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LA petite ville kurde de Lice, 10.000 h, située à environ 70 km de Diyarbakir, a été en grande partie détruite au cours d'une vaste opération militaire turque qui s'est déroulée du 22 au 26 octobre. Les commerces et les habitations du centre-ville ont été dévastés par des coups de canons, la mosquée entièrement détruite, la mosquée fortement endommagée. Lice et son périmètre ont été déclarés zone militaire interdite où ni les journalistes, ni les parlementaires n'ont pu entrer. Une délégation parlementaire conduite par Deniz

Destruction de la ville de Lice

Baykal, président du Parti républicain du peuple (CHP), munie de l'autorisation du Premier ministre par intérim a dû, sur injonction des militaires, rebrousser chemin à 8 km de Lice. L'armée a également contraint le Premier ministre turc, M^{me} Çiller à renoncer à son idée de se rendre sur place.

Officiellement ces opérations militaires turques ont été présentées comme une riposte au meurtre, le 22 octobre à Lice du général

Bahtiyar Aydin, commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale. Le PKK a rapidement démenti toute responsabilité de ses forces dans ce meurtre et dénoncé «un coup monté des militaires pour punir une ville connue pour le patriotisme de ses habitants». Les réfugiés de Lice affluant par milliers vers Diyarbakir ont également affirmé qu'il n'y avait pas eu d'affrontements entre la guérilla et l'armée dans leur ville, qu'après l'annonce de la mort du général Aydin les forces turques

s'étaient lancées dans le bombardement du centre-ville et le ratisage systématique de tous ses quartiers. Devant l'évidence, le président turc lui-même a dû concéder que le général Aydin avait été tué par «une balle perdue» tandis que certains commentateurs politiques attribuent ce meurtre aux règlements de compte entre les durs et les colombes de l'armée. Ils relevent qu'après la mort, pour le moins suspecte, du président Özal, les partisans de sa tendance modérée (dans le contexte turc) sont progressivement

éliminés dans l'appareil militaire et dans le MIT (Organisation Nationale du renseignement). «*Les colombes sont abattues les unes après les autres*» par les durs de l'armée a conclu un éditorialiste du quotidien *Milliyet* spécialiste des affaires militaires.

Se débarrasser d'un général indésirable pour justifier la destruction d'une ville considérée comme «perdue» en raison du nationalisme kurde de ses habitants: tel serait l'argument du drame de Lice

qui s'est soldé par la mort d'une trentaine de civils, la destruction d'environ 400 commerces et habitations et l'exode de la quasi totalité de la population.

Depuis la destruction en août 1992 de la ville de Sîrnak, 25.000 h, la liste des villes kurdes dévastées (Kulp, Çukurca, Varto, Lice) ne cesse de s'allonger dans un processus qui n'est pas sans rappeler celui de la destruction de villes et villages du Kurdistan irakien par les armées de Saddam Hussein.

Téhéran accusé dans le procès de Berlin

LE procès des assassins du Dr. Sadegh Sharafkendi, secrétaire général du PDKI (Parti démocratique du Kurdistan d'Iran) et de trois de ses collaborateurs abattus en septembre 1992 à Berlin, en marge du Congrès de l'Internationale Socialiste s'est ouvert le 28 octobre à Berlin. Les accusés sont quatre Libanais et un Iranien, Kazem Darabi. Ce dernier installé depuis 1982 en Allemagne est considéré comme le cerveau du commando qui perpétré le quadruple assassinat.

Dans son acte d'accusation le parquet fédéral de Karlsruhe, chargé des affaires de terrorisme, affirme formellement que les services de renseignements de Téhéran ont commandité l'attentat et que Darabi est un de leurs agents. De son côté, M. Freitjof Kubsch, président de la première chambre pénale de Berlin, chargée de cette affaire a, le 22 octobre, adressé une

lettre au secrétaire d'État à la chancellerie Berndt Schmidbauer, chef des services secrets allemands, invitant ce dernier à remettre à la justice les informations en sa possession. M. Schmidbauer avait indiqué au cours d'une émission télévisée que les services secrets connaissaient les détails de cette affaire. Il avait, la veille, reconnu devant les députés qu'il n'était pas exclu que le ministre iranien des renseignements, M. Ali Fallahian, qu'il a reçu début octobre à Bonn, ait commandité le quadruple assassinat. Il avait cependant ajouté que ses services ne lui avaient pas fourni jusqu'à présent de preuve concrète.

La visite à Bonn d'Ali Fallahian considéré comme l'un des plus importants responsables terroristes dans le monde avait suscité de vives réactions des gouvernements américain et britannique qui dénoncent le terrorisme d'État iranien. A cette occasion la justice allemande

avait voulu ouvrir une information judiciaire contre Fallahian mais la chancellerie avait refusé, en arguant de l'immunité dont bénéficiait le ministre en tant qu'hôte étranger.

D'après l'hebdomadaire allemand *Der Spiegel* du 25 octobre, les services secrets iraniens ont bénéficié depuis 1991 de l'assistance technique de l'Allemagne. Des experts allemands auraient participé pendant deux mois à la formation de leurs homologues iraniens à qui ils auraient délivré gracieusement du matériel informatique. A l'issue de sa visite à Bonn A. Fallahian s'est d'ailleurs publiquement félicité «des relations de confiance entre les services de sécurité allemands et iraniens» et affirmé que leur coopération était appelée à se renforcer.

Dans ce contexte où le droit pèse peu face aux intérêts et à la raison d'État, il serait illusoire de croire que le procès de Berlin aboutisse à autre chose qu'à la sanction de quelques exécutants des basses œuvres terroristes du régime islamique d'Iran.

Washington soutient Mme Çiller

LE Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Çiller, a effectué du 14 au 18 octobre une visite officielle à Washington au cours de laquelle, elle a notamment rencontré le président Clinton. Tout au long de cette visite présentée par les média turcs comme «la conquête de l'Amérique», Mme Çiller a plaidé en faveur de l'octroi à son pays d'une aide économique substantielle «pour compenser ses pertes énormes en raison de l'embargo contre l'Irak», allant jusqu'à brandir la menace d'une normalisation unilatérale si elle n'obtenait pas satisfaction. «L'embargo a touché les peuples irakien et turc, mais je doute qu'il ait touché Saddam Hussein» a-t-elle déclaré devant la presse avant d'ajouter : «l'appauvrissement des populations du Sud-Est anatolien (lire le Kurdistan) provoqué par l'embargo peut favoriser le terrorisme. La pauvreté économique pousse ces gens (les Kurdes) à abandonner leurs résidences contre le terrorisme».

En résumé l'embargo serait le responsable sinon de tous, du moins de la plupart des maux de la Turquie. Pour y remédier, les alliés de celle-ci devraient soit compenser ses pertes soit décider de la levée des sanctions économiques frappant le régime de Saddam Hussein s'ils veulent éviter à Ankara d'avoir à renouer avec Bagdad.

Ce discours n'a apparemment guère été convaincant. Le président américain a été assez clair à ce sujet : «La Turquie a été un membre constant de la coalition mondiale qui conduit Saddam Hussein hors du Koweït et institué des sanctions internationales contre l'Irak. Pour cela, les États-Unis lui restent reconnaissants. Nous avons tous eu à payer un prix pour exécuter la vo-

lonté de la communauté internationale et la Turquie, à cet égard, a certainement fait plus que sa part. Et nous sommes reconnaissants pour sa contribution». Il s'agit en fait d'une reconnaissance verbale, de politesse, car Washington n'envisage pas de verser à la Turquie de compensation financière particulière. Le président a indiqué que «quelques idées, dont certaines n'impliquent pas le versement de l'argent public ni le transfert d'un gouvernement à l'autre, avaient été discutées» et que les deux parties étaient convaincues que «les experts des deux côtés devaient discuter davantage de ces idées». Il s'agirait en fait d'encourager les institutions financières internationales à se montrer plus souple dans l'octroi de nouveaux crédits à la Turquie, qui, avec une dette extérieure de 67 milliards de dollars, est actuellement le huitième pays le plus endetté du globe.

Dans le seul article de la presse américaine consacré à la visite du Premier ministre turc, le célèbre éditorialiste du *New York Times*, William Safire, a dénoncé le chantage de la Turquie qu'il qualifie d'«alliée en vente», peu fiable car «susceptible de s'allier au plus offrant» (voir p.135). Prudente sur le plan de l'aide économique, l'administration américaine s'est montrée peu avare en déclarations de soutien politique sur «un partenariat politique plus développé pour mieux répondre aux besoins de nos peuples et au monde changeant», selon le président Clinton qui a salué en Mme Çiller «la représentante d'une nouvelle génération de leader capable de trouver des solutions aux problèmes de la Turquie» et l'a assurée du soutien des États-Unis. D'après les commentateurs turcs (cf.p.60, 81 et 82) dans la classe politique turque Tansu Çiller a la préférence de Washington qui dans le contexte actuel «ne devrait pas l'antagoniser ni sur les questions de droits de l'homme ni même sur le traitement des Kurdes en Turquie».

Le PKK interdit les journaux et les partis turcs au Kurdistan turc

CONVOQUANT le 15 octobre les correspondants à Diyarbakir de principaux journaux turcs à une base de guérilla située à moins de 100 km de la capitale du Kurdistan turc, le commandement régional du PKK les a sommés de fermer tous leurs bureaux dans un délai de 4 jours. Selon E. Pirinççioğlu, correspondant du quotidien *Milliyet*, «les chefs kurdes ont été polis et les ont bien traités. Les tentatives de leur faire changer d'avis sont restées vaines. Ils ont affirmé que les ordres

venaient directement de la direction du Parti qui considère que la presse turque rend compte d'une manière unilatérale et partielle des événements de la région, déforme la vérité et reste silencieuse sur la persécution par l'État des journaux d'opposition».

«C'est vrai» a déclaré un journaliste local au quotidien turc *Turkish Daily News*. «Ceux (de la rédaction) d'Istanbul changent presque toujours nos textes et nous ne sommes pas libres de reporter sur la situation réelle. Nous avons vraiment été partiaux».

Craignant des représailles, tous les journaux turcs ont fermé leurs bureaux dans les délais indiqués. L'interdiction vise également la distribution de la presse turque dans la région, le PKK la considéra comme partie intégrante de la guerre psychologique menée par Ankara. Dans la plupart des villes kurdes les journaux turcs ne peuvent désormais être achetés que dans des commissariats.

L'interdiction de la presse turque intervient à la suite d'une campagne gouvernementale violente contre le seul quotidien pro-kurde *Özgür Gündem* dont 14 journalistes ont été assassinés par des polices parallèles et la distribution au Kurdistan est entravée par l'armée, très irritée par sa contestation de la version officielle de la guerre du Kurdistan. Neuf des revendeurs de ce journal, dont plusieurs adolescents, ont été assassinés au cours des derniers mois.

Les organisations de défense des droits de l'homme ont dénoncé cette «atteinte intolérable à la liberté d'information». Le PKK a rectifié le tir en indiquant que l'interdiction ne concernait que la presse turque «devenue un instrument de propagande de l'armée dans la sale guerre du Kurdistan» et que la presse étrangère était bienvenue au Kurdistan.

Poursuivant cette logique de guerre et de polarisation extrême, le PKK a également sommé tous les partis politiques turcs de fermer leurs bureaux et permanences dans les régions kurdes. «Les partis qui continuent de nier l'existence de notre peuple, qui criminalisent ses revendications légitimes et qui soutiennent la guerre imposée par l'armée turque au Kurdistan, n'ont rien à faire chez nous» déclare le communiqué du PKK. Malgré la vive réaction des états-majors des partis face à ces «menaces terroristes», dans plusieurs villes et localités kurdes leurs bureaux ont dû fermer.

Le corps du général Barzani rapatrié au Kurdistan irakien

Le 6 octobre les dépouilles mortelles du général Moustafa Barzani, chef légendaire du mouvement national kurde irakien, décédé en 1979 aux Etats-Unis et de son fils Idriss, mort d'une crise cardiaque en 1988 en Iran, ont été rapatriées au Kurdistan irakien.

Les funérailles nationales de 3 jours ont permis à la population de manifester dans l'émotion son unité et de rendre hommage à celui qui pendant des décennies a incarné et dirigé la lutte d'émancipation nationale des Kurdes d'Irak. Un exemple frappant de ce climat

d'unité a été le rôle éminent joué par Jalal Talabani, qui avait été le principal opposant du défunt général, dans les cérémonies funéraires. Il s'est déclaré «fils spirituel de Moustafa Barzani au même titre que Massoud Barzani» et il a souligné que son héritage appartenait à toute la nation kurde. L'Assemblée nationale du Kurdistan irakien a également rendu un vibrant hommage au grand leader kurde disparu dont le corps a été enterré dans son village natal de Barzan qui après avoir été rasé par Saddam Hussein renaît progressivement de ses cendres.

Projection de Yol à Istanbul

INTERDIT depuis 11 ans en Turquie, le film du cinéaste kurde Yilmaz Güney qui avait obtenu la «Palme d'or» à Cannes en 1982, a pu être projeté pour la première fois à Istanbul, le 1er octobre. La projection a eu lieu dans une salle de sport devant plus de 5000 spectateurs en présence de Mme Güney et du cinéaste Costa Gavras, co-lauréat de la Palme d'or en 1982 avec son film «Missing» et ami personnel du grand cinéaste kurde décédé en septembre 1984 en exil, à Paris.

