines s'est rendu à

Londres et à Paris, s'est réuni, mardi 22 août à Washington avec la secrétaire d'Etat Madeleine Albright. La commission, à en croire son porte-parole, Ewen Buchanan, a achevé le premier stade de formation de 44 inspecteurs - nombre qui est toutefois bien inférieur à celui requis, estimé à 130. Ces recrues, de dix-neuf nationalités, sont prêtes à se rendre en Irak, précise M. Buchanan. Outre les militaires, la commission compte des ingénieurs civils, formés pour détecter une possible utilisation à des fins militaires d'usines civiles. Les inspecteurs de la précédente commission de désarmement, l'Unscm, avaient été retirés de l'Irak en décembre 1998, à la veille de l'opération américano-britannique « Renard du désert ». La première tâche de leurs successeurs va consister à vérifier que Bagdad n'a pas repris la production des armes de destruction massive.

#### ÉVITER L'AFFRONTEMENT

Soucieuse d'éviter un nouvel affrontement avec Bagdad en période électorale, M<sup>me</sup> Albright a affirmé mardi à l'adresse de l'Irak que l'Unmovic lui « fournit une occasion de se débarrasser des sanctions ». Ce qui, a priori, est vrai, puisque la résolution 1284, en vertu de laquelle la commission a été

créée, prévoit la « suspension » des sanctions si Bagdad coopère avec les experts du désarmement. Toutefois, conscient de fait qu'aucun changement de politique de Washington à l'égard de l'Irak n'est envisageable avant l'élection présidentielle américaine du 7 novembre, Bagdad continue d'affirmer qu'il refusera toute coopération avec les inspecteurs.

Pour la même raison, les cinq grandes puissances membres du Conseil de sécurité ne vont pas non plus « l'utilité » de pousser l'ONU à un affrontement avec Bagdad qui, disent-elles, « ne peut que se terminer par de nouvelles frappes américaines ». Quant au chef de l'Unmovic, il affirme que son travail n'est pas « de vendre les résolutions de l'ONU à l'Irak, ni d'offrir des rabais sur celles-ci, mais de créer une commission avec des inspecteurs professionnels, prêts à reprendre les inspections prévues par ces résolutions ».

C'est ce qu'il fait avec une certaine diligence depuis huit mois. Dans son rapport au Conseil de sécurité, prévu pour le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre, M. Blix présentera les progrès réalisés depuis le 17 décembre. Il est plus que probable que le Conseil ne prendra pas de décisions politiques avant « plusieurs semaines, voire plusieurs mois ». Irrité par la non-coopération de Bagdad avec

l'ONU, les diplomates font remarquer que si, depuis décembre 1999, la politique américaine, « s'il y en a une », n'a guère changé, l'ambiance internationale a nettement évolué.

Ils notent que les déclarations de toutes parts hostiles aux sanctions économiques, en vigueur depuis une décennie, se multiplient. De nombreuses initiatives visent, par ailleurs, à briser l'embargo aérien imposé aux vols passagers à destination et en partance de Bagdad (*Le Monde* daté 23 août). Ces mêmes diplomates craignent toutefois que l'Irak, comprenant mal ces critiques, ne soit encouragé dans son intransigeance.

Les seize commissaires membres de l'Unmovic devaient se réunir, mercredi 23 et jeudi 24 août à New York avec Hans Blix. Dans les jours qui viennent, le secrétaire général de l'ONU, Kofi Annan, devrait nommer une « évaluation » indépendante de la situation humanitaire en Irak. Toutefois, disent les diplomates, Bagdad, qui avait lui-même souhaité que ces experts soient chargés de mesurer « l'impact » des sanctions sur la population civile, leur refuse des visas d'entrée ; ce qui, une fois de plus « n'aiderait pas sa cause ».

Afsané Bassir Pour

Le Monde

JEUDI 24 AOÛT 2000

# Islamic Schools Organizer Draws

By Douglas Frantz  
New York Times Service

ISTANBUL — Onur Elgin, a Turkish teenager, has no doubts about why he spent his summer vacation studying physics. In fluent English, he explains that he wants to succeed for his school, his country and the world.

Onur's high school, Fatih College, is part of a prospering Islamic network associated with Fetullah Gulen, a 62-year-old religious leader who lives in Pennsylvania. In addition to hundreds of schools in Turkey, the Balkans and Central Asia, the loose-knit brotherhood runs a television channel, a radio station, an advertising agency, a daily newspaper, and a bank; all pro-Islam and all centered in Istanbul.

Although little known in the United States, for many years Mr. Gulen was an unofficial ambassador for Turkey who promoted a moderate brand of Islam. He preached tolerance, meeting with Pope John Paul II and other religious and political leaders, among them Turkey's prime ministers and presidents.

But this month, after a yearlong inquiry, a state security court issued an arrest warrant for Mr. Gulen. A prosecutor has accused him of inciting his followers to plot the overthrow of Turkey's secular government, a crime punishable by death.

The authorities have not tried to extradite Mr. Gulen, but the warrant sent a chill through his circle of admirers and raised anxieties among liberals who are not associated with his movement.

At the same time, the government has been involved in a highly public dispute over its attempt to fire thousands of civil servants suspected of ties to pro-Islamic or separatist groups. Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit sought the authority for the dismissals

through a governmental decree, but the president, Ahmet Necdet Sezer, has twice refused to sign the measure into law. Mr. Sezer argues that the authority can be created only by Parliament. The government agreed Thursday to submit the matter to Parliament in the fall.

The deadlock has led to calls for the resignation of Mr. Sezer, who took office in May. It has also contributed to the tension between hard-line backers of the country's secular order and people who advocate more tolerance of religious views and free speech.

In a written response to questions from The New York Times, Mr. Gulen recently broke a year of public silence about the accusations against him. He described the charges as fabrications by a "marginal but influential group that wields considerable power in political circles."

He said he was not seeking to establish an Islamic regime but did support efforts to ensure that the government treated ethnic and ideological differences as a cultural mosaic, not a reason for discrimination.

"Standards of democracy and justice must be elevated to the level of our contemporaries in the West," said Mr. Gulen, who has been receiving medical care in the United States for the last year and said his health prevented his return to Turkey.

Turkey's military leaders have long regarded Mr. Gulen as a potential threat to the state. Those fears seemed confirmed a year ago, when television stations broadcast excerpts from videocassettes in which he seemed to urge his followers to "patiently and secretly" infiltrate the government.

Mr. Gulen said his words had been taken out of context, and some altered. He said he had counseled patience to followers faced with corrupt civil servants and administrators

## Turkey's Ire

intolerant of workers who were practicing Muslims.

"Statements and words were picked with tweezers and montaged to serve the purposes of whoever was behind this," he said.