Le public a suivi avec beaucoup d'émotion ce film qui raconte l'histoire de cinq prisonniers en permission. Des slogans pro-kurdes ont été scandés pendant les scènes de répression se déroulant au Kurdistan qui restent d'une grande actualité. La police n'est pas intervenue lors de cette projection unique et symbolique. Saisie par la Fondation Güney, la commission de contrôle de films a également levé l'interdiction frappant tous les autres films du cinéaste kurde banni qui a passé 12 années de sa brève vie dans les prisons turques pour délit d'opinion. Ceux de ses films ayant échappé à la destruction décidée par le régime militaire de 1980 pourraient donc désormais être vus sur les écrans turcs.

Prix Nouredine Zaza 1993 décerné à Chris Kutschera

LE Prix Nouredine Zaza 1993 a été décerné au journaliste indépendant français Chris Kutschera. La remise du Prix a eu lieu le jeudi 21 octobre à l'Institut kurde de Paris en présence de Mme Zaza et d'une assistance nombreuse.

Créé en 1989 par la famille Nouredine Zaza, conjointement avec l'Institut kurde de Paris, «*afin d'encourager les journalistes à ne pas oublier ce peuple méconnu de l'histoire*», ce prix est attribué chaque année à un journaliste de la presse francophone qui, par son talent et par sa persévérance, aura sensibilisé l'opinion publique à la cause kurde.

Il a aussi pour but de perpétuer la mémoire de Nouredine Zaza, écrivain, homme politique et cofondateur de l'Institut kurde de Paris. Après Antoine Boshard, du *Journal de Genève*, Bernard Langlois,

de Politis, Marc Kravetz, de *Libération* et Jean Gueyras, du journal *Le Monde*, Jean-Claude Bühner de *Coopération*, le Prix Nouredine Zaza 1993 a tenu à honorer Chris Kutschera, auteur du «*Mouvement national kurde*», aux éditions Flammarion et de nombreux articles et reportages de radio et de télévision sur les Kurdes pour la fidélité et la constance avec lesquelles depuis 1971 il contribue à l'information du public occidental, en particulier francophone, sur les Kurdes, leur histoire et leur situation actuelle.

Au terme de la soirée de remise du Prix, à la quelle de nombreux Kurdes et Français ont pris part, l'ouvrage autobiographique de Nouredine Zaza, *Ma vie de Kurde*, qui vient d'être réédité aux éditions Labor et Fides (diffusé en France par les éditions du Cerf) a également été présenté à la presse.

donner leurs maisons aux murs criblés de balles. «*Toutes les nuits, depuis des mois, l'armée nous bombarde du haut des collines*», déclare un jeune homme de 19 ans pendant qu'il aide son père à récupérer du bois du toit de leur maison à Yamaç.

«*La semaine dernière, les soldats sont venus pendant la nuit et nous ont dit que nous avions deux heures pour partir, sinon ils nous abattraient tous. Que pouvons-nous faire d'autre que quitter nos maisons?*», ajoute-t-il.

Les forces turques sont aux prises avec le Parti séparatiste des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) dans un combat qui a déjà fait plus de 7.200 victimes dans la région depuis 1984.

Souvent, des villages comme Yamaç, Dersek et Küçük Dersek, situés non loin des bastions du PKK dans les montagnes de Cudi, rendent le passage difficile.

De nombreux villages au pied des collines ont été abandonnés, dont certains sont réduits à l'état de ruine. D'anciens habitants, qui vivent à présent à Cizre, affirment que ce sont les troupes turques et les gardiens de village kurdes à la solde de l'État qui les ont obligés à partir. Les autorités turques démentent que les forces de sécurité aient attaqué des villages, mais nombre de journalistes et de défenseurs des droits de l'homme sont convaincus que cette tactique fait partie d'une campagne très dure visant à briser le soutien dont bénéficie le PKK. «*Mais quand ils incendient une maison ou assassinent un villageois, les autres ne voient pas d'autre issue que de rejoindre la guérilla et d'aller combattre dans les montagnes*», déclare Meral Danis, une des responsables à Diyarbakir de l'Association des Droits de l'Homme en Turquie.

Ses collègues et elle affirment que 729 villages ont été vidés dans le

Témoignage d'Aliza Marcus de Reuters sur l'évacuation de villages kurdes en Turquie

Les Kurdes affirment que les troupes turques vident les villages *

729 villages évacués depuis les élections générales en octobre 1991
Des témoins accusent les troupes de bombardier et d'incendier les villages

YAMAÇ - Des charrettes surchargées d'objets et d'effets person-

nels cahotent sur la piste qui mène hors de ce village dans le sud-est de la Turquie, où les forces du régime se battent contre les rebelles kurdes.

Tout en espérant pouvoir trouver à se loger chez des amis ou des parents dans la ville de Cizre toute proche, les villageois accusent les forces de sécurité, et non pas les rebelles, de les avoir forcés à aban-

* Paru dans *Turkish Daily News* du 8 octobre 1993 (cf. p.39).

sud-est de la Turquie depuis les élections générales en octobre 1991.

Ils affirment que les villages dont les habitants refusent de prendre les armes que leur propose l'État pour aller se battre contre le PKK ou qu'on soupçonne d'offrir de la nourriture aux guérilleros, sont fréquemment l'objet d'intimidations.

«Les militaires n'arrivent pas à débusquer les guérilleros, alors c'est nous qu'ils attaquent, nous accusant d'être des terroristes et nous chassant de nos maisons», déclarait un homme dans le village de Çaglayan qui, aux dires des habitants, a subi de fréquents bombardements terrestres ces dernières semaines d'une base militaire des environs. L'an dernier, les soldats turcs ont incendié de nombreuses maisons à Çaglayan, autrefois un endroit prospère s'enorgueillissant de spacieuses maisons en pierre à deux étages et de jardins fertiles. Des soixante familles qui y habitaient à l'origine, il ne reste plus qu'une vingtaine, entassées dans les quelques maisons qui sont encore debout.

La nuit, les gens se réfugient dans un tunnel creusé dans une petite colline pour tenter d'échapper aux balles et aux obus des chars turcs. «Il faut que quelqu'un raconte notre histoire, qu'il dise que nous n'avons ni sécurité, ni liberté pour vivre», criait un homme tout en pointant le doigt vers un obus non explosé qui avait atterri non loin de là dans un ruisseau.

Omer Adar, le gouverneur du district de Cizre nommé par le gouvernement, déclara que c'était le PKK qui intimidait les villageois. «Les terroristes vont dans les villages et obligent les habitants sous menace de mort à leur donner de la nourriture» dit-il à Reuter, ajoutant que l'État dédommageait les gens dont la maison avait été détruite accidentellement au cours d'affrontements entre les troupes et la guérilla.

Les villageois admettent que les combattants du PKK leur demandent parfois de la nourriture. Mais ce sont les troupes qu'ils accusent de les avoir chassés, et ils déclarent n'avoir jamais reçu d'indemnisation du gouvernement pour les dégâts causés à leur propriété. «Les soldats arrivaient, nous frappaient, nous insultaient et nous ordonnaient de devenir des gardiens de village... ou, sinon, de déguerpir», raconte un homme qui habitait le hameau de Küçük Dersek, évacué le mois dernier et à présent désert. «Pourquoi prendrions-nous les armes contre les guérilleros? Ils se battent pour nous et ils ne nous font jamais aucun mal». Sur la route principale qui va de Cizre à la grande ville de Diyarbakir, on peut voir une succession de restaurants en ruine, de stations d'essence et de boutiques détruites, de carcasses de camions calcinés.

Se traînant parmi les débris de verre et les éclats d'obus, leurs propriétaires racontent que les soldats ont détruit leurs commerces à la fin du mois d'août en représailles d'une attaque du PKK contre une base militaire des environs. Le propriétaire d'un restaurant ajoute: «Si les droits de l'homme

viennent jusqu'ici, peut-être qu'un jour je rouvrirai - mais peut-être je m'en irai purement et simplement». Il dit encore que des soldats étaient venus à Kocapinar, son village, et qu'ils avaient menacé de mettre le feu aux maisons si les hommes refusaient de devenir des gardiens de village. Les Kurdes forment à peu près un cinquième des 60 millions d'hommes vivant en Turquie, mais ils ne sont pas reconnus en tant que minorité ethnique. La Turquie prétend qu'ils jouissent des mêmes droits que n'importe quel autre citoyen. Les Kurdes du sud et du sud-est se plaignent d'avantage des pratiques des forces de sécurité que de l'interdiction qui continue de peser sur eux d'utiliser le kurde à l'école, à la radio et à la télévision.

«Nous n'avons plus aucun droit à la vie dans cette région», affirme Ali Dinçer, président de l'Association des droits de l'homme à Cizre.

«Je ne puis dire avec précision ce que veulent les gens mais, en général, si on leur donne le choix entre la vie et la mort, ils préféreraient la vie et prendront les armes pour la défendre».

Un reportage de Financial Times sur le Kurdistan iranien

La vendetta iranienne frappe durement les Kurdes*

La guerre contre la guérilla s'intensifie, écrit Gareth Smyth, rentré d'un récent séjour à Baneh dans l'ouest de l'Iran.

Ashad Rashidi a 23 ans, vient de se marier et a peur. Un obus a explosé récemment de l'autre côté de la vallée rocailleuse et isolée, dans l'ouest de l'Iran, où il cultive

la terre avec ses cinq frères. L'endroit retentit quasi journallement du grondement de l'artillerie. «Je connais plus de 20 personnes qui ont été tuées», dit-il.

Sur les murs en pisé de sa maison sont accrochés des portraits du président Hashemi Rafsandsjani ainsi que de l'ayatollah Khomeini, le guide spirituel de l'Iran, et de feu l'ayatollah Khomeiny. «Quand les pasdaran (gardes révolution isla-

* Paru dans le *The Financial Times* du 13 octobre 1993, (cf.53).

mique) voient ces portraits, ils ne nous font pas de mal», explique-t-il.

Ces pilonnages à l'artillerie sont un des signes de l'intensification du conflit entre le régime islamique de Téhéran et les peshmergas du Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan d'Iran (PDKI). Mais le blackout de l'information imposé par l'Iran fait en sorte que très peu d'informations sur les troubles filtrent au-delà des frontières.

Il s'agit d'un conflit très dur et de grande envergure. L'Iran aurait massé plus de 200.000 hommes, principalement des pasdarans, dans sa région kurde depuis que l'ayatollah Khomeiny a déclaré le jihad (guerre sainte) contre les Kurdes, en majorité d'obédience sunnite, en 1980.

Les peshmergas affirment que les pasdarans n'ont plus la volonté de se battre. «Ils avaient l'habitude d'accrocher le portrait de l'ayatollah sur leur poitrine et de porter des bandeaux sur le front en souvenir du martyr du prophète chiite Hussein au 7e siècle de notre ère, mais ils ne sont plus que quelques-uns à le faire aujourd'hui», déclare Sa'ed Brayhim, commandant de la région de Baneh du PDKI.

Plutôt que de s'engager dans un combat corps-à-corps, les pasdarans, qui ont des bases dans toutes les villes de la région et dans de nombreux villages, ont recours au tir d'artillerie et de mortier, moins précis, contre les peshmergas qui se déplacent surtout la nuit, bénéficient du soutien moral et reçoivent leur nourriture des villageois kurdes.

D'après les peshmergas du PDKI, le hameau de Bagy Kazy, situé à une trentaine de kilomètres au sud-ouest de Baneh, a été abandonné par ses habitants terrifiés par les bombardements. Des signes évidents d'occupation récente (de la paille dans les enclos à bétail, des casseroles abandon-

nées) étaient autant de preuves de la précipitation de leur départ.

Dans l'escalade de cette campagne, le PDKI tire sa force de ses bases situées de l'autre côté de la frontière, dans le nord de l'Irak, rendues possibles depuis l'émergence sur le sol irakien en 1991 d'un «Kurdistan libre» jouissant d'une indépendance de facto par rapport à Bagdad.

Le gouvernement des trois millions de Kurdes irakiens qui, l'an dernier, ont élu leur propre «parlement» non officiel, a attisé les aspirations nationalistes des cinq à huit millions de Kurdes iraniens, auxquels on dénie toute forme d'autonomie et qui sont obligés d'utiliser le farsi comme langue officielle et à l'école.

Les relations entre Téhéran et les autorités kurdes d'Irak se sont détériorées au cours de l'année et menacent de donner une nouvelle tournure à la politique déjà très complexe dans la région.

L'Iran publie de fréquentes mises en garde contre la «situation impie et moralement corrompue» au Kurdistan irakien, et ses troupes s'étaient emparées d'une zone de sécurité à l'intérieur de la partie kurde de l'Irak entre avril et août, provoquant de vives réactions de Bagdad.

Au nombre des cauchemars de l'Iran figurent les émissions de radio et de télévision transmises depuis le Kurdistan irakien à l'intérieur du pays et qui offrent un choix de nouvelles, de points de vue et de musique. Non loin de Baneh, un villageois âgé dont le fils a été récemment arrêté pour avoir fait paître ses moutons trop près des positions militaires iraniennes, branche son poste sur la station: «Je n'aime pas la radio de Téhéran. Je veux un programme dans ma propre langue», dit-il.

Les Kurdes de la région de Baneh affirment que la vie s'est dégradée par rapport à l'époque du Chah, renversé en 1979 par la Révolution islamique.

Le mauvais état de l'économie irannienne, avec des taux d'inflation et de chômage élevés depuis la dévaluation du rial au mois de mars, atteint les Kurdes de plein fouet, ce qui ne fait qu'augmenter le sentiment de discrimination éprouvé par une des régions les plus pauvres d'Iran.