Mr. Gulen's explanations are unlikely to satisfy the secular hard-liners

who see themselves as the guardians of modern Turkey, which was founded in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. For them, the businesses and schools run by his followers sow the seeds of an Islamic regime.

Some moderate Turks see such Islamic-oriented schools and businesses as an attempt to fill a gap left by government policies and discrimination.

A study by the private Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation found that these Islamic groups appeal not only to the poor but also to strict Muslims who often feel excluded from the mainstream.

The Gulen-oriented schools teach only government-approved religious instruction, in Turkish and English.

Tuition payments are several thousand dollars a year, and students face rigorous academic challenges.

"Strategically speaking, the schools are something that should be supported by the state because you have a Turkish presence in these countries," said Ozdem Sanberk, director of the Economic and Social Studies Foundation.

At Fatih College outside Istanbul, Onur, 16, has no intention of overthrowing the state. His sole goal right now is learning enough physics to compete on the Turkish national academic team.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, AUGUST 26-27, 2000

## L'ex-dirigeant présumé du PKK en Allemagne renvoyé devant le tribunal

KARSLRUHE (Allemagne), 30 août (AFP) - 12h38 - Le Parquet fédéral allemand a annoncé mercredi le renvoi devant le tribunal de l'ancien dirigeant présumé du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan en Allemagne (PKK, interdit en Allemagne).

Sait H., accusé de participation à une organisation criminelle, est soupçonné d'avoir coordonné le travail des sept directions régionales du PKK en Allemagne à partir de décembre 1999.

Agé de 35 ans, le "coordinateur" présumé du PKK en Allemagne avait été arrêté en mars dernier. Ce ressortissant turc était entré clandestinement en Allemagne en mai 1999, muni d'un faux passeport, selon le parquet fédéral.

Il avait d'abord dirigé la région centre du PKK en Allemagne, la plus importante des divisions selon le Parquet, avant de diriger l'ensemble des régions. A ce titre, il figure parmi les hauts dirigeants du PKK, affirme l'accusation.

Le PKK est interdit depuis 1993 en Allemagne, où les arrestations de "dirigeants présumés" se sont multipliées après la condamnation à mort du chef du PKK Abdullah Ocalan par la Turquie en juin 1999.

## Ehud Barak plaide auprès d'Ankara pour décrocher des contrats d'armement

lundi 28 août 2000, 19h55



ANKARA, 28 août (AFP) - Le Premier ministre israélien Ehud Barak a plaidé lundi à Ankara en faveur de l'industrie de défense israélienne, qui brigue plusieurs gros contrats avec la Turquie, lors d'une courte visite où le processus de paix au Proche-Orient a été relégué au second plan.

"Nous déployons et déploierons tous nos efforts pour assurer que l'industrie de défense israélienne remporte le maximum de contrats", a dit M. Barak lors d'une conférence de presse conjointe avec son homologue Bulent Ecevit.

"La compétition est dure et il y a plusieurs facteurs qui influencent ces contrats", a-t-il dit, soulignant que son pays mettra tout en oeuvre pour "convaincre" la partie turque "de ce que nous leur avons à offrir".

Le Directeur général du ministère israélien de la Défense, Amos Yaron, a indiqué à l'AFP que, lors de leur entretien, M. Barak avait assuré M. Ecevit qu'Israël avait "décidé de continuer le dialogue sur tous les appels d'offre encore ouverts" et que son pays était prêt à transférer "la meilleure technologie israélienne" à la Turquie.

Danny Yatom, conseiller de M. Barak pour la sécurité, a souligné qu'Israël continue d'être "un sérieux candidat pour toutes les offres".

Israël est en lice pour quatre projets d'armement d'un montant de plusieurs centaines de millions de dollars. Ces projets sont la modernisation de chars M60 de l'armée turque de fabrication américaine, un premier satellite espion turc, des hélicoptères d'attaque, et la vente d'un avion-radar israélien Awacs.

La compagnie israélienne Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) est en lice avec le Français Alcatel pour la vente à la Turquie de son premier satellite espion.

Le consortium russo-israélien Kamov-IAI brigue un contrat de 145 hélicoptères d'attaque, mais la Turquie a annoncé qu'elle avait entamé des négociations commerciales "en priorité" avec la société américaine Bell-Textron.

Concernant le système Awacs, Boeing et Raytheon (israélo-américain) sont en lice.

Enfin, le groupe Israeli military Industries (IMI) brigue la modernisation de quelque 170 chars de combat M60-A3 américains de l'armée turque.

Le processus de paix au Proche-Orient, après l'échec du sommet de Camp David, a également été évoqué : M. Ecevit a souligné que la Turquie attachait une grande importance à la poursuite des négociations afin de parvenir à un règlement juste et durable de la question.

"Nous admirons les pas courageux de M. Barak en matière de politique intérieure et étrangère", a-t-il dit. Lors d'un point de presse à l'aéroport d'Ankara avant de regagner Israël, M. Barak a estimé que "personne ne peut remplacer le rôle joué par les Etats-Unis dans le processus de paix", soulignant également que la Turquie et l'Egypte bénéficiaient de la confiance des parties israélienne et palestinienne.

Interrogé sur la coopération israélo-turque dans le domaine de la défense, M. Barak a dit que les divers projets s'étaient chiffrés à un milliard de dollars ces cinq dernières années.

"De nombreux projets sont maintenant à l'agenda. Nous voulons bien sûr aller de l'avant dans notre coopération en partageant notre haute technologie et notre expérience avec des nations amies comme la Turquie", a-t-il ajouté.

La Turquie a signé avec Israël en février 1996 un accord-cadre de coopération militaire, provoquant la colère du monde arabe et de l'Iran, qui y voient une menace dirigée contre eux. Elle entretient aussi d'étroites relations avec les Palestiniens.

M. Barak, arrivé lundi matin, s'est aussi entretenu avec le chef de la diplomatie Ismail Cem, le ministre de la Défense Sabahattin Cakmakoglu, et le président Ahmet Necdet Sezer.



## IRAN

# Quel concurrent pour Khatami ?

Les attaques des conservateurs iraniens prouvent l'impasse politique dans laquelle se trouvent les durs du régime. Certains conservateurs plus modérés cherchent à se refaire une légitimité politique.

PAYAAM-E EMROUZ

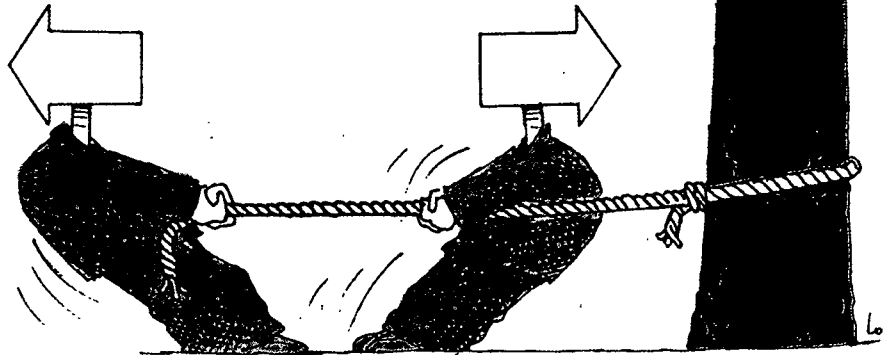
Téhéran

**A**u cours de ces derniers mois, les deux principales factions n'ont cessé de s'accuser mutuellement de vouloir provoquer une crise majeure. Les conservateurs, qui n'ont plus de majorité au Parlement, ont ainsi intensifié leur propagande contre les réformateurs, qu'ils accusent de complot. Les réformateurs estiment pour leur part que la fermeture de leurs journaux et l'arrestation de leurs journalistes procèdent d'une vaste campagne d'intimidation dirigée contre les nombreux députés réformateurs siégeant dans la nouvelle assemblée. Dans leurs communiqués, les réformateurs reprochent à leurs adversaires politiques de ne pas respecter les règles du jeu et de mettre tout en œuvre par des moyens illégaux pour rendre impossible la tâche du président Khatami, qui entame la quatrième et dernière année de son premier mandat présidentiel. En exerçant une pression constante, les conservateurs souhaitent forcer Khatami à jeter l'éponge.

Va-t-on vers un tel scénario ? Selon le très conservateur quotidien *Ressalet*, il y a en tout cas un fossé énorme entre les promesses de l'administration Khatami et ses réalisations. Dans ces conditions, il est possible d'imaginer, d'après *Ressalet*, qu'un certain nombre de supporters du président Khatami fassent désormais preuve de réalisme.

Le réalisme auquel les conservateurs font ici allusion s'inscrit dans un contexte parfaitement décrit par le très populaire député réformateur Mohammad Reza Khatami [frère du Président] : un groupe (les réformateurs) majoritaire au gouvernement et au Parlement détient en théorie 80 % du pouvoir légal ; face à lui se trouve un autre groupe (les conservateurs) qui, malgré un échec cuisant lors des dernières législatives, domine en réalité 80 % des structures du pouvoir. Dans un tel contexte, et alors que Khatami reste populaire, les conservateurs sont-ils prêts à accepter une nouvelle débâcle électorale à la présidentielle de l'année prochaine ? Cette question en appelle une autre : les conservateurs avancent-ils en ordre groupé ?

► Dessin paru dans Iran-e Farda, Téhéran.



### ■ Tolérance ?

Depuis la victoire électorale des réformateurs, une vingtaine de journaux et de magazines ont été fermés et plusieurs

journalistes ont été emprisonnés, souligne *The Economist*. Un tribunal spécial, contrôlé par les conservateurs, les a accusés d'avoir violé les

principes de l'Islam et de la révolution. "On ne sauvera pas l'Islam avec du libéralisme et de la tolérance", a déclaré l'ayatollah Ahmad Janati.

### L'ANCIEN MINISTRE VELAYATI A LA FAVEUR DES CONCILIATEURS

Il y a en fait deux tendances chez les conservateurs. La première n'a pas la moindre intention d'accepter les règles d'un jeu régi par la volonté du peuple, la seconde, plus modérée, cherche à sortir de l'impasse en espérant reconquérir un électorat populaire. Alors que l'échéance de l'élection présidentielle approche, certains responsables modérés de la mouvance conservatrice qui, ces dernières années, sont restés très discrets et sont dès lors plus présentables aux yeux de l'opinion réfléchissent à un programme politique pour l'année à venir. Une défaite de Khatami à la présidentielle de l'année prochaine n'étant pas envisageable, certains conservateurs voient déjà plus loin et se préparent pour les élections législatives, qui auront lieu dans plus de trois ans.

Après consultation, ces conservateurs n'envisagent plus la candidature de [l'ancien président] Hashemi Rafsandjani, discrédité à la suite du dernier scrutin législatif. Nategh Nouri, ancien président du Parlement et surtout candidat malheureux face à Khatami, n'a pas été davantage retenu. Pour le moment, Ali Akbar Velayati, qui fut longtemps ministre des Affaires étrangères avant de devenir conseiller

du guide suprême, l'ayatollah Khatami, apparaît comme le candidat le plus sérieux.

"Ali Akbar Velayati est très connu sur le plan international", déclarait ainsi à *Payaam-e Emrouz* une personnalité proche des conservateurs. "En outre, il est le seul qui puisse encore rassurer l'électeur iranien sur la poursuite des réformes économiques tout en attirant vers lui une partie des malheureux partisans des réformes politiques." Selon cet ancien député, l'échec économique des trois années Khatami donne une chance unique à Velayati de séduire la classe moyenne urbaine et les jeunes. Néanmoins, le choix d'une personne comme Velayati par des conservateurs qui modèrent ainsi leurs exigences est une véritable victoire politique pour les réformateurs, qui réussissent de cette façon à forcer leurs adversaires politiques à accepter les règles d'une alternance arbitrée par la volonté populaire.

Toutefois, les conservateurs n'en sont encore qu'au stade des conjectures. En effet, les grossières rumeurs diffusées par la presse conservatrice sur de prétendues divergences au sein du camp présidentiel quant à la candidature de Khatami, rumeurs auxquelles plus personne ne croit, illustrent l'impasse politique dans laquelle se trouvent encore les tenants du statu quo en Iran. ■

DU 24 AU 30 AOÛT 2000

COURRIER INTERNATIONAL N° 512

**TURQUIE** *Le kemalisme inspire les plus conservateurs*

# Le retour d'Atatürk

Istanbul :  
Éric Biegala

« A comme Atatürk, B comme Büyük (grand)... » Même dans un abécédaire, il est difficile d'échapper à Atatürk en Turquie. La dévotion pour le grand homme reste intacte. Quant à l'« atatürkisme », l'idéologie qui en découle, elle inspire souvent les tendances les plus autoritaires et les plus conservatrices du régime. Un comble pour la postérité de ce grand réformateur !

Des statues à chaque carrefour, des photos dans les magasins ou les restaurants, des portraits géants pour les jours de fête - la confédération des syndicats patronaux en prépare un de 540 m<sup>2</sup> ... Même les créateurs de mode s'y sont mis : ils ont imaginé une collection inspirée des costumes d'Atatürk. Il faudrait sans doute remonter à l'URSS de Staline ou à la Corée de Kim Il-sung pour trouver pareil culte de la personnalité.