Le PDKI applique depuis fort longtemps une politique de refus du terrorisme, qui a survécu à l'assassinat du Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou en 1989 à Vienne et à celui du Dr. Sadeq Sharafkandi l'an dernier à Berlin. «Je veux parler aux gens avec la langue que j'ai dans la bouche, pas avec ma Kalachnikov», déclare un commandant de peshmergas, Ali Azizi. Au mois d'août, le PDKI a transféré son quartier général de Bollay à Koisandjaq, à quelque 80 kilomètres de la frontière et hors de portée de l'artillerie iranienne.

Il est difficile de chiffrer le nombre des victimes. Téhéran se tait. Le PDKI a intérêt à minimiser l'importance de ses bases à l'intérieur du Kurdistan d'Irak et souligne que son travail de base en Iran est d'ordre organisationnel plutôt que militaire.

Mostafa Hedjri, secrétaire général du PDKI, déclare que «plus de 50» pasdarans ont été tués depuis le mois d'avril, mais une écoute hâtive de la radio du PDKI et des conversations avec des peshmergas semblent indiquer que le chiffre est en réalité plus élevé.

M. Hedjri est convaincu que la lutte penche en faveur des Kurdes. «Nous lancerons d'avantage d'attaques. Je crois que nous gagnerons». Mais il redoute que les Kurdes irakiens, assiégés par le président Saddam

Hussein et ayant désespérément besoin d'amis dans la région, ne cèdent à la pression de l'Iran et

contraignent le PDKI à partir. «Je n'ai pas réfléchi où nous irions dans ce cas», dit-il.

M. François Léotard, ministre français de la Défense, qui a dû rassurer les Turcs sur les orientations du nouveau gouvernement sur le problème kurde. L'Ambassadeur français à Ankara M. Doppfer a qualifié le contrat de «nouvelle étape» dans les relations «excellentes» entre Paris et Ankara, et souligné que la coopération et les consultations dans le domaine militaire se sont «remarquablement développées».

À signaler

• LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE AIDE LES KURDES D'IRAK. Poursuivant ses efforts humanitaires engagés depuis 1991, la Commission a décidé, le 13 octobre, d'accorder une aide d'urgence de 3.25 millions d'écus (3.8 millions de dollars) en faveur de la population du Kurdistan irakien. Ces fonds doivent permettre la fourniture de 12 millions de litres de kérosène à des fins ménagères en vue de l'hiver. Cette opération fait l'objet d'une dérogation à l'embargo économique contre l'Irak a précisé le porte-parole de la Commission qui a indiqué que déjà en 1992, pour des raisons humanitaires, la Commission avait débloqué des fonds pour l'achat de 25 millions de litres de kérosène destinées à la population kurde. Le combustible avait été acheté en Turquie et revendu au prix officiel ayant cours dans le reste du pays.

• VINGT HÉLICOPTÈRES FRANÇAIS POUR L'ARMÉE TURQUE. La France et la Turquie ont signé le 8 octobre à Ankara un contrat de 253 millions de dollars (1.4 milliard de francs) pour la fourniture de vingt hélicoptères Cougar «multi-usages» de la société franco-allemande Eurocopter à l'armée turque. Ces engins version améliorée de Super-Puma, sont spécialisés pour le combat anti-guérilla et seront affectés aux unités militaires turques opérant dans le Kurdistan. Les livraisons devraient commencer au premier semestre de 1995.

Ce contrat en discussion depuis 1989 avait été ajourné à plusieurs reprises à la suite de déclarations de certaines personnalité françai-

ses en faveur du peuple kurde. Les négociations ont pu aboutir à la suite du récent voyage à Ankara de

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1^{er} octobre

A **Batman**, dans le village de Beşkonak, Haci Ergin (50 ans), sa femme Raife Ergin (48 ans) et leurs trois enfants ont été abattus dans une tuerie attribuée par la presse turque au P.K.K. A **Bitlis**, **Bingöl**, **Şimək**, **Cizre** et **Elazığ**, dans des divers affrontements entre l'armée turque et les unités du P.K.K, 10 militants de ce dernier ont été tués.

2 octobre

Au mont **Ararat**, dans un affrontement entre les militants du P.K.K et les forces turques, le colonel Vedat Topal et un soldat ont été tués et 2 soldats turcs blessés. A **Bitlis**, 7 militants du P.K.K ont été tués par l'armée turque. A **Silvan**, Mehmet Salim Sarikan, a été tué par des «inconnus».

3 octobre

A **Malatya**, dans le quartier de Muncelli, l'imam Ahmet Güner a été tué par des «inconnus». A **Kahramanmaraş** dans le village d'Erkene, Mustafa Çetin a été tué et Gazi Çetin blessé par des «inconnus».

4 octobre

A **Muş**, une maison a été mitraillée, 7 enfants et deux adultes ont été brûlés. Cette action attribuée au PKK par les médias officiels, a été d'après les témoignages des villageois l'œuvre d'une unité militaire turque. A **Şimək**, dans un affrontement entre les forces turques et les militants du P.K.K, 9 militants ont été tués.

5 octobre

A **Bitlis**, un minibus a été mitraillé par des militants du P.K.K, 5 passagers ont été tués. A **Bingöl**, les militants du P.K.K ont tiré sur des militaires, 4 militaires et un colonel ont été tués. A **Midyat**, un minibus transportant des paysans a sauté sur une mine, 26 paysans ont été tués et 3 autres blessés.

6 octobre

A **Siirt**, dans les villages de Kalkmek, 23 personnes et à Daltepe, 10 personnes ont été abattus. A **Batman**, dans le village de Komurcu, au cours d'un raid du PKK deux personnes ont été tuées et une autre blessée. Toujours à **Batman**, Hayrettin Dal, a été tué et son frère Şemsettin Dal blessé par des «inconnus».

7 octobre

A **Şimək**, suite à une descente des forces turques, 8 militants du P.K.K ont été tués. A **Tunceli**, dans le village de Magara, 2 instituteurs, Bayram Adadag et Nirgul Kade ont été trouvés morts près de leur village.

8 octobre

A **Bingöl**, **Hakkari** et **Şanlıurfa**, dans divers affrontements entre l'armée turque et les guérilleros du P.K.K, 23 militants, 7 protecteurs de villages et 3 civils auraient été tués et 30 personnes arrêtés, selon la presse turque. A **Siirt** et à **Batman**, 35 personnes ont été tués et 22 maisons brûlées par des militants du P.K.K.

A **Silvan**, l'explosion d'une bombe a tué, Cahit Sürek, Suat Sütşurup, Ömer Han, Hasan Altinkaya et Henefi Yılmaz. Deux autres civils, Mehmet Şahir Saçekil et Teyfur Çömlek ont été blessés par des «inconnus». A **Hakkari**, près de Şemdinli, dans un affrontement entre l'armée turque et les militants du P.K.K., 5 militants ont été tués. A **Urfa**, 3 militants du P.K.K. ont été tués par les forces turques lors d'un accrochage.

9 octobre

A **Tunceli**, dans le village de Pirinçlik, 4 instituteurs ont été fusillés et un autre blessé par des militants du P.K.K. A **Van**, 8 soldats, 4 protecteurs de village et une femme ont été tués par un commando du P.K.K.

10 octobre

A **Diyarbakir**, dans le quartier de Bağlar, Zeki Murat a été tué et Recep Demirtaş blessé par un groupe non identifié.

11 octobre

A **Bingöl**, dans le village d'Asmakaya, un colonel et 2 soldats ont été tués par une unité de contre-guérilla turque. A **Tunceli**, 6 membres du Parti communiste, révolutionnaire de Turquie (TDKP) ont été tués et 3 autres blessés par des militants du P.K.K.

12 octobre

Dans la province de Bingöl, à Adakil, un car militaire a été endommagé, 5 soldats ont été tués et 22 autres blessés lors d'un affrontement entre l'armée turque et contre les militants du P.K.K. A **Diyarbakir** lors d'un affrontement entre les forces turques et les guérillos, 9 soldats ont été tués et 6 blessés. A **Çermik**, dans le village de Göltepe, 4 protecteurs de village et 4 militants du P.K.K. ont été tués par l'armée turque. A **Urfa**, Şimnak et Viranşehir, dans divers affrontements, 10 membres de la contre-guérilla ont trouvé la mort.

13 octobre

A **Hakkari**, dans le village de Kısıklı, 4 militants du P.K.K. et 2 colonels ont été tués et plusieurs soldats blessés dans des affrontements entre l'armée turque et les militants du PKK. A **Elazığ** 5 militants et à **Muş**, 2 militants du P.K.K. ont été tués par les forces turques.

14 octobre

A **Tunceli**, dans le quartier de Sütlüce, 3 militants du T.D.K.P. ont été tués par des «inconnus».

17 octobre

Au **Kurdistan d'Irak** à Amedya, le village de Şervan a été bombardé par l'aviation turque, 36 personnes ont été tués et 80 autres blessés.

18 octobre

A **Lice**, lors une opération de l'armée turque contre les militants du P.K.K., 12 militants ont été tués. A **Van**, dans le village du Cit, 2 militants du PKK ont été tués par les forces turques.

19 octobre

A **Lice**, près de village de Karıncak, un affrontement entre les militants du PKK et les forces turques, a fait 36 morts. A **Diyarbakir**, en plein centre ville, un adolescent âgé de 16 ans a été tué par la contre-guérilla turque. Toujours à **Diyarbakir**, Abdulsalam İzdem a été tué par des «inconnus».

21 octobre

A **Sason**, dans la province de Batman, au cours d'une opération de l'armée turque contre les militants du PKK, 4 personnes ont été tuées et 8 autres blessées. A **Pazarcık**, dans le village de Turunç, İbrahim Karakuya, 51 ans, père de 8 enfants a été tué par les protecteurs de village (miliciens pro-gouvernementaux).

22 octobre

A **Bitlis**, autour des villages de Kavak et Tanik, Hikmet et Fehmi Yılmaz ont été tués par l'explosion des mines posées par l'armée turque. A **Bingöl**, lors d'une opération de l'armée turque, 5 militants du PKK ont été tués. A **Şimnak**, dans le village d'Asağidere, 2 militants du PKK et à Uludere 2 autres militants du même parti ont été tués par les forces turques.

25 octobre

A **Şimnak**, dans le village de Griza, trois paysans kurdes M. Emin Acar, Mehmet Aktas et Resul Aktas ont été fusillés par les soldats turcs. A **Lice**, dans le village de Licok, Haydi Zengin a été tué et 16 autres civils arrêtés et 11 maisons brûlées par les protecteurs des villages. A **Lice** toujours, l'opération lancée le 22 octobre par l'armée turque a fait au moins 30 morts, une centaine de blessés. Plusieurs centaines de maisons et magasins ont été détruits. La ville a été interdite à la presse. A **Batman**, dans le quartier de Kismet, Abdulmenaf Akto, Çetin Çidici, et Mustafa Kılıç ont été tués par des «inconnus».

26 octobre

A **Hakkari**, dans le village de Kaval, 12 soldats, 6 protecteurs de village et un militant du PKK ont été tués au cours des accrochages. Dans la province de Siirt à **Pervari**, dans le village de Doğanca, 5 soldats ont été tués et plusieurs maisons brûlées par une unité de la contre-guérilla turque. A **Kulp**, **Bingöl** et à **Muş**, dans divers affrontements entre l'armée turque et le P.K.K., 41 militants de ce parti et 10 soldats turcs ont été tués.

27 octobre

A **Doğubeyazıt** province d'Agri, lors d'une opération de l'armée turque contre le PKK 4 soldats ont été tués et 17 autres blessés. A **Çat**, dans la province d'Erzurum, 38 civils ont été tués et 10 blessés dans un bar dans une fusillade attribuée par la presse turque au P.K.K.

28 octobre

A **Bitlis**, 4 instituteurs et un enfant de 5 ans ont été tués dans une école par un commando du P.K.K.

En bref, la revue de presse

AU MOINS 36 PERSONNES ONT ÉTÉ TUÉES DANS LE SUD-EST DE LA TURQUIE. — Les députés du DEP dénoncent la «discrimination». — Les propos tenus à Berlin par Çiller sur les Kurdes troublent le ministère des Affaires Étrangères. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 septembre 1993), p.1.

LES HABITANTS DE BATMAN EXPERIMENT LEURS DOLÉANCES À L'ASSEMBLÉE. — Les États-Unis approuvent une aide de 405M\$ à la Turquie. (*Turkish Daily News*, 25 septembre 1993), p.2-3.

IRAN : POUR L'OPPRESSÉ. — IRAK: La bombe qui n'a pas explosé. Qui

était responsable pour la tromperie dont le parlement et le public ont été victimes ? (*The Economist*, 25 septembre 1993), p.3-4.

LE DEP PREND SA DÉCISION : «Nous resterons au Parlement». (*Turkish Daily News*, 26 septembre 1993), p.4-5.

FEHMI ISIKLAR N'A PAS OBTENU L'AUTORISATION DE SORTIE POUR L'ÉTRANGER. — 20 militants du PKK ont été tués dans le sud-est de la Turquie. — **BONN PRÉPARE UNE CAMPAGNE POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN TURQUIE.** — Assassinat à Batman. (*Turkish Daily News*, 27 septembre 1993), p.5-8.

LES REBELLES KURDES DÉFIENT LES FORCES MILITAIRES TURQUES. — DEP restera «pour le moment à l'Assemblée». — 15 militants du PKK ont été tués dans le Sud-Est. (*Turkish Daily News*, 28 septembre 1993), p.8-9.

FEHMI ISIKLAR: IL Y A CERTAINEMENT UN PROBLÈME KURDE EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 septembre 1993), p.9.