Aujourd'hui, le kemalisme ou atatürkisme se décline essentiellement en signes ostentatoires, particulièrement depuis que les militaires ont révisé l'idéologie officielle à la suite à leur coup d'État de 1980. Une visite à l'imposant mausolée d'Atatürk, à Ankara, est un passage obligé pour les délégations étrangères. Pour l'anniversaire de la mort du héros, le 10 novembre, des « grand-messes » peuvent y attirer jusqu'à 2 millions de fidèles.

L'idéologie kémaliste se fonde sur six principes : républicanisme, nationalisme, populisme, étaticisme, laïcité et réformisme. « Les Turcs sont habitués à recevoir des ordres et ils ont pris les réformes d'Atatürk comme tels », résume Yilmaz Altug, historien et président de l'Association Mustafa-Kemal. Pour lui, l'essentiel du message politique d'Atatürk est un pragmatisme qui doit logiquement déboucher sur la démocratie.

Tous les kémalistes ne sont pas pour autant des démocrates, loin s'en faut. Bilge Bilgiç, par

exemple, président de l'Association pour la défense de la pensée d'Atatürk, estime que les Occidentaux « empêchent le développement de la Turquie avec leurs histoires de droits de l'homme ou de démocratie. Moi aussi je veux la démocratie, mais seulement lorsque nous aurons une ou deux générations suffisamment bien éduquées ».

Le dogme s'accompagne donc d'un bourrage de crâne dès l'école élémentaire. Résultat, les Turcs n'ont souvent aucune notion de la relativité historique. « Lors d'un voyage d'affaire à Taïwan, mon partenaire turc s'étonnait de ne pas trouver de statue d'Atatürk à Taïpeh. Il en a conclu que les Chinois n'aimaient pas les Turcs », raconte un homme d'affaires occidental.

Difficile de trouver des opposants à la doctrine officielle. Fikret Baskaya, lui, revendique ce titre. Ce professeur d'économie politique, d'obédience marxiste, a déjà été incarcéré quinze mois et vient tout juste d'être condamné en première instance à 17 mois supplémentaires pour

délit d'opinion. « Le régime turc est passé maître dans l'art de la dissimulation, dit-il. Il a une rhétorique moderniste, mais en réalité, l'élite, avec l'armée comme noyau dur, considère le pays comme un vaste poulailler dont on peut manipuler les locataires avec un peu de grain. »

Force est de constater que sur les six principes originels du kémalisme, seuls le nationalisme et la laïcité ont survécu. Et encore ! Les militaires ont effectivement déclaré la guerre à l'Islam politique en 1997, mais la Constitution qu'ils ont promue en 1982 rend toujours obligatoire l'enseignement religieux dans les écoles. Quant au nationalisme, il est réaffirmé avec une belle constance.

Aux élections législatives de 1999, le Parti républicain du peuple (CHP), fondé par Atatürk et qui défend toujours un certain réformisme, n'a même pas franchi la barre des 10 %. Pour la première fois depuis la fondation de la République, il n'est donc pas représenté au Parlement. Dans le même temps, le Parti de l'action nationaliste (extrême droite) a fait une percée fracassante. A en croire les sondages, il est aujourd'hui le premier parti de Turquie.

**TURQUIE** *Le MHP est devenu le second parti du pays*

# L'extrême droite a le vent en poupe

Istanbul :  
Éric Biegala

« Le racisme est toujours important en Europe alors qu'en Turquie, Atatürk s'est toujours opposé aux discriminations ethniques et religieuses. » C'est ainsi que le premier ministre Bülent Ecevit stigmatisait récemment le « racisme » européen, oubliant qu'au sein même de sa coalition siège en bonne place un parti ultra-nationaliste aux fréquents dérapages xénophobes.

Longtemps marginal, le Parti de l'action nationaliste (MHP, extrême droite) est devenu, à la faveur des législatives de 1999, la seconde formation du pays, talonnant de très près le parti de M. Ecevit. Sevket Bülent Yah-

nici, son vice-président, défend le concept de « turcité » : « En Irak du Nord, en Azerbaïdjan, en Iran, au Turkestan oriental (le Xinjiang chinois), des millions de personnes se sentent turcs. L'islam sunnite n'est que consubstantiel à cette identité turque ».

L'arrivée en fanfare de l'extrême droite sur la scène politique turque n'est pas un hasard. Le MHP a profité du discrédit des chefs de la droite classique. Il a également su exploiter le vide laissé par les conservateurs islamistes, l'armée ayant fait comprendre qu'elle ne tolérerait pas leur retour au pouvoir. Mais le MHP profite surtout d'une vieille culture nationaliste, née à la chute de l'Empire ottoman. Au début du siècle, le panturquisme rêve de réunir tous les peuples turcs

d'Anatolie, d'Asie centrale et du Caucase. La république de Mustafa Kemal Atatürk mettra un terme à cet irrédentisme, mais le nouveau régime n'en restera pas moins profondément enraciné dans le nationalisme ethnique. En 1939, la propre fille d'Atatürk soutiendra ainsi une thèse d'anthropologie intitulée « L'Anatolie, pays de la race turque ».

C'est à partir des années 50 que l'extrême droite renaît de ses cendres, sous la houlette d'un jeune colonel, Alparslan Türkeş. Ses partisans vont très vite en découdre avec l'extrême gauche. Les violences, les assassinats se multiplient, conduisant l'armée à reprendre le pouvoir en 1980. Les militaires interdisent alors les partis et imposent leur idéologie : le nationalisme selon Atatürk, inscrit dans la

Constitution de 1982. La même année est créée la Fondation Atatürk pour la culture, la langue et l'histoire. Ses objectifs sont ainsi résumés par le politologue Étienne Copeaux : « L'expression culturelle tout entière organisée dans un sens chauvin et ethnique »...

Dans les années 90, le panturquisme est réintégré dans le discours officiel, mais sous un mode mineur. Bref, abreuvé de valeurs nationalistes, l'électorat était mûr pour tomber dans les bras de l'extrême droite. Une seule chose le retenait encore : la collusion notoire des extrémistes de droite avec la mafia. Il y a quatre ans, une opération mains propres a été lancée. Menée par Devlet Bahçeli, aujourd'hui président du MHP et vice-premier ministre, elle s'est accompagnée d'un recensement

LE FIGARO SAMEDI 19 - DIMANCHE 20 AOÛT 2000

LE FIGARO 21 Août 2000

politique, qui a intégré le républicanisme et la laïcité, et d'un nouvel habillage : on a renoncé aux moustaches « en croissant turc » ou au salut « au coup de boule »...

Au pouvoir depuis plus d'un an, le MHP est en quête de respectabilité. Remarquable ma-

nœuvrier, Devlet Bahçeli s'est fixé un objectif : prendre la place des partis de centre-droit dont les dirigeants sont en perte de vitesse. Bien sûr, le MHP a dû faire avaler quelques couleuvres à son électorat. L'une d'elles était la décision de surseoir à l'exécution du chef kurde Abdullah Öcalan, le temps que la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme statue sur son sort.

Officiellement, la politique du MHP épouse celle du pays, notamment en ce qui concerne l'intégration européenne. Le parti ne s'est guère opposé aux textes de loi visant une démocratisation du régime. Mais si le MHP s'abstient de faire des vagues, il ne reste pas non plus

inactif. Exemple : depuis un an, le brevet de capitaine pour la marine de plaisance est réservé aux seules personnes « de nationalité ou de souche turque ». De même, Osman Durmus, ministre MHP de la Santé, s'est illustré l'an dernier en critiquant l'aide internationale aux victimes du tremblement de terre au motif qu'« un Turc n'a pas d'autre ami qu'un autre Turc ». L'été dernier, M. Durmus s'est encore surpassé en dénonçant une collecte de sang à destination des États-Unis, faisant valoir que les Américains allaient « pouvoir

déchiffrer le code génétique turc » !

Plus sérieux et plus inquiet est le noyautage de la fonction publique par l'extrême droite. La plupart des fonctionnaires l'affirment : le MHP est en train d'installer ses hommes aux postes clés. Mais l'administration n'est pas amorphe. C'est en son sein que l'on trouve les personnes les plus engagées dans l'entreprise de démocratisation du régime. Et paradoxalement, c'est même parfois dans les institutions les mieux contrôlées par le MHP que des ouvertures décisives apparaissent.

« En Irak du Nord, en Azerbaïdjan, en Iran, au Turkestan oriental, des millions de personnes se sentent turcs »

## TURQUIE Les réformateurs se heurtent à l'« Etat profond »

# Les artisans de la démocratisation

Ankara :  
Éric Biegala

Les Turcs l'ont surnommé « *derin devlet* », littéralement : l'« Etat profond ». C'est le Léviathan administratif servi par un appareil policier tout-puissant et dont les pratiques sécuritaires prennent souvent le pas sur la ligne politique officielle du pays.

Pour le citoyen qui se sent naturellement démuni, l'Etat profond c'est cet écheveau anonyme de « services », « directorats » et autres « bureaux spéciaux » dont la presse ou les défenseurs des droits dénoncent régulièrement les abus.

Mais la réalité est moins contrastée. On trouve évidemment nombre d'authentiques démocrates dans l'administration. Des gens se battent pour faire évoluer le système de l'intérieur, et parfois y parviennent.

La commission parlementaire des droits de l'homme, par exemple. Depuis des années qu'elle existe, on finissait par s'interroger sur son rôle, à cause de son silence devant les exactions dénoncées par les organisations non gouvernementales.

Mais, en mars dernier, la commission a laissé éclater quelques bombes. En l'occurrence, des rapports démontrant

que contrairement aux assertions officielles la torture est fréquente. Mieux : à la suite de leur présidente, Sema Piskinsüt, les membres de la commission n'hésitaient pas à procéder à des descentes dans les commissariats d'Istanbul pour dénicher des instruments de torture, malgré les freins opposés au travail des élus.

« Il y a toujours des résistances très claires dans l'appareil d'Etat », prévient Sebhatullah Seydaoglu, vice-président de la commission. Il cite le refus du

naires du Plan d'Etat avaient dressé une liste des pratiques ou des lois incompatibles avec les règles européennes.

« Si on a de bonnes lois mais des procureurs mal formés, ça ne peut pas marcher », explique un des auteurs de ce rapport. Pour lui, « la question de fond est simple : sommes-nous en train de faire semblant ou voulons-nous vraiment une démocratie ? Si c'est le cas, il faut non seulement des lois adaptées mais aussi le capital humain pour les faire appliquer ».

Le plus piquant, c'est que le Plan est contrôlé par le Parti de l'action nationaliste (MHP, extrême droite), membre de la coalition gouvernementale qui garde quelques préventions contre l'Europe ou la démocratisation. Son président, le vice-premier ministre Devlet Bahçeli, dénonçait ainsi récemment les « forces occultes » qui préparent « de nouveaux complots contre la Turquie sous couvert des droits de l'homme ».

Pourtant, les fonctionnaires du Plan sont catégoriques : à aucun moment la direction d'extrême droite n'a freiné leur travail ou ne s'est même comportée avec le moindre parti pris idéologique. Visiblement un peu surpris par ce rapport qu'il n'attendait pas, le gouvernement décidait toutefois de s'en servir comme base de travail pour éta-

blir le « plan de route » pour que le pays soit en mesure de négocier son entrée à l'UE.

La police, régulièrement accusée de brutalités et autres abus, ne reste pas non plus les bras croisés. Depuis 1992, les droits de l'homme sont au programme des écoles et académies. « Il ne s'agit pas seulement de faire apprendre par cœur le libellé des droits fondamentaux aux futurs policiers, mais bien de leur faire comprendre qu'il est extrêmement facile d'abuser de son autorité, sans même parfois s'en rendre compte », explique Fevzi Erdogan, directeur de la formation au ministère de l'Intérieur.

« Le principe de base, c'est de faire admettre que seuls les indices matériels doivent amener à l'arrestation d'un suspect », précise un jeune inspecteur que le sujet semble passionner. « Sinon, poursuit-il, on se retrouve dans la situation où, quand une vache est volée dans un village, on réunit toute la population et on lui tape dessus jusqu'à ce qu'un coupable se déclare. »

Ces changements devront vaincre les résistances de l'« Etat profond » ou simplement la force d'inertie d'une administration pléthorique. Mais « les mentalités peuvent changer très vite en Turquie », remarque un fonctionnaire.

## Vaincre la force d'inertie d'une administration pléthorique

ministère de la Justice d'autoriser les visites de prison. Les menaces par téléphone, aussi.

L'été dernier, le gouvernement a timidement amendé des lois exploitées par les auteurs de brutalités policières. Le rapport sur la torture donne en tout cas davantage de corps aux promesses de réformes du pouvoir.

Ailleurs, des hauts fonctionnaires précèdent les hommes politiques, prenant sur eux d'accorder leur action avec la politique officielle. Après l'acceptation par l'Union européenne de la candidature turque, en décembre dernier, les fonction-

## **Turkish Army Views on 'EU Process' Examined**

Hurriyet 29 Aug 00  
by Sedat Ergin

[FBIS Translated Text] A series of messages were conveyed during the rotation of office ceremonies held at the Land Forces and Gendarmes command headquarters last week. These messages contain elements that deserve attention because they represent the army's perspective of separatism and reactionism.