MINES ANTI-PERSONNELLES : Armes et destruction massive... au ralenti. «En septembre 1991, Raffoor Mohammed Ahmed, de Mawet, au Kurdistan irakien, a été blessé au pied droit. Il cueillait du raisin dans son jardin. Le 21 avril 1991, une famille de huit réfugiés fuyant l'avance de la Garde républicaine s'est aventurée sur un terrain miné. Plusieurs mines bondissantes inter-connectées furent déclenchées. La famille entière fut tuée». (*Les Réalités de l'Écologie*, Octobre 1993), p.10-11.

SCÈNE DE BATMAN: L'assassin de Sincar est toujours libre. — La Turquie veut garantir la sécurité de ses frontières en trois ans. (*Turkish Daily News*, 1^{er} octobre 1993), p.12-13.

QUELLE SOLUTION AU PRO-

BLÈME KURDE ? De retour de Turquie, un lecteur nous fait part de son analyse du problème kurde. (*La Croix-l'Événement*, 1^{er} octobre 1993), p.13.

S'ENTÊTER À SOUTENIR LE PEUPLE KURDE. Dans un Kurdistan régulièrement bombardé par l'Iran et l'Irak, *EquiLibre* renouvelle pour la troisième année consécutive son opération cantines scolaires en direction des écoliers. (*Présence dans le Monde*, 1^{er} octobre 1993), p.14.

LA TURQUIE DANS LA NASSE DU PROBLÈME KURDE ET DES PRISÉS D'OTAGES. Bernard Granjon, le médiateur marseillais, raconte son odyssée en Anatolie. (*Semaine Provence*, 1^{er} octobre 1993), p.15.

LE DÉPUTÉ DIT QUE LA CONTRE-GRUERILLA EST RESPONSABLE DES ASSASSINATS DANS LE SUD-EST. — Le PKK interdit les ventes des journaux à Diyarbakir. — *Aydinlik* est saisi pour avoir évoqué le nom d'un membre des Escadrons de la mort. (*Turkish Daily News*, 2 octobre 1993), p.16.

TURQUIE: ON N'ENLÈVE PAS QUE LES TOURISTES. (*Le Monde*, 2 octobre 1993), p.17.

VINGT-SIX PERSONNES, DONT DIX-NEUF REBELLES KURDES DE TURQUIE, ONT ÉTÉ TUÉES DEPUIS VENDREDI DANS LE SUD-EST ANATOLIEN À MAJORITÉ KURDE. (A.F.P., 2 octobre 1993), p.17.

«YOL» DE YILMAZ GÜNEY, PROJETÉ POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS EN TURQUIE APRÈS ONZE ANS DE CENSURE. — «YOL» n'est plus interdit en Turquie. — Turquie: «YOL» de Yilmaz Güney, projeté après 11 ans d'interdiction. — «YOL» n'est plus censuré. (*Tallahasse Democrat*; *La Marseillaise*; *L'Indépendant*; 3 octobre; *Gamk*; *Libération*; *Courrier Picard*, 4 octobre 1993), p.18-19, 20.

L'OUBLI DE LÉOTARD. Léotard a dû succomber au charme de Mme. Tansu Çiller. — **APRÈS SA VISITE À ANKARA:** Le ministre de la Défense a bon espoir de vendre des hélicoptères français à la Turquie. (*L'Alsace*, 2 octobre; *Le Monde*, 4 octobre 1993), p.19, 25.

«IL VAUX MIEUX ÊTRE UN MAUVAIS BOXEUR QU'UN BON SPECTATEUR» disait Yılmaz Güney — Un maître est passé par Istanbul. (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 octobre 1993), p.21-23.

BONN CONTINUERA DE DISCUTER AVEC TÉHÉRAN. (*Le Monde*, 18 octobre 1993), p.23.

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TURQUIE: LES SÉPARATISTES KURDES ONT PRIS UN AMÉRICAIN EN OTAGE. (*Le Monde*, 18 octobre 1993), p.23.

COMMENT PEUT-ON ÊTRE KURDE ? L'autobiographie de Nouredine Zaza, un volume passionnant, une réédition qui vient à son heure pour nous éclairer sur le présent. (*Le Monde*, 2 octobre 1993), p.17. (*La Suisse*, 3 octobre 1993), p.24.

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LE MINISTRE DE L'INTÉRIEUR DÉMENT LA PRÉSENCE DES CAMPS DE HEZBOLLAH À BATMAN. — La Suède expulse 3 Kurdes suspectés d'appartenir au PKK. — Le PKK menace tous les partis. — LA TURQUIE FRAPPE LE

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36 CIVILS TUÉS PAR LES REBELLES KURDES DE TURQUIE. Dans la province de Siirt et une autre localité voisine, a annoncé mardi la première chaîne de la télévision d'État turque TRT1. — 31 Kurdes tués en Turquie lors d'une attaque. — **LE PKK MASSACRE 33 PERSONNES.** — Une quarantaine de civils tués par les Kurdes. (A.F.P.; *International Herald Tribune*, 5 octobre; *Turkish Daily News*; *Charente Libre*, 6 octobre 1993), p.33, 34-35.

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BAGDAD VEUT CHASSER 600 FAMILLES KURDES DE MOSSOUL, SELON UN RESPONSABLE KURDE. (A.F.P., 6 octobre 1993), p.37.

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LE PKK GLISSE VERS UN RADICALISME PLUS POUSSÉ. — Reuter: Les Kurdes affirment que les forces turques vident les villages. — Gazioglu: Le PKK tente d'effrayer les gardiens du village. — L'Iran dément d'avoir voulu acheter de l'uranium en Turquie. (*Turkish Daily News*, 7 octobre 1993), p.38-40.

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SADDAM PREND SES ANCIENS ALLIÉS COMME CIBLES DANS UNE NOUVELLE PURGE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 octobre 1993), p.48.

OPÉRATION DE L'ARMÉE TURQUE EN IRAK DU NORD: 17 REBELLES TUÉS, SELON UN NOUVEAU BILAN. — L'armée turque pourchasse le PKK en Irak. (A.F.P.; *Le Nouveau Quotidien*, 11 octobre 1993), p.48.

LA CRISE DU SUD-EST: Les leaders politiques affirment que retarder les élections de mars 1994 peut détériorer la situation. — **ANKARA DÉBAT DU MODÈLE ESPAGNOL POUR LA CRISE KURDE.** — Le PKK tend une embuscade à un bus, tue cinq soldats démobilisés. (*Turkish Daily News*, 12 octobre 1993), p.49-51.

LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE A ACCORDÉ UNE AIDE HUMANAITAIRE D'URGENCE DE 3,25 MILLIONS D'ÉCUS (3,8 millions de dollars) EN FAVEUR DES POPULATIONS KURDES AU NORD DE L'IRAK. (A.F.P., 13 octobre 1993), p.51.

LES KURDES CONTRE LES HÉLICOS FRANÇAIS. Protestant contre la vente d'hélicoptères Cougar à la Turquie, un porte-parole du mouvement kurde à Paris a été reçu au ministère de la Défense. (*Sud-Ouest*, 12 octobre 1993), p.52.

AU MOINS 50 REBELLES KURDES TUÉS AU NORD DE L'IRAK. (*Le Courrier*, 12 octobre 1993), p.52.

SI L'ONU LÈVE CES SANCTIONS, L'IRAK POURRAIT FABRIQUER DES BOMBES NUCELLAIRES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 13 octobre 1993), p.52.

LA VENDETTA IRAKIENNE FRAPPE LE CŒUR DES KURDES.

Gareth Smyth qui a récemment visité la région de Baneh, à l'ouest de l'Irak écrit que la guerre avec la guérilla s'intensifie. (*The Financial Times*, 13 octobre 1993), p.53.

LA CRISE S'APPROFONDIT AU SUD-EST. — Accusation terrifiante: les troupes incendient les villages des députés du DEP. — Çiller dément d'avoir percer du modèle espagnol. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 octobre 1993), p.54-55.

AIDE HUMANITAIRE: 3.25 million d'écus pour les Kurdes irakiens. (*Agence Europe*, 14 octobre 1993), p.56.

DÉPUTÉ KURDE DE VAN SAKIK: LES VILLAGEOIS ONT ÉTÉ LIBÉRÉS APRÈS QUE LEURS MAISONS SOIENT INCENDIÉS. — Les manifestants kurdes bloquent la route entre l'Irak et la Turquie. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 octobre 1993), p.56-57.

LA TURQUIE FAIT PRESSION POUR OBTENIR LA FIN DE L'EMBARGO DE L'ONU CONTRE L'IRAK. — Les Turcs cherchent à lever les sanctions contre l'Irak. (*The Wall Street*, 14 octobre; (*International Herald Tribune*, 15 octobre 1993), p.57, 58.

KURDISTAN: UN ÉCRIVAIN RACONTE SON ENFANCE VOLÉE PAR LA GUERRE. La mort des «petits héros». Le Criquet de fer, par Salim Barakat. (*Jeune Afrique*, 14-20 octobre 1993), p.58.

IMPRESSION D'IGDIR: Une ville de plus écrasée par le terrorisme. — ÇILLER RENCONTRE CLINTON À LA MAISON BLANCHE. — Le PKK déclare la guerre totale à son rivale communiste le TDKP. — ANALYSES: Les actions du PKK provoquent des débats au sein de cercles des droits de l'homme. — le Royaume-Uni demande des explications à Bonn concernant les contacts avec les Iraniens. — LA COUPURE DU COURANT ÉLECTRIQUE PAR L'IRAK MET EN PÉRIL DES

VIES KURDES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 octobre 1993), p.59-63.

BILL CLINTON CONFIRME QU'UN AMÉRICAIN A ÉTÉ PRIS EN OTAGE PAR LES KURDES. — Un Américain otage des Kurdes. (A.F.P., 15 octobre; *Centre Presse*; *International Herald Tribune*, 16 octobre 1993), p.63, 69.

MOSCOU: 95 KURDES D'IRAK ET DE RÉPUBLIQUES CAUCASIENNES DE L'EX-URSS, qui manifestaient sur la place Pouchkine à Moscou pour obtenir l'asile politique, ont été interpellés vendredi par les forces de l'ordre qui ont tiré en l'air à plusieurs reprises pour les disperser. — Russie: Moscou expulse ses Caucasiens. — La lutte contre la criminalité prend une orientation de plus en plus «ethnique». (A.F.P., 15 octobre; *Le Monde*, 16 octobre 1993), p.64, 68.

LES KURDES (DU PKK) AFFIRMENT DÉTENIR DEUX TOURISTES, UN AMÉRICAIN ET UN NÉO-ZÉLANDAIS. (A.F.P., 15 octobre 1993), p.64.

LE PKK ACCUSE LES KURDES IRAKIENS DU PDK DE COLLABORER AVEC L'ARMÉE TURQUE. — Les Kurdes irakiens annoncent des pressions sur le PKK. — MESUT YILMAZ: «Non à la solution politique. Nous devons utiliser la force contre la rébellion.» (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 octobre 1993), p.66-67.

TURQUIE: DES ENFANTS ET ADOLESCENTS KURDES QUI VENDAIENT LE JOURNAL «ÖZGÜR GÜNDEM» ONT ÉTÉ TUÉS PAR DES SOLDATS TURCS. (*L'Humanité*; *Écho du Centre*, 15 octobre 1993), p.69.

LA PRESSE INTERNATIONALE ÉGALEMENT CONCERNÉE PAR LA MENACE DU PKK. (A.F.P., 18 octobre 1993), p.69.

LA VOIX DE L'ÂME KURDE. La musique est l'âme d'un peuple. Par leurs chants d'amour ou de dou-

leur, de révolte et d'espoir, Ozan et Shaala Alam perpétuent une tradition musicale ancienne transmise de génération en génération et symbolisant liberté et espoir. — APPRENDRE À DANSER KURDE. — Soirée kurde. (*L'Alsace*, 15 octobre; *La Dépêche du Midi*, 16 octobre; *La Manche Libre*, 17 octobre 1993), p.70.

ÇILLER DIT QUE LES ÉLECTIONS LOCALES AURONT LIEU DANS LE SUD-EST. — Le PDK (Parti démocratique du Kurdistan irakien) rejette les accusations de soutien aux turcs formulés par le PKK. — Le PKK interdit la presse turque. Les bureaux des journaux seront fermés le jeudi à Diyarbakir. — Le ministre turc de l'Intérieur est en Iran pour des discussions sur la sécurité. — Les Occidentaux deviennent l'enjeu de la guerre ethnique en Turquie. — Les changements dans la police turque indiquent le retour de la droite. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 octobre 1993), p.71-74.

LE DÉFICIT DU COMMERCE EXTÉRIEUR S'ÉLÈVE À \$9.29 MILLIARD EN 8 MOIS. — Alors que sa situation échappe au contrôle. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 octobre 1993), p.75.

WASHINGTON: LE PREMIER MINISTRE TURC, MME. TANSU ÇILLER, a achevé lundi ses entretiens à Washington, entamés jeudi dernier et au cours desquels elle a notamment rencontré le président Bill Clinton vendredi. (A.F.P., 18 octobre 1993), p.76.

PRIX NOUREDDIN ZANA 1993 DÉCERNÉ À CHRIS KUTSCHERA. (*Gamk*, 18 octobre 1993), p.76.

LE PKK TENTE DE RENFORCER SON COMBAT AU SUD-EST. — Le PKK menace de frapper le projet azéri de pipeline. — Ankara affirme que les menaces (contre la presse) jettent à bas le masque des terroristes. (*Turkish Daily News*, 19 octobre 1993), p.77-79.