One of the most significant messages was delivered by Gen. Rasim Betir who stepped down as Commander General of the Gendarmes. Making reference to the activities of "separatist and reactionary elements" and "foreign centers," Gen. Betir said in his address:

"These elements who confront us with demands for supposedly more democracy and freedom can unfortunately find supporters from all segments of our country in the name of integration with the EU." Thus the EU was for the first time mentioned in the farewell speech of a senior commander.

The first point of this message is the assessment that "destructive separatist elements" are trying to turn the process of full membership in the EU to an advantage in their favor.

The second point is that representatives of "all segments" who are outside these elements and who do not share their goals find themselves supporting their demands solely because they advocate full membership in the EU. The EU is not directly criticized in the text of the speech. However the speech indirectly expresses the army's "known" concerns that the full membership process may help separatist and reactionary groups to gain footholds.

The army has declared at the highest level, through Chief of the General Staff Gen. Huseyin Kivrikoglu, that it remains committed to the goal of full membership in the EU. Against that background Gen. Betir's remarks can be interpreted as a warning that does not express opposition to full membership itself but calls for caution on the path to full membership.

Another important speech that complements this sally was delivered by the new Commander of the Land Forces, Gen. Hilmi Ozkok.

The most interesting part of Gen. Ozkok's speech focused on the "politicization" strategy of the PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan] and its supporters. Gen. Ozkok, who is expected to become Chief of the General Staff in two years, said:

"Those who realize that they cannot defeat the Turkish Republic by the force arms now want to attain their goals under the rubric of 'politicization.' However it must be understood well that the Turkish army will continue to serve as the strongest guarantee of the political measures that will prevent these traitors from attaining their political objectives."

The key expression in Gen. Ozkok's speech is the one that states that the army is openly an intervenor in "political measures" related to this issue. One can gather from these remarks that the army will generate "political measures" against "politicization" by using its influence in the National Security Council.

Equally important is Gen. Ozkok's remark that the army is the "strongest guarantee" of these political measures.

Read in reverse, the army sees itself as the most important safeguard against the possibility of any "weakness" that may surface in political authority in the identification and implementation of political measures in this area.

In conclusion, it can be said that these sensitivities which have been put on record will be an important factor in setting the scope of the steps taken toward democratization in the coming period.

## Turkey 'Assures' Israel on Defense Projects

Cumhuriyet 30 Aug 00

[FBIS Translated Text] Ankara--Echoes of Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak's eight-hour visit to Ankara on Monday are continuing. The principal topic of discussion during Barak's visit was reported to be the Middle East peace process, but defense industry contracts were also discussed during the talks and Turkish officials assured Israel that it is not being excluded from defense contracts. Noting that the Turkish Armed Forces are implementing a restructuring project that will cost \$150 billion over 20 years, Turkish officials said that they expect Israel to bid on tenders that will be opened in the near future. Assurances were also given that the decision to cancel the plan to award the M-60 tank modernization project to Israel without any competitive bidding and the higher probability that France will be awarded the contract for the security satellite will not harm Turkish-Israeli cooperation. Minister of National Defense Sabahattin Cakmakoglu said that defense industry cooperation between the two countries is very broad and that this cooperation cannot be restricted to a few projects.

Contracts awarded to Israeli firms in the last five years within the framework of defense industry cooperation between the two countries reportedly total more than \$1 billion. Israel wants to win larger contracts from Turkey, such as the \$4 billion contract for attack helicopters. Turkey, on the other hand, bases its decisions in such contracts on balancing its ties with Europe and the United States. Turkey awarded the helicopter contract to the United States and is expected to award the \$7-billion tank contract to Germany.

Diplomatic sources said that during the talks held between the two sides Turkey proved itself to be an active player in the Middle East peace process and that Turkey will take the necessary steps to increase its contribution to the establishment of peace and stability in the region. Noting that Turkey is one of the few countries in the world that has good relations with both Palestine [as published] and Israel, the sources said that the serious consideration given by Barak to Turkey's proposals on Jerusalem is an important step. However Barak implied that his country's posture will not change when he said: "No country can play the same role as that of the United States."

\* \* \* \* \*

## Kurd rebel chief calls for dialogue with Turkey

August 31, 2000

ANKARA, Turkey (Reuters) – Condemned Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan on Thursday renewed his call for a dialogue with Turkish authorities to bring an end to conflict in the country's mainly Kurdish southeast.

Fighting between Turkish troops and Ocalan's Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) guerrillas, which has killed over 30,000 since the mid-1980s, has tailed off since Ocalan told his fighters to cease armed struggle after a Turkish court sentenced him to death for treason last year.

Turkish officials regard his peace overtures as a bid to avoid the gallows and refuse to negotiate with the PKK, which they dub a "terrorist" organization. "I urge the Turkish state to give a chance, an opportunity, to peace and brotherhood," Ocalan said in a statement faxed from the jail where he awaits the result of his appeal to the European Court of Human Rights against the death sentence.

"I am calling on Turkey to bring about peace and a democracy that transcends violence together."

Ocalan urged the PKK, which he has said should pursue cultural rights for Turkey's estimated 12 million Kurds, to participate in the proposed peace dialogue. "I hope the PKK will fulfill its role by bringing the path of legitimate self-defense together with the constructive path of peace," he said.

Milliyet 31 Aug 00 p 10 **Israeli Firms To Carry Out Irrigation Projects in Southeast Turkey**  
by Zulfikar Dogan

[FBIS Translated Text] During a lightening visit he has paid to Turkey in order to discuss defense projects and the Middle East peace talks, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Baraq has secured the offering of eight irrigation projects in the GAP [Southeast Anatolia Projects] to Israeli firms.

The eight projects will reportedly cost a total amount of one billion dollars. The following are the eight projects, which will be managed by the State Water Works [DSI]: The Lower Euphrates Second Stage; the Mardin-Ceyranpinar irrigation project; the second part of Mardin-Ceylanpinar project within the scope of the Lower Euphrates second stage; the third part of the Mardin-Ceylanpinar irrigation project; the Samsat irrigation project within the scope of the Adiyaman-Kahta irrigation project; the second stage of the Kralkizi-Tigris irrigation project; the fourth stage of the Tigris irrigation project; and the second part of the Kralkizi-Tigris gravity water irrigation system within the scope of the first stage of the Kralkizi-Tigris irrigation project.

The projects will be offered to Israeli firms through direct talks without the need to put out any tenders for these projects. The agreements on the projects will have to be approved by the Council of Ministers.

**They Will Take Turkish Partners**

Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Baraq has accepted the Turkish government's request on the participation of Turkish firms in the projects. The names of firms that the Israeli Ministry of Industry and Trade has determined are as follows: Astrom, Merhav, Solel Bonch, Tahal Consulting, and Ben Yarar. The Israelis have conveyed these names to the Turkish government. The Israeli firms will reportedly secure all the technical parts and machines needed for the irrigation projects. Moreover, the Israeli firms will also secure the funds necessary to carry out the projects with the help of the Israeli government's guarantee.

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**One Kurdish immigrant hurt in clash with Coast Guards in Patras**

IRNA - 31 Aug 2000

Athens, Aug. 31, IRNA – A bloody clash between Coast Guard officers and Kurdish illegal immigrants took place in the city of Patras in southern Greece early Thursday morning, the Greece's Macedonian Press Agency (MPA) reported.

According to the Coast Guard, a group of Kurds attacked them with stones and knives defending a fellow Kurd, who had been arrested, accused of a robbery attempt. During the clash, the Coast Guard officers opened fire wounding a young Kurd in the arm.

Hundreds of Kurdish illegal immigrants are staying in Patras with the hope to get on a ferry boat to Italy. Ferry boats to Italy depart from the port of Patras.

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**Iraq Says Western Plane Hit in No-Fly Zone**

Reuters - 31 August 2000

By Hassan Hafidh

BAGHDAD, Iraq (Reuters) - Iraq said Thursday its anti-aircraft defenses had hit one of a group of Western war-planes taking part in a bombing raid in southern Iraq Wednesday, and that three Iraqi civilians had been wounded. A military spokesman, quoted by Iraqi newspapers, did not say whether the plane had been downed or simply hit.

“Our brave missile and defense units confronted the attacking planes, hitting one of them, and forced them to

return to their evil bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait," the spokesman was quoted as saying. The spokesman said the attack had taken place at 10:05 a.m. (2:05 a.m. EDT) Wednesday at Rumaitha district in Muthanna province, 162 miles south of Baghdad.

"The bombings led to the injury of three citizens -- a child among them," he said. Several civilian houses and an excavator were damaged during the attack, he added.

Newspapers also reported that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had met senior air defense officers Wednesday and praised their overall work.

U.S. and British planes patrol no-fly zones over southern and northern Iraq set up after the 1991 Gulf War. The zones, which Baghdad does not recognize, were imposed to protect a Kurdish enclave in the north and Shi'ite Muslims in the south from possible attacks by Iraqi government forces. The planes have bombed targets in the no-fly zones frequently since Baghdad stepped up its defiance of the restrictions in December 1998. Iraq says 311 Iraqis have been killed and 927 wounded in these attacks.

There was no immediate comment on the latest Iraqi report from the United States or Britain.

Baghdad has said on several occasions that it has hit or shot down U.S. or British aircraft patrolling the no-fly zones, but the reports have always been denied. Last week Iraq said its anti-aircraft defenses had shot down a U.S. F-14 fighter plane over southern Iraq in mid-July. The U.S. military denied the report and said the jet had crashed in the Saudi Arabian desert during a training flight on July 26.

According to Iraqi reports Western planes attacked the capital of Muthanna province, Samawa, earlier in August, hitting government warehouses and a rail station, killing two people and wounding 22 others.

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### **France's Alcatel wins Turkish contract for spy satellite**

Agence France-Presse

ANKARA, Aug 31 (AFP) - French group Alcatel has won a contract for Turkey's first spy satellite worth 204 million dollars (229 million euros), the head of the Turkish army was quoted as saying Thursday in a mass-circulation daily. Alcatel snatched the contract after slashing its price considerably in response to a similar move by its Israeli competitor, the Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI), chief of general staff Huseyin Kivrikoglu said at a reception late Wednesday, Sabah daily reported.

"The French firm won the tender after it reduced its bid to 204 million dollars. Besides, the French project was technologically superior," Kivrikoglu said, according to Sabah. The French embassy in Ankara neither confirmed nor denied the report. Turkish press reports claimed last month that the Turkish defence ministry had signed a 274-million-dollar contract with the IAI.

But the reports were immediately denied by Defence Minister Sabahattin Cakmakoglu, who said the tender had not yet been finalized. Kivrikoglu's remarks came after a one-day trip by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak to Ankara on Monday, during which he tried to convince Turkish leaders to choose Israeli firms for arms contracts. Turkey has built strong ties with Israel since 1996, when the two states signed a military cooperation deal which was harshly criticized by the Arab world and Iran.

Israel's defence industry is currently working to win contracts to supply Turkey with an airborne radar system and 145 attack helicopters as well as to modernize a fleet of main battle tanks.

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## **Kurdish rebels killed in Turkish crackdown**

The Guardian

by Chris Morris in Ankara August 31, 2000

Sixteen members of the Kurdistan Workers Party, the PKK, have been killed this week in renewed fighting in south-eastern Turkey, military officials said yesterday. Operations involving thousands of troops are continuing in remote mountainous areas.

The clashes come almost exactly a year after the PKK's imprisoned leader Abdullah Ocalan instructed his followers to observe a ceasefire and withdraw from Turkish territory. Thousands of fighters have obeyed the order, and relocated across Turkey's eastern border to camps in Iraq and Iran. However, several hundred members of the PKK, who are divided into small mobile groups, are still thought to be in Turkey. The armed forces have vowed to hunt them down until they surrender or have been killed.

The current fighting is taking place in two separate locations - the border province of Hakkari where seven rebels have been killed, and the province of Tunceli, a traditional PKK stronghold, where nine bodies have been recovered. The Turkish armed forces are taking a hard line against the PKK. They dismiss the ceasefire as a temporary tactic, designed to try to save Ocalan from the gallows and to buy the PKK some time to regroup.

After taking office last week the new army commander, General Hilmi Ozkok, said the PKK had realised it could not win on the battlefield, and he vowed that it would not be allowed to achieve its objectives by other means. "The Turkish army lost thousands of martyrs in the struggle against separatist terrorism", he said, "and it will continue to prevent the traitors from attaining their political goals".

PKK hardliners believe armed struggle is their only option, but Ocalan has appealed for calm. He says he has abandoned all thoughts of a separate state, and he wants Turkey to grant its substantial Kurdish population a range of cultural rights. "Peace has to be put into practice", he said in a statement released through his lawyers last week. "I am calling on everyone who is involved to make a more meaningful effort".

Meanwhile Ocalan sits in heavily guarded isolation on the prison island of Imrali in the Sea of Marmara. The European Court of Human Rights is expected to discuss his case in November.

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## **Turkey's army chief urges action against Islamist public employees**

31 Aug 2000 Agence France-Presse

ANKARA, Aug 31 (AFP) - The head of Turkey's powerful army has called on the government to purge public offices of "thousands" of Islamist employees who he said aimed to undermine the secular structure of the state, Turkish newspapers reported Thursday.