ENVIRON 2.000 REBELLES KURDES DE TURQUIE ONT ÉTÉ TUÉS et quelque 3.000 autres jugés et écroués depuis le 1er janvier dans l'Est et le Sud-Est anatolien, a annoncé le super-gouverneur de Diyarbakir. (A.F.P., 20 octobre 1993), p.79.

LES RELATIONS ENTRE LA TURQUIE ET LA C.E. ENTRENT DANS UNE PHASE DIFFICILE. — ... et Washington soutient Tansu Çiller. — (*Turkish Probe*, 19 octobre 1993), p.80-82.

POUR LA TURQUIE ET LES KURDES: «LA GUERRE TOTALE» (*International Herald Tribune*, 19 octobre 1993), p.83.

TAREK AZIZ À PARIS POUR «RAISONS MÉDICALES». — Turquie: Le PKK menace la presse. (*Le Monde*, 19 octobre 1993), p.83.

EN TURQUIE DE L'EST. «Je reviens de Turquie, celle de l'Est où il n'est pas de bon ton d'aller faire un tour. Les Kurdes que j'ai rencontrés étaient de braves gens affables aimant guider l'étranger. J'ai tenté d'oublier camions incendiés et convois militaires». (*Le Généraliste*, 1^{er} septembre 1993), p.84-86.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ACCUSE LES FORCES TURQUES DE SÉCURITÉ D'ÊTRE IMPLIQUÉS DANS DES EXÉCUTIONS EXTRA-JUDICIAIRES ET DES ATTAQUES. — Cindoruk: Rien ne peut empêcher les élections au Sud-Est. — Les journaux expriment des doutes sur l'autorité de l'État dans le Sud-Est. — ... lorsque l'État cesse d'exister dans une région. — Questions & Réponses. — ANKARA EST COMBLÉ PAR L'INTERDICTION DU PKK CONCERNANT LA PRESSE. — Çiller: le droit à la vie est le numéro un des droits de l'homme. — Le débat sur l'État du siège s'intensifie. — Le ministre Gazioglu demande une «résistance totale». — LES KURDES IRAKIENS UTILISENT LES CÉRÉMONIES DE FUNÉRAILLES COMME UN SIGNE

D'UNITÉ. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 octobre 1993), p.86-93.

LES KURDES DE TURQUIE ATTENDENT LA «PAIX BLANCHE». L'hiver apporte chaque année aux habitants de l'Est anatolien une trêve dans les combats entre les forces gouvernementales et les séparatistes kurdes. (*Le Monde*, 20 octobre 1993), p.93-94.

TURQUIE: REPORTER SANS FRONTIÈRES DÉNONCE LES MENACES DU PKK CONTRE LA PRESSE. — Mise en garde du PKK à la presse turque et étrangère. (*Le Monde*, 21 octobre; *Gamk*, 20 octobre 1993), p.95.

PLAIDOYER POUR L'IRAK. La Turquie est lasse de l'embargo onusien contre l'Irak, et Tansu Çiller, son Premier ministre, en voyage officiel aux États-Unis, espère convaincre le président Bill Clinton de lever les sanctions. (*Jeune Afrique*, 21 octobre 1993), p.95.

RÉGAL ITALIEN, COURAGE KURDE ET NAUFRAGE GREC. «Un chant pour Béko» est un film kurde de Nizamettin Ariç est au Festival Méditerranéen. (*Le Provençal*, 20 octobre 1993), p.95.

LE VISAGE MASQUÉ DU PKK. Derrière le visage héroïque de mouvement de libération d'affiche le PKK se cache une réalité plus trouble et très violente, à l'image de ceux qui les oppriment: l'armée turque. (*Journal de Genève et Gazette de Lausanne*, 20 octobre 1993), p.96-97.

LA PRESSE RÉAGIT À LA SUGGESTION DE CORRESPONDANTS DE GUERRE POUR LE SUD-EST. — Le ministre suédois des Affaires Étrangères Af Ugglas est à Ankara pour des discussions. — LES GROUPES D'OPPOSITION IRAKIENS STIGMATISENT LA FRANCE POUR AVOIR ACCUEILLI TARIK AZIZ. — Cindoruk: Déclarer l'état de siège serait une erreur. — An-

kara: l'activité du PKK en Irak met en péril l'aide aux Kurdes. (*Turkish Daily News*, 21 octobre 1993), p.98-100.

CRUSADE: L'HISTOIRE NON DITE DE LA GUERRE DU GOLFE PERSIQUE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 21 octobre 1993), p.100.

BONN ADMET QUE LE MINISTRE IRANIEN DES RENSEIGNEMENTS A PU ÊTRE IMPLIQUÉ DANS L'ASSASSINAT À BERLIN D'OPPOSANTS KURDES. — Le Chef des services secrets invité à remettre à la justice ses informations sur l'assassinat d'opposants kurdes à Berlin. (A.F.P., 21-22 octobre 1993), p.101.

UN DIRIGEANT LOCAL SOCIAL-DÉMOCRATE ENLEVÉ À DIYARBAKIR. (A.F.P., 21 octobre 1993), p.102.

OFFICIELLEMENT EN FRANCE POUR RAISONS MÉDICALES. Le séjour de Tarek Aziz à Paris soulève de nombreuses questions. — Les inquiétudes de l'opposition. (*Le Monde*, 21 octobre 1993), p.102.

«L'OLIVIER D'OR» AU PREMIER FILM KURDE DE L'HISTOIRE DU CINÉMA. Le jury a fait un choix politique et judicieux en décernant son Grand Prix à Nizamettin Ariç. — FESTIVAL: générique de fin... La joie muette du réalisateur kurde. — Festival de Bastia: Le cinéma kurde reconnu. (*Le Provençal*, 21 octobre; *Nice Matin*; *La Croix*, 22 octobre 1993), p.103-104.

LA GRÈCE ET LA TURQUIE ONT INFORMÉ L'ONU DE LEUR IMPORTATION DES TANKS EN GRANDE QUANTITÉ. — Le DEP demande une enquête parlementaire sur la contre-guerrilla. — Une épreuve de force mal conseillée à Diyarbakir. — Un comité secret récemment créé, cherche le dialogue avec le PKK. Parmi ses membres, 18 officiers à la retraite et des officiers en postes rencontre des partis politiques et des journalistes. — LE PKK

INTERDIT LES PARTIS POLITIQUES DANS LE SUD-EST. La guérilla kurde enlève le président provincial du SHP, Kahraman. — Çiller à la Suède: ne vous laissez pas piéger par la propagande du PKK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 octobre 1993), p.105-107.

DES «CENTAINES DE CIVILS» TUÉS PAR L'ARMÉE TURQUE, AFFIRME UNE AGENCE DE PRESSE KURDE. — Un général turc tué par des hommes du PKK alors qu'il dirigeait une opération anti-rebelles. — Un général tué par les Kurdes. — LE PKK TUE UN GÉNÉRAL À LICE. — Un général turc tué au combat dans une opération anti-kurde. (A.F.P., 22 octobre; *Midi Libre*; *Ouest France*, *Turkish Daily News*; *Sud-Ouest* 23 octobre 1993), p.108-109, 110, 112.

LE PKK DÉMENT TOUTE IMPLICATION DANS LA MORT DU GÉNÉRAL TURC. (A.F.P., 22 octobre 1993), p.109.

LE SOMMET DE SÉCURITÉ SE RÉUNIT EN URGENCE À ANKARA. — Les partis politiques vont résister à l'interdiction du PKK dans le Sud-Est. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 octobre 1993), p.110-111.

LES KURDES EN MAÎTRES À L'EST. La guérilla kurde est en train de couper le pays en deux malgré les offensives militaires d'Ankara dans leur fief du Sud-Est. (*Sud-Ouest*, 23 octobre 1993), p.112.

NEUF PERSONNES ONT ÉTÉ TUÉES À LICE, SELON UN RESPONSABLE TURC. — Lourde bilan à Lice. (A.F.P., 23 octobre; *Gamk*, 27 octobre 1993), p.113, 131.

KURDISTAN: ANKARA ET LE PKK MUSÈLENT LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE. (*Le Journal de Genève*, 23 octobre 1993), p.113.

LE PKK ÉTEND SES MENACES AUX PARTIS POLITIQUES. (*Le Monde*, 23 octobre 1993), p.113.

41 REBELLES KURDES TUÉS LORS D'OPÉRATIONS DANS LE SUD-EST ANATOLIEN. — Le PKK enlève un journaliste turc à Tunceli. (A.F.P., 24 octobre 1993), p.114.

«COUP D'ÉTAT PARLEMENTAIRE» PROPOSÉ POUR CONTRER UN POSSIBLE COUP D'ÉTAT MILITAIRE. Un groupe de parlementaires recommande la formation d'un «gouvernement de consensus national» dans le Sud-Est. — L'AFFAIRE DE LICE ABOUTIT AUX CHANGEMENTS DANS LE CABINET — La semaine des sommets de la sécurité. — Le Projet de l'Anatolie du Sud-Est: La Turquie est en train de faire renaître le berceau de la civilisation. (*Turkish Daily News*, 25 octobre 1993), p.115-119.

ULTIMATUM KURDE; INTERVIEW DE M. ÖCALAN; LA GUERRE AVEC LA TURQUIE, SES BUTS ET SES RELATIONS AVEC LA GRÈCE. (*Eleiterotipia*, 4 octobre 1993), p.120-121.

LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE ET D'INDUSTRIE IRANIENNE ALINARI KHAMOUCHI, est arrivé en Allemagne pour une visite de six jours, alors que les autorités allemandes viennent d'être la cible de critiques britanniques, américaines et israéliennes sur la nature de leurs relations avec Téhéran. (A.F.P., 25 octobre 1993), p.121.

LA VISITE EN TURQUIE DU MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES SUÉDOIS MARGARETHA AF UGGLAS : La Suède veut se rapprocher de la Turquie. (*Turkish Probe*, 26 octobre 1993), p.122.

UN RAPPORT AFFIRME QUE LA TURQUIE VOUDRA IMPORTER DU PÉTROLE IRAKIEN. — L'état d'exception sera prolongé malgré l'opposition du SHP. — Les Kurdes menacent de bloquer la route entre la Turquie et l'Irak. (*Turkish Daily News*, 26 octobre 1993), p.123-124.

SELON L'HEBDOMADAIRE «DER SPIEGEL» : Bonn aurait offert une assistance aux services secrets iraniens. (*Le Monde*, 26 octobre 1993), p.124.

AUJOURD'HUI LA PALESTINE, DEMAIN LE KURDISTAN ? (*Daily Bruin*, 26 octobre 1993), p.125.

LA FUITE EN AVANT DE LA GUÉRILLA KURDE. Le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, en lutte contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara, lance des offensives tous azimuts contre les militaires turcs avant l'arrivée de l'hiver. Et mise sur la lassitude de l'opinion face à cette «sale guerre». (*Libération*, 26 octobre 1993), p.126.

31 PERSONNES TUÉES PAR LES REBELLES DANS LE SUD-EST DE LA TURQUIE. — Plus de 380 morts à Lice, selon le Front de libération national du Kurdistan. (A.F.P., 26 octobre 1993), p.126-127.

TURQUIE: LES MINISTRES DE LA DÉFENSE ET DE L'INTÉRIEUR ONT ÉTÉ REMPLACÉS. (*Le Monde*, 26 octobre 1993), p.127.

INTERPELLATION D'ENVIRON 150 MANIFESTANTS KURDES DEVANT L'AMBASSADE DE TURQUIE À PARIS. (A.F.P., 26 octobre 1993), p.128.

ÇILLER: LA SYRIE ET L'IRAK SONT DES SOURCES DE TERREUR. — *Hürriyet*: Le PKK déclare la loi martiale dans le Sud-Est. — Le PKK continue ses massacres. (*Turkish Daily News*, 27 octobre 1993), p.128-130.

LIBÉRATION D'UN JOURNALISTE ENLEVÉ PAR LE PKK À TUNCELI. (A.F.P., 27 octobre 1993), p.130.

LA FIDH ET FRANCE-LIBERTÉS ADRESSENT UN MESSAGE À WILLY CLAES, soulignant «la gravité de la situation» considérée comme un «commencement de génocide». (A.F.P., 28 octobre 1993), p.131.

DEMIREL À L'OPINION PUBLIQUE: «ne paniquez pas !» — Problème kurde: Le SHP prend ses distances par rapport à la ligne dure. — LA TURQUIE PRÉPARE DES MESURES PLUS DUR CONTRE LE TERRORISME. — Le Prince Charles condamne l'Irak et demande à comprendre l'Islam. (*Turkish Daily News*, 28 octobre 1993), p.132-134.

PRÉSIDENT DEMIREL : Ayez confiance en l'État. (*Turkish Daily News*, 29 octobre 1993), p.134.

ICI, UN MEILLEUR CHEMIN À PRENDRE POUR LA TURQUIE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 29 octobre 1993), p.135.

ACCROCHAGE À LA FRONTIÈRE TURCO-IRANIENNE: 67 MORTS. — La rébellion kurde aurait fait 10.000 morts en neuf ans. (*Le Monde*, 29 octobre 1993), p.135.

LE CONFLIT ARMÉ TURCO-KURDE, L'IN DES PLUS SANGLANTS DE LA RÉGION, des Balkans jusqu'au Caucase, faisant plus de 25 morts par jour depuis deux mois avec nombre de civils pris entre les rebelles kurdes et les forces turques. (A.F.P., 29 octobre 1993), p.136.

LES KURDES CONTRE L'IRAN: La communauté kurde de Paris organise ce matin à 11 heures une conférence de presse en présence de Danielle Mitterrand pour attirer l'attention sur les violations des droits de l'homme au Kurdistan ira-

nien. (*Le Jour*, 29 octobre 1993), p.137.

TÉHÉRAN ACCUSÉ: PROCÈS À HAUT RISQUE À BERLIN. L'Iran avait commandité l'assassinat de quatre leaders kurdes. — Allemagne: Iran en accusation. (*Le Nouveau Quotidien*; *Le Quotidien de Paris*, 29 octobre 1993), p.137.

PROTESTATION CONTRE L'AGRESSION DE L'IRAN AU KURDISTAN IRAKIEN. (*Libération*, 30 octobre 1993), p.137.

LA TURQUIE DEMANDE À SES VOISINS D'ARRÊTER LEUR SOUTIEN AU PKK. — La Turquie se lance dans une guerre totale contre le PKK. — 8 morts dans un poste de gendarmerie situé sur le chemin de Çiller. (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 octobre 1993), p.138-139.

KURDISTAN: UN COMMENCEMENT DE GÉNOCIDE. — Environ 200 membres de la communauté kurde de Paris, selon les chiffres communiqués par la police, ont manifesté samedi pour alerter l'opinion publique française sur les bombardements iraniens contre les populations kurdes d'Irak. (*L'Humanité*; A.F.P., 30 octobre 1993), p.140.

UN PEINTRE KURDE MANIFESTE CONTRE LA VIOLENCE DANS SON PAYS. (*24 Heures*, 30 octobre 1993), p.141.

POURQUOI UN GROUPE DE TRA-

VAIL SUR LE PROBLÈME KURDE ? (*L'union Pacifiste*, Octobre 1993), p.141.

DES KURDES EN AUVERGNE. Fuyant la guerre, 90 Kurdes vivent aujourd'hui à Vic-Le-Comte, dans les Puy-de-Dôme. (*Campagnes Solidaires*, Octobre 1993), p.142.

UN ÉCRIVAIN SILENCIEUX. Leyla Zana, première femme kurde à devenir députée de l'Assemblée turque parle... (*The Middle East*, Octobre 1993), p.143-145.

LES GRANDES MANŒUVRES DU RÉGIME D'ANKARA: «Carte blanche» à l'armée turque au Kurdistan. — Neuf mille mort en neuf ans, tel est le bilan de la lutte armée déclenchée le 15 août 1984 par le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) en Turquie. Commencée dans les provinces du Sud-Est, elle s'étend maintenant à l'est du pays et vise des objectifs touristiques. Pourtant, le gouvernement d'Ankara a rejeté les offres de négociation du PKK et mise avant tout sur la répression. Il tente aussi, par de vastes projets hydro-électriques, de consolider son emprise sur l'économie du sud-est du pays. — LES OBJECTIFS CACHÉS DU GRAND PROJET ANATOLIEN. (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, Octobre 1993), p.146-149.

AGENDA DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. — LA SEMAINE EN PERSPECTIVE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5, 12, 19, 26, octobre 1993), p.150-154.

Revue de Presse



At least 36 people killed in the Southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- At least 36 people were killed in separate clashes between the clandestine Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants and government troops in the mainly Kurdish-populated and troubled southeast Turkey, officials said on Thursday. Nine soldiers were killed when their vehicle hit a land mine near the Ballica village of Mardin's Savur township. In the southeastern province of Hakkari's Çukurca township, troops confronted a group of PKK militants, killing nine terrorists. Eight other PKK members were killed in a skirmish between troops and militants in the Aktepe district of Şırnak's Silopi township. Officials also said that some six militants were gunned down in a clash near Altınoluk village of Mardin's Dargeçit township, adding that three soldiers were also killed in the incident. The PKK has been waging a violent campaign for an independent Kurdish state since 1984.

More than 7,000 people in Turkey's southeast region have been killed so far.

Ankara applies to Italy for extradition of PKK spokesman

In another development, Ankara made an official application to Italy through diplomatic channels, for the extradition to Turkey of high-ranking PKK member, Ali Sapan, the Anatolia news agency reported on Thursday.

Ali Sapan, spokesman for the Brussels-based National Liberation Front of Kurdistan (ERNK), the so-called political wing of the PKK, was arrested in Rome after he held a press conference at the foreign press club in central Rome on September 2.

The press conference concerned the demands being made by the PKK before the release of seven Western tourists whom PKK militants abducted in eastern Turkey last month.

Sapan, 29, was being held on an international warrant issued on April 13, 1993, by a court in Adana, Turkey, on charges of being a member of the terrorist organization.

DEP MP lashes out at PM's 'discrimination'

■ *Aydar: We wish the Kurds had the same rights as Turks in Germany*

■ *'No one forces us to shout I'm German, decent and hardworking'*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Democracy Party (DEP) Siirt Deputy Zübeyir Aydar lashed out at Prime Minister Tansu Çiller last Thursday for comparing the rights of Turkish-citizen Kurds residing in Turkey to the rights of Turks living in Germany. The deputy said that Turks living in Germany enjoyed more rights than the Kurds living here.

In a written statement, Aydar referred to Çiller's recent remarks in Germany in which she said Ankara would be pleased to see the Turks living there enjoying "at least part of the rights we give to our Kurdish citizens." Çiller's statement was the first indication of a discrimination by the PM, elected last June as the first female to hold that position. "She has implied that the Kurds in Turkey are a minority," Aydar said. The Siirt deputy, while respecting Çiller's efforts to improve the rights of "people from Turkey" in Germany, nevertheless criticized her for "escaping from questions" by making such a remark.

"Mrs. Çiller is evading the Kurdish problem," he said. "Those from Turkey living in Germany have more rights than those in Turkey... Compared to the situation of the Kurdish people here, people from Turkey in Germany can freely express their identity, speak and freely broadcast in the Turkish language. They can teach in Turkish and have the freedom of organizing and expressing their political and religious beliefs. No one is forced to say, 'I am a German, I am decent and hardworking.' No one is arrested for being a Kurd/Turk and no one is forced to become a village guard," Aydar said.

He pointed out various human rights violations such as torture, suppression of investigations and extrajudicial killings which, he said, those from Turkey did not face in Germany.

Aydar also alluded to the fact that Germany was not the motherland of the Turks whereas the Kurds were living in their own country, wanting only to live freely.

turkish daily news

Friday, September 24, 1993

Çiller's words on Kurds disturb Foreign Ministry

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's words comparing the rights given to Turks in Germany and Kurds in Turkey have disturbed Turkish Foreign Ministry circles, sources said on Thursday.

Asking not to be named, high ranking sources in the Foreign Ministry told TDN that it was a mistake for Çiller to compare the rights of citizens of a country with the rights of foreign inhabitants of another.

that Çiller's words may lead to confusion in Western circles about the status of Kurds and other ethnic origin citizens in Turkey.

During her visit to Germany on Sept. 20-22, Çiller said that she wished the Turks in Germany would have

"That is contradictory to the government's policy as well," a high ranking source said. "We underline that Kurds in Turkey like other citizens with ethnic origins other than Turkish have all the same legal rights

as citizens of Turkish origin. But we ask the German government to give the right of dual citizenship to Turkish citizens living there".

Foreign Ministry officials believe

ve "one-tenth" of the rights of the Kurds in Turkey.

Ministry officials also criticize Çiller for putting too much stress on finishing off the "5,000 militants" of the secessionist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the context of the struggle against terrorism. Officials believe this would be in conflict with the understanding of human rights in Europe, which is already sensitive about violations in Turkey. The statement reportedly caused satisfaction among the Turkish community in Germany in which more than 1.8 million Turkish citizens live, nearly 400,000 of them being of Kurdish origin.

Batman inhabitants voice their problems in Parliament

- *'The number of PKK militants increases as much as the number of villages burnt. We have not given up hope on Parliament. A process of a social peace should be launched. General amnesty should be issued, the state of emergency and village guard system should be removed'*

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Around 100 village headmen (muhtars) and villagers from Batman and its environs, who gathered in Parliament on Friday to voice their problems, said they will give up on their political parties if an immediate solution is not found to their problems.

Emphasizing that the number of outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants increases as much as the number of villages burnt, the Batman inhabitants said problems cannot be solved with violence and that a process to bring about social peace should be launched.

Explaining their problems to the representatives of all the parliamentary parties, the Batman people demanded that the state of emergency and the village guard system be removed, that a general amnesty be issued and Kurds granted their cultural rights. Participating in the meeting with the Batmanites were True Party Party (DYP) Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairman Turhan Tayan, Motherland Party (ANAP) Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairman Oltan Sungurlu, Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairman Nihat Matkap, Republican People's Party (CHP) Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairman Uluç Gürkan and the deputies from the Democracy Party (DEP), the Welfare Party (RP) and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). One of the Batmanites who identified himself as "Fetullah" took the rostrum first. Noting that he is a member of the DYP, Fetullah said he and his colleagues want democracy and human rights and that they believe problems cannot be solved by shedding blood.

"We believe that the problems can be solved here. However, no interest has been shown to our problems until today. We may give up on political parties. We have not seen any party that has taken our problems into consideration," Fetullah said. However, Fetullah noted that they have not yet given up hope on Parliament and that is why they are at the Parliament now. He said there has been a large emigration from the region, murders are committed in daylight, the majority of victims are DEP members and no one can testify as a witness because they are afraid. Fetullah continued, "We are citizens of the Republic of Turkey, but tell us whether Kurds exist. We do not want to leave this country. We are thankful that we do not live in the dicta-

tor regimes of other Middle East countries."

Noting that the newspapers that cover the issues are labelled "separatist-Armenian," Fetullah said they want social peace and democracy.

Tayan from DYP asked Fetullah whether he knows where the pressure comes from and also asked what Fetullah thinks about the PKK. "I cannot make myself a target by making a determination about illegal or legal armed forces," Fetullah responded.

When Tayan insisted in asking what he had to say about the PKK's killing many people, Fetullah declined to answer, saying he will have no security in the village at night.

When Sungurlu from ANAP noted that Fetullah has said everything to Parliament but that he remained silent about the PKK, Fetullah answered that he and his friends are not afraid of Parliament.

Another Batmanite, who did not identify himself, said, "We have not seen human rights until the now. There are human rights in the West. Why shouldn't human rights exist in our region? You discuss this among yourselves in Parliament and find a solution."

Another person, who introduced himself as an ANAP member, said he and his friends were faced with an interrogation when they arrived in Ankara driving a car bearing Batman's license plate number, 72.

He said, "Pressures against us should come to a halt. What can we do if the state cannot overcome the PKK? It is us who suffer the pain. We have no life security. You either find a solution or bomb us."

Tayan asked what more democratic rights they want when they already elect their own muhtars, city hall members and deputies. One Batmanite said they first want security. He said they also want Kurds granted their cultural rights, the freedom to use their language and broadcast Kurdish on TV. He also inquired why they cannot avail themselves of the provisions of the Criminal Trial Procedure Law (CMUK). He continued that following the incidents in Sirmak, 1,500 young men went up to the mountains. He said, "We see the solution in Parliament but not in the PKK. Arms should be silenced. Do not leave our hands for peace and friendship in the air."

Hasan Talas, who introduced himself

as the SHP's former Kozluk district chairman, said general amnesty should be granted and all the cultural and legitimate rights should be recognized. He said they want to make use of the state facilities as much as the people do in Ankara and Istanbul.

"You ask what democratic rights stand for? The state is burning villages in daylight. Is this democracy? What kind of democracy is this if the PKK takes my son to the mountains by force?" Talas asked.

Talas continued that the PKK steadily takes the young men to mountains either voluntarily or by force. He noted that the body of a young man who had gone to mountains with the PKK and was killed there had not even been returned to them.

Pointing out that there are at least 50 to 100 deputies in Parliament who are from the southeast region, Talas said, "If they do not have the courage to explain all these to you then they should resign."

Talas noted that if TL 450 billion is sent to the region under emergency rule, at least half of that amount goes to the PKK. He said, "Civil servants give half of their money to the PKK every month. Many villages have been burnt. The state, village guard, gendarmerie have burnt them. The number of the PKK militants increases as much as the number of villages burnt. This problem cannot be solved with arms. Show mercy to us."

Another Batman inhabitant said that the PKK problem cannot be solved unless the democratic rights are granted. MHP Çorum Deputy Muharrem Semsek said there has been no special pressure exerted on the region. Semsek said the gendarmerie also pressure the people in the village that is located within the boundaries of his district.

DEP Mardin Deputy Ahmet Türk said that respect of Parliament should be emphasized, otherwise the people will lose their confidence in that institution.

Türk said there has been no effort to divide Turkey and that the idea of living as a first-class citizen is what is important. He said if Parliament does not meet its responsibility, then the elected people will have to review their status.

Sungurlu from ANAP noted a parliamentary southeast commission is continuing its work and that it will place emphasis on the problems voiced by the Batman inhabitants.

US approves \$405 m. in aid to Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The U.S. Senate approved the administration's foreign aid bill for fiscal year 1994 on Friday.

The aid was set at \$405 million for Turkey and \$283.5 million for Greece, thus preserving the U.S. Congress' 7 to 10 ratio on all military assistance for the two countries.

This decision of the Senate's will now be sent to a special reconciliation commission of the House Representative's because the amount of aid approved by the House is different from that approved by the Senate.

The House of Representatives had decided on a 10 per cent reduction in the aid to be extended to Turkey, Por-

tugal and Greece.

After the final amount for the aid is decided by this commission, which will convene at the beginning of next week, the bill will be submitted to President Bill Clinton for signing.

The US administration initially proposed \$450 million in military assistance to Turkey. It also requested an additional \$143 million in economic assistance for fiscal year 1994.

The administration had proposed \$315 million in military assistance to Greece. The U.S. does not extend economic aid to Greece.