"The army expels this kind of people as soon as it detects them. If they (the government) want public offices to function properly they should do the same," Chief of General Staff Huseyin Kivrikoglu was quoted as saying at a reception late Wednesday by the mass-circulation daily Hurriyet.

"There are thousands of public servants at every level who want to undermine the state. They have penetrated to positions such as governors and other key posts and are destroying the foundations of the state," the general added. His remarks came in the wake of a row between Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit and President Ahmet Necdet Sezer over the legal format of a government decree enabling the expulsion of employees deemed to be linked to subversive Islamist and Kurdish movements.

Sezer twice declined to approve the decree on the grounds that under the constitution disciplinary sanctions

should be regulated by a full-fledged law passed by parliament. The draft is now to be submitted to parliament when its summer recess ends in October.

It is part of a package of measures outlined by the military-dominated National Security Council in 1997 to curb what was deemed an increasingly Islamic approach in state policies by the then government of Turkey's first Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan. Yielding to harsh pressure by the military, Erbakan stepped down in June 1997. The constitutional court later closed down his party and banned its leadership, including Erbakan, from politics for five years.

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### **Gen Kivrikoglu on Need for Law Against Reactionism, Says Iran is Insincere**

Sabah 31 Aug 00 p 15

by Sibel Yesilmen and Mahmut Bulut

[FBIS Translated Text] Gen. Huseyin Kivrikoglu, Chief of the General Staff, said that the Government must adopt a sincere and persistent approach to have the parliament pass the decree with force of law [herewith decree], which has been drawn up to dismiss reactionary and separatist elements from the state cadres, in the form of a law. Replying to the questions a group of journalists put to him during the reception that was held at the Gazi Officers Club on the occasion of Victory Day on 30 August, he asserted: "A decree or a law to that effect would not make any difference for us. It is the parliament that should take action now. Meanwhile, the Government must adopt a sincere and persistent approach to have the necessary law passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly [TBMM]. Otherwise, the matter will be similar to the bill that called for a 5 + 5 year term for the President."

The questions put to Kivrikoglu and the way he replied to them are as follows:

- Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit said that the crisis that was created by the decree is now in the past. Can you comment on the situation?

- First, I must say that 80 percent of the reports that were either published by the newspapers or broadcast by the television networks were unfounded. We want the necessary measures to be taken. The National Security Council [MGK] called for the adoption of the measures for many years. Meanwhile, the decisions that were made on 28 February 1997 are common knowledge. A decree or a law to that effect would not make any difference for us. The outcome is important. Whether the objective is achieved in this or that way is not important. I must say that we were not aware that a decree would be drawn up. We were informed on it in June. What is important for us is to have something in hand to that effect.

- The chances of having a decree do not exist anymore.

- That is right. Everything depends on the parliament now. The TBMM will be back from its summer recess in October. The MGK said that "urgent action" should be taken. The Government said that priority will be given to the necessary process. The Government must adopt a sincere and persistent approach to have the parliament pass the bill it will submit to it.

- Motherland Party Leader and Deputy Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz said that a parliamentary group decision will be made. Can you comment on his statement?

- The parliamentary groups adopting decisions on the matter will be more appropriate. As I just said, the Government must adopt a sincere and persistent approach. Otherwise, the matter will be similar to the bill that called for a 5 + 5 year term for the President. Naturally, putting the law into effect is as important as having it passed by the parliament.

- What else can be done?

- There are two alternatives in the military forces, the first of which is forced retirement. According to the military laws, the signatures of 44 officials are required to force a military personnel to retire. Naturally, the process is subject to judicial litigation. The second is the Supreme Military Council's [YAS] decision. Even so, more than 40 signatures are required. But, the decision to that effect is not subject to judicial litigation. A military council does not exist in civilian life. Nevertheless, similar measures can be taken.

General Kivrikoglu replied to the other questions that were put to him as follows:

**Fethullah Gulen:** He plans to undermine the state. He is involved in activities to achieve his objective. Regardless of that, you will shake his hand or greet him or respect him. That cannot be. Gulen's supporters can be found at every level. Not only Gulen's supporters but also the supporters of the Suleymancilar and the National Vision tarikats [sects] are found at every level. Unfortunately, the State Security Court in Istanbul overruled the decision the State Security Court in Ankara made in connection with Gulen. The situation would have been different if the State Security Court in Ankara was not in recess. Why do the courts make different decisions on such matters? Unfortunately, Gulen's supporters can be found in the judicial system as well. Gulen lives in New Jersey now. That is common knowledge. Some 11 of the 44 non-commissioned officers the YAS dismissed from the military forces are Gulen's supporters.

**Turkey's Intelligence Satellite:** French and Israeli firms competed for Turkey's intelligence satellite. Israel significantly reduced its price. However, the contract was awarded to the French firm after it offered to build it for \$204 million. Meanwhile, it must be noted that the technology France has is superior.

**Greek Missiles:** There is no evidence to confirm that Greece has actually taken action to buy Cruise missiles. It has drawn up a project to do so. But, there is nothing more to it. Turkey will respond accordingly. The General Staff will decide the measures that can be taken if Greece moves to acquire Cruise missiles. We will inform the Ministry of National Defense on our needs and it will take the necessary measures.

**Iran is Insincere:** Low-level talks are held with Iran. However, a result has not been achieved yet. Iran does not maintain a sincere approach. The Iranian officials respond to our calls for joint operations against the Workers Party of Kurdistan [PKK] camps by saying "Let us have the information you have. We will make the necessary assessments and then organize joint operations." They plan to have the PKK camps transferred to other places after they receive the information they want from us. They are not sincere.

**Talks Between Sezer and Ecevit:** President Sezer and Prime Minister Ecevit held talks on Prime Minister Ehud Baraq's visit. That was during the reception that was held when Baraq was here. The newspapers reported that "Israel did not complain because Turkey decided against awarding contracts to it on its defense projects." That is right because we awarded contracts to Israel on our defense projects worth more than \$1 billion during the past few years. We have the right to complain because that country has bought nothing from Turkey. Israel is modernizing our tanks. Contrary to the press reports that the agreement for the modernization of our tanks has been canceled, the two sides are working to realize the project.

**Fenerbahce in Difficulty:** The Fenerbahce Football Club transferred good players but its situation is unfavorable. I believe that it will pull itself together. Meanwhile, the Galatasaray Football Club won the Super Cup. But Fenerbahce lost the game. I am a fan of the Fenerbahce Football Club. So are the other commanders. Well, they better be so. Otherwise, they will not be promoted. I believe that the Besiktas Football Club's performance is better now.

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