THE ECONOMIST SEPTEMBER 25TH 1993

Iran

For the oppressed

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN IRAN

HE CONTROLS \$4 billion worth of investment in 1,200 companies and nobody, except for Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, can fire him. He is Mohsen Rafiqdoost, managing director of Iran's Bonyad-e-Mostazafan, the Foundation of the Oppressed.

The *bonyad* was set up on the fortune of the shah and other Iranians who fled the 1979 revolution, and has been enriched since then with fresh confiscated property (see box). The largest of several foundations supposed to redistribute the country's wealth, its given tasks is to set up universities, build cheap housing and provide affordable medical care. It also makes a handsome profit for itself.

Its investments range wide: from agri-

culture and textiles to food and tourism. It can change its spots at will, acting as a private company when buying privatised firms, but going "public" to control such "strategic" businesses as the national shipping line, enshrined in the Iranian constitution as a publicly-owned agency.

The *bonyad* owns several five-star hotels and is even building an amusement park in Tehran along Disneyland lines, in a joint venture with a European construction firm. The idea of Minnie Mouse in full-length *chador* may not sound a winner, but no one doubts Mr Rafiqdoost's shrewdness. The *bonyad*'s operating profit last year reached 570 billion rials (\$400m), the highest ever. Mr Rafiqdoost took it over in 1989, after commanding the Revolutionary Guards during Iran's eight-year war with Iraq; he claims that one-third of the profit goes directly to victims of the war.

Wealthy Iranians fear the *bonyad*'s huge expansion, not least because their own assets are constantly under threat. But even the unwealthy are starting to feel that it and other foundations have sold out for the sake of profit. "They are supposed to build housing for the poor, but only the rich can afford the mansions they build," says a low-paid government employee, trying to make ends meet by working nights as a taxi driver. "They are for the oppressed in name only."

Mr Rafiqdoost admits his foundation makes a healthy profit from some of its

housing, but says that all the proceeds will eventually reach the poor. Meanwhile, his staff do seem to have their minds on making money. They gladly recite the extent of their investments and the depth of their control over the Iranian economy. Mr Rafiqdoost himself is proud of the fact that the government will often approach him to intervene in economic policy. When lifting its subsidy on chickens, for example, it asked the *bonyad* to import millions of chickens, to bring down the price. "We have intervened over iron, tea, rice and cooking oil," says Mr Rafiqdoost.

In a country that thrives on rumour and speculation, the foundations are a favourite target. Many Iranians suspect that they are used as deniable vehicles to control everything from the pro-Iranian Hizbullah to the bounty on the head of Salman Rushdie. (The 15 Khordad Foundation, which offered that \$2m bounty, is the most secretive foundation of all.)

Economic information in Iran is almost as sensitive as military secrets, and few really know what the foundations are up to. Allegations of political involvement are difficult to prove. Many accuse them of corruption, a criticism that Mr Rafiqdoost dismisses as politically motivated. But with no shareholders, no public accounts and answerable only to Iran's religious leader, the *bonyads* are a law unto themselves.

THE ECONOMIST SEPTEMBER 25TH 1993

Arms to Iraq

Unexploded bomb

Who was responsible for misleading parliament and public?

AS SCANDALS go, this one could still prove devastating. Among the allegations: secret government encouragement of arms sales to a dictator who gasses civilians; ministers misleading parliament; perhaps a quarter of the cabinet implicated. But Lord Justice Scott, the appeal-court judge charged with establishing the truth, is swimming against a tide of well-honed excuses and Whitehall obfuscation. On September 22nd and 23rd, William Waldegrave, the first serving cabinet minister to testify, put on a dazzling display of semantic agility.

The scandal began unravelling last November. The trial of executives from Matrix Churchill, a machine-tool company, had collapsed. They were accused of breaching an arms embargo to Iraq. Ministers had tried, and failed, to suppress evidence which showed that Whitehall had encouraged them all along. An embarrassed John Major ordered an inquiry by Lord Justice Scott. Having grilled bureaucrats and diplomats, the inquiry is now summoning ministers. This week Tim Renton, David Mellor and William Waldegrave, all Foreign Office ministers during the mid- to late 1980s, took the stand. In November comes Lady Thatcher, in January Mr Major himself.

The inquiry has established the broad story. During the late 1980s Britain was the world's third-biggest arms exporter, and the Middle East one of its main markets. But in 1985 the government banned the export of lethal equipment to Iran and Iraq in response to the war raging between them. When the two agreed a ceasefire in 1988, an internal Whitehall war started up. The Department of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Defence argued that Britain's defence companies, eager to export, should be let off the leash. At first, the Foreign Office wanted to maintain the guidelines. Like everyone else, its officials knew Saddam Hussein was gassing Kurdish civilians.

But the diplomats were also keen to establish Iraq as a bulwark against fundamentalism in Iran, especially after Iran issued its *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie. So the Foreign Office agreed to a fudge. No new policy was announced. Ministers told parliament after 1988 that guidelines on exports to Iraq and Iran were being applied rigorously to both countries. But between 1988 and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Saddam managed to buy £250m (\$380m) of British defence equipment. Few British arms got to Iraq.

There were two ways of selling to Iraq. First, ministers privately agreed late in 1988 to interpret the guidelines liberally. They would permit the export of equipment which could be used for both military and civilian purposes, provided the Iraqis claimed to be using them for the latter. So equipment such as machine tools, which can make anything from cars to warheads, often got in. Once in, enforcement was sometimes lax, more often nonexistent. As early as 1987, the inquiry was told, intelligence reports revealed that British lathes were being used to make shell casings. After the Gulf war, Matrix Churchill machinery was found in a factory producing components essential for nuclear weapons.

The second method was to route shipments via Jordan. Ordtech, a British company, attempted to sell 300,000 artillery-shell fuses to Iraq using certificates indicating their destination was Jordan. One Ordtech executive says MI5 knew about his firm's intentions and did not try to stop it. Intelligence reports (which reached the Foreign Office) revealed that Jordan was known to be a path for arms to Iraq. Nevertheless, the government failed to extend its arms-export ban to Jordan.

Diplomats told the enquiry that Britain feared American criticism for exporting equipment to Iraq. In fact, the Bush admin-

istration itself was helping to finance Saddam's arms build-up. There is a more plausible reason why Britain's change in policy was kept quiet: ministers and bureaucrats wanted to avoid public scorn.

The difficulty for Lord Justice Scott is where to pin the blame. Witnesses, including the three former Foreign Office ministers questioned this week, often complain of lapses in memory. Diplomats disclaim responsibility. Ministers claim ignorance. Mr Mellor, for example, explained that intelligence reports about the end-use of machine tools never reached him.

Mr Waldegrave had the bumpiest ride of the ministers. He was at the Foreign Office in 1988-90, when questionable exports to Iraq were at their height. Defending himself, he proved that he is adroit, if nothing else. The relaxation of controls on exports to Iraq did not require a public announcement, he argued, because the guidelines remained the same, only their "interpretation was more flexible". The inquiry was unconvinced. Nor was parliament misled, argued Mr Waldegrave. The guidelines were "scrupulously applied"; they only happened to favour Iraq over Iran "for reasons of wider policy". And the Iraqis "deceived us" about the use of the exports. Mr Waldegrave is understood to have spent much of his summer preparing his response to the inquiry.

The inquiry may do more damage when Lord Justice Scott turns to the Matrix Churchill trial. Kenneth Clarke (now chancellor), Michael Heseltine (now industry secretary) and Malcolm Rifkind (now defence secretary), all signed "public interest immunity" certificates to withhold classified documents. The judge overruled them. Had he not, the defendants might now be in jail. In November four executives from Ordtech will appeal against their convictions for selling arms to Iraq. Peter Lilley (now social security secretary) and Kenneth Baker (then home secretary, now a backbencher) signed certificates for their trial. One of the documents withheld was a 500-page Foreign Office report about Jordan's contribution to Iraq's arms build-up. Stay tuned.

DEP takes decision: We will stay in parliament

■ *Kaya's newspaper, the outspoken Özgür Gündem, faces 11 separate charges demanding its closure and one of its Istanbul correspondents, Aysel Malkaç, is still "missing" since being detained last month by the police.*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey's Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) decided on its future this weekend and the outcome is certain to affect the future of Turkish politics.

Having come under constant fire, persecution and prosecution the DEP -- as the only legal formation on the Kurdish wing of the political spectrum -- will stay in Parliament despite the pressures confronting it.

Despite initial demands from grassroots and radical Kurdish activists for the party to withdraw from Ankara, there has been a recent change in the wind.

Perhaps realizing that pulling out of active politics would only be butter on bread for the Turkish hard-liners, the party now appears to be generally inclined to stay in politics and maintain its struggle from that vantage point.

If it had decided to leave, this would have perhaps been a greater blow to Turkey than to the pro-Kurdish movement, closing the doors on the only legal alternative to armed activities and boosting support for the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Moreover, DEP's overall boycott of Parliament would have increased the number of vacant seats in that body to 23 -- meaning a 5 percent vacancy, which, according to the Constitution, requires that early by-elections are held in three months.

With the DEP staying in Parliament though, the party's executives who have no intention of becoming live bait to plots cooking around them, will seek a more active policy to attract global attention to developments in Turkey.



DEP Chairman Yaşar Kaya

The party this month lost one of its 18 parliamentarians to an armed attack in the Eastern refinery city of Batman where the local security is suspected of having links with the radical Islamic Hezbollah organization thought to have carried out the murder.

The murder of Mehmet Sincar marked the 54th assassination of DEP activists since the Oct. 20, 1991 elections which put the coalition government into power. And, at least 15 journalists writing on the Kurdish issue have been killed in the meantime. Kurdish activists find it hard to believe that such a campaign is not systematic and that some officials do not condone -- if not actively cooperate -- with the killers.

As if these were not enough, there has been a successful official cover up of an assassination attempt on DEP Deputy Leyla Zana this month, and not a single investigation has been launched against

security officials who have threatened her with death over the past year.

The final straw, on top of two years of persecution, was a prosecution this month of DEP Chairman Yaşar Kaya who was thrown into prison simply for a speech he made on Kurdish rights while in neighboring northern Iraq.

Kaya's newspaper, the outspoken Özgür Gündem, faces 11 separate charges demanding its closure and one of its Istanbul correspondents, Aysel Malkaç, is still "missing" since being detained last month by the police.

These developments have heightened the "should we stay in Parliament or should we go" argument on the Kurdish agenda with the PKK leadership claiming that the means for a political struggle were being gradually blocked.

Despite this initial assessment and an appeal from the PKK in Europe for "DEP to withdraw from Parliament," the orga-

nization's spokesman Kani Yılmaz changed his tune on Friday.

Interviewed by the Özgür Gündem, Yılmaz said with regard to Turkish Daily News analysis (Sept. 23, 1993: Tension rises as Turkey falls into polarization trap) on the current situation, that his words had been misunderstood.

"We have given instructions to no one," he said. "We only meant that one cannot practice politics in Ankara and that they (DEP) had to withdraw and go among their people." His statement was highlighted in the paper under the headline "We did not say DEP should withdraw."

This was the first indication of a change. It was followed, however, by a debate on what the DEP should do if it chose

to remain in Parliament, and there were calls for active politics such as staying in Ankara but working full-time among the Kurdish people, staging a hunger strike in front of the United Nations and/or going on a world tour to explain their plight. A recent TDN poll among DEP deputies showed that the party's parliamentary group was fully aware of the risks of withdrawing, and that some power circles actually wanted this.

A majority of the DEP deputies, on the other hand, agree that legal possibilities have not been fully exhausted.

The question now is what the DEP will do in the future and whether it will bring any changes to its structure, to bridge relations between the country's Kurds and Turks.

One of DEP's priority missions appears to be to diffuse the rising tension between the two people, and to further distance itself from outlawed formations. The party has to take on the task of becoming fully legal, objective on human rights, and critical of all violations thereof. This would also mean criticizing the PKK which DEP's grassroots secretly support, and which may be more difficult to do than what meets the eye. Once it can do all of these, observers believe this would be a step towards bridging ties and raising DEP's credibility at home and abroad. It will also attract better attention to any legal protest or demonstration to highlight the plight of the Kurds in Turkey.

Monday, September 27, 1993 ■

turkish daily news

Fehmi Işıklar refused permission to go abroad

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Ankara State Security Court (DGM) has refused to grant permission to Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) deputy Fehmi Işıklar to travel abroad to Germany as the official guest of the German Parliament Speaker.

The Constitutional Court annulled Işıklar's membership to Parliament and lifted his parliamentary immunity on the grounds that a speech he made during the time he served as pro-Kurdish Labour Party (HEP) chairman contained subversive propaganda. Commenting on the DGM's decision not to allow him to go abroad, Işıklar said it was a "scandal of global proportions." "The Parliament Speaker (Hüsamettin Cindoruk) keeps saying that my parliamentary immunity remains intact. Yet the DGM argues that I'm no longer a deputy. I'm stuck between Parliament and the law," he said.

Meanwhile DGM chief prosecutor Nusret Demiral

on Saturday told reporters that the court's decision, issued to security personnel at all border gates, stemmed from the fact that Işıklar "had committed a crime against the state."

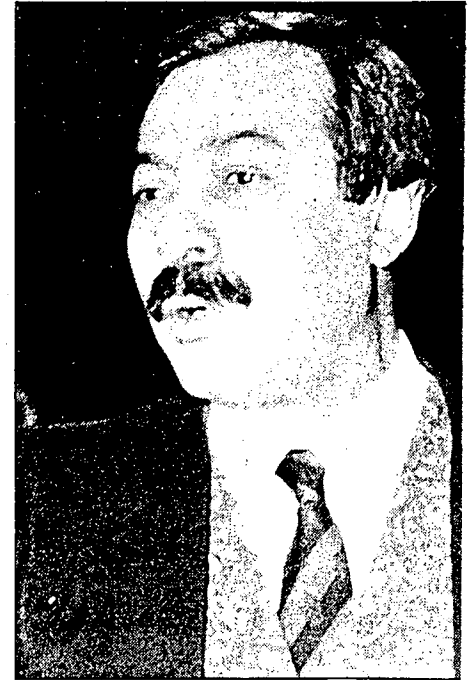
"He cannot travel abroad without having been interrogated by the DGM," Demiral said.

"He must come up to us first," he added.

Demiral argued that Işıklar was no longer a member of the Turkish Parliament.

"As soon as the Parliament Speakership was informed of the decision of the Constitutional Court, Işıklar's membership became null and void," Demiral said. Asked his opinion of Parliament Speaker's Hüsamettin Cindoruk's announcement that he would refer Işıklar's case to the general assembly, Demiral said decisions taken by the Constitutional court were final.

"And its decisions are binding for all institutions and individuals," he added.



Fehmi Işıklar

20 PKK militants killed in southeastern Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A total of 20 outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) militants were killed by security forces in southeastern Turkey, Anatolia news agency reported on Sunday.

Three Turkish soldiers were killed in clashes, it said. Security forces killed 13 PKK militants in a shootout on Mount Balkayalar in Hakkari province and wounded one. Search operations are still continuing, Anatolia said.

In other incidents in the region, security forces killed two PKK militants in Elazığ province, two in Siirt province, one in Hakkari, and another one in Şırnak.

The body of a PKK member thought to have been killed in a recent operation was found in Mardin's Dargeçit town, it said. Security forces captured a PKK militant during a search operation in Diyarbakır's Silvan province.

More than 7,200 people have been killed in Turkey since the PKK began its hit-and-run attacks back in 1984.

Bonn prepares campaign for human rights in Turkey

■ Campaign to start after Bonn sorts out security and rights problems related to Turkey and Turks in Germany

By Murat Yetkin

Turkish Daily News

BONN/ANKARA- The German government is making preparations for a campaign regarding human rights violations in Turkey sources in Germany have said.

The campaign is expected to start after Bonn sorts out security and civil and human rights problems related to Turkey and Turks in Germany.

Talking to the TDN on the condition of anonymity, German government sources said that Bonn's cautious approach in accusing Turkey of not preventing human

rights violations should not be misunderstood as suggesting that it is no longer interested in the subject.

Being a major and a harsh critic until last year of human rights abuses in Turkey, Germany has been careful in raising the subject in recent contacts with Ankara.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Turkey on May 19-21, and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's visit to Germany on September 20-22 have provided examples of this approach. German government sources say they do not want to link the close and historical relations between the two countries to human rights violations in Turkey, and especially to the Kurdish problem. But, they indicate, they still are following closely developments in these areas. German officials also believe that more time should be given to Turkey to fulfil its promises and complete legal arrangements for more democracy in the country. "Now we are trying to sort out our own problems in the context of human and civil rights, some of which are directly related to Turkey and Turkish citizens in Germany", said one high ranking official. "Germany has understood that it has to solve its own human rights problems before criticizing those in other countries". German officials list these problems that have to be solved as follows:

■ Curtailing of anti-Turkish activities based in Germany: The major problem in this field is the activities of the secessionist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Seeking an

independent Kurdish state carved out of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, the PKK has been waging an armed campaign since 1984 in which more than 7,100 people have been killed in eastern and southeastern Turkey. The organization operates in Germany under a number of cover organizations. The Kurdistan Committee in Cologne and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Kurdistan, ERNK (the so-called political wing of the PKK) offices are just two of these. Turkey argues that organizations such as these, which have been established by making use of the flexibility of German laws, work as recruitment and financial support offices for the PKK, and has been asking Germany to limit their activities because of this. The Moslem fundamentalist network of Cemalettin Kaplan's, which aims to establish a Federal Islamic State in Turkey with Istanbul as its capital, and the Germany based extensions of Turkey's armed gangs on the fringe left are among the other problems considered in this framework. German officials say they sympathize with Turkey's complaints and are trying their best for legal revisions in order to curtail the activities of these groups. On the other hand, sources in Germany say, the differences of opinion between the German intelligence organization BND, the Council for the Protection of the Constitution, the German interior ministry, and the foreign ministry is responsible for the delays in taking the necessary steps for a le-

gal action against these groups.

■ Curtailing of xenophobic and neo-Nazi activities aimed at guest-workers and immigrants living in Germany:

Officials say the high increase in the number of attacks against foreigners in Germany is proportionate to increasing unemployment and migration following the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of Germany.

The Solingen incident on May 29 in which 5 members of a Turkish family in Germany were murdered in an arson attack, was a milestone in the German government's approach to organizations on the rightist fringe in the country. Neo-Nazi groups were blamed in that attack. Two neo-Nazi's suspected of an earlier attack in Moeln are still on trial. German officials believe that such attacks do not only worsen Turkish-German relations, but also discredit Germany in international fora and revive World War II memories. The activities of some of the groups mentioned here have already been restricted, because they are in violation of German laws.

■ Regulating the civil rights of foreigners in Germany: Dual citizenship is the major issue regarding the civil rights being demanded by more than 1.8 million Turkish citizens in Germany.

A Turkish citizen actually has the right to become a German citizen if she/he fulfils certain conditions. But Turkish citizens refrain from becoming German citizens, fearing they will lose inheritance rights in Turkey and end up with lesser rights to buy real estate and work in their motherland. German officials say the Turkish government also has some responsibilities in this respect and it should make the necessary legal amendments to make things easier for its citizens.

But sources in Germany say that these problems are not the only ones regarding dual citizenship. The German government does not

want to "import" the struggle between the PKK and the Turkish security in southeast Turkey in the form of a Kurdish-Turkish tension in Germany. Nearly 400,000 of the Turkish citizens in Germany are of Kurdish origin. In fact, for the Germans this consideration is there for all other foreign groups in the country. Once these groups start to become German citizens easily, which will also bring them the right to vote, it is feared that the inner problems of the countries of origin will be reflected on to domestic German politics in the form

of a war of different lobbies. On the other hand, German officials believe that a middle way can be found in order to give German citizenship, or dual citizenship, to foreigners who have been living long enough in Germany and fulfilling certain conditions necessary for integrating in German society.

German officials say that if they sort out these problems --which they admit its not an easy undertaking-- they will be in a position to ask more easily for concrete action from the Turkish government for an end to human rights abuses in Turkey.

Murder in Batman

BATMAN- Unidentified gunmen on Saturday shot dead İhsan Güneş, a civilian, in the southeastern province of Batman, dubbed the capital of "unsolved murder cases" by the Turkish press. Local police have started a search operation to capture the assailants.

turkish daily news

Tuesday, September 28, 1993

Kurdish rebels defy Turkish military drive

By Alistair Lyon

Reuters

VAN, Turkey- Kurdish rebels are keeping up hit-and-run attacks in east and southeast Turkey, defying sustained Turkish land and air assaults on their hideouts.

More than 1,600 people have been killed in the region since May 24 when the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) called off a two-month unilateral ceasefire unrecognized by Ankara. Armed forces chief General Doğan Güreş declared this month that he would snuff out the PKK's nine-year-old revolt next spring, when new anti-guerrilla forces of 60,000 enlisted soldiers and 15,000 police commandos are due to go into action. Güreş and other Turkish leaders have made such promises in the past, but the deadlines have come and gone without any sign that military force can quench the fire in the mountains. "They will never finish the PKK this way," said a municipal official in the eastern town of Doğubeyazıt, gesturing towards Mount Ağrı (Ararat), a frequent target of Turkish air raids. "The only thing they will finish is their own budget." Tanks rumble along the road between the eastern towns of Van and Tatvan. Military posts dot the route which winds through hills overlooking the shimmering blue-green waters of Lake Van. The charred hulk of a passenger bus blocks half the road in a well-wooded valley where rebels scrambled down the mountain slopes to set up a flying roadblock earlier this month. Tatvan district governor Mehmet Günaydın said the rebels had briefly lectured passengers on the Kurdish cause before setting fire to the bus and fleeing as armoured vehicles approached.

The PKK snatched four French tourists from a tour bus held up near the same spot in daylight on July 24. The hostages trudged around the mountains for 17 days before their release. The PKK, which has abducted and freed 16 Westerners since July, has repeatedly warned tourists to stay away from the region, saying they indirectly fund the Turkish military. "Any tourist group can come here," Günaydın told reporters. "But they must inform the police what they will do and where they will go so that we can provide escorts."

He acknowledged that the avowedly Marxist, separatist PKK had some backing among the townspeople of Tatvan.

"Some people support them, others fear them. Boys and girls aged 10 to 20 have been going to the mountains to join them, especially from 1990 to 1992. I don't know how many." He said rebels ambushed a police minibus in the town a month ago, one of half a dozen recent attacks in the Tatvan district.

The PKK has mounted few big setpiece assaults on Turkish military posts since it lost important bases in northern Iraq a year ago, but has shown this year that it can still strike on a smaller scale in a dozen eastern and southeastern provinces. Turkish generals said last year that the cross-border operation, in which Turkish forces combined with Iraqi Kurdish guerrillas against the PKK, had "broken the spine" of the group. Some Turkish officials maintain that the PKK is simply an international terrorist organization backed by Syria, Iran, Iraq and Armenia. They accuse European countries of giving the PKK their tacit blessing to keep Turkey weak and divided. "Countries like Britain, France and Germany don't want Turkey to develop or join the EC," said Van provincial governor Mahmut Yılbaş. "The West is cutting the branch it's sitting on." "The sources of (PKK) terrorism are mostly foreign, especially Armenian and Syrian," he said.

The PKK certainly has Syrian Kurds within its ranks and it is not impossible that it has forged links with Armenians, but local Kurdish officials say its main power base is inside Turkey. "The more the state sends tanks, helicopters and troops to the region, the more the PKK's support grows," said one town mayor in Bitlis province. He asked not to be named.

"I'm a Kurd, but I don't support the PKK's demands and I'm against the use of weapons. There is a Kurdish problem in Turkey which needs a democratic, not a military, solution," he said. Curiously, despite the tension, bloodshed and kidnapping, some Western tourists continue to venture into the region. "American groups are still coming and occasionally French ones, but the Germans and Eng-

lish have stopped," said İbrahim Çavdar, manager of the Büyük Urartu Hotel in Van.

Tour guides and organizers of U.S. coach parties staying at the hotel shrugged off the perils. "The PKK has no policy of harming foreigners," said one guide, Hüsnü Ovacık.

The American tourists, many of them senior citizens, were not letting any such worries spoil their fun.

An elderly matron draped a silver necklace around the hips of a Kurdish waiter serving breakfast. "Wiggle," she commanded as the whole party shrieked with laughter. "Go on, wiggle."

DEP stays in Parliament 'for now'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey's Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) on Monday formally announced that neither of its 17 deputies in Parliament would resign from their seats for the time being. After the murder of Mardin DEP Deputy Meh-

met Sincar in Batman and the arrest of party chairman Yaşar Kaya in Ankara, the DEP had decided to review its policies and take action, even up to the point of resigning from Parliament.

"In accordance with Sunday's decision of the party assembly, DEP deputies will not resign for now," the party's deputy chairman Murat Bozlak said.

Bozlak added, "Despite the demand by forces against democracy to thrust our party off the platform of democratic struggle, a decision has been made to continue the democratic struggle. The resignation of our deputies is not seen as appropriate for the time being."

However, DEP deputies will not go to Parliament for one week and will reevaluate their situation, Bozlak explained. The DEP deputy also said that all party deputies would travel to Batman this week to investigate unsolved murders.

Meanwhile, the party's executive board member Osman Özçelik said that at its next convention in November, the DEP will send out signals of brotherhood between the Kurdish and Turkish people.

He said that in order to succeed in local elections, the party should exert more effort in the region.

15 PKK militants killed in southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A total of 15 militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were killed during clashes with security forces on Sunday, a press release from the office of the emergency rule regional governor said on Monday.

The statement said that eight PKK militants were killed near the Şemdinli town of Hakkari. It added that eight automatic rifles and 15 hand grenades were seized during the operations carried out by the security forces in the region.

The statement further said the security forces discovered hideouts and caves where 12 tons of food-stuff, clothing and medical equipment were stored.

Five militants were killed in a clash near the Şenoba town of Şırnak and two others were killed near the Derik town of Mardin, the statement con-

tinued.

A total of six long barrel guns, one pistol and one rocket launcher were seized following the clashes.

According to a separate statement from the Edirne police directorate, 10 people were arrested on charges of collecting funds on behalf of the PKK, while three others were charged with providing assistance to the illegal organization.

In Erzurum police officials said six terrorists were arrested on charges of assisting the illegal organization and also setting a school on fire.

In the Birecik town of Şanlıurfa, a police superintendent was killed in an armed attack on Sunday. On Monday, a health personnel from the Siverek town of Şanlıurfa was killed by unidentified gunmen.

Thursday, September 30, 1993

turkish daily news

Fehmi Işıklar: There is definitely a Kurdish problem in Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Fehmi Işıklar went to Bonn, Germany, upon invitation of Deputy Speaker of Parliament Renate Schmidt on Sept. 28.

While there, Işıklar held a joint press conference with German Social Democratic Party (SPD) Deputy and foreign policy spokesman Karsten Voigt.

During the conference, a journalist asked Işıklar how it was possible for Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to be able to say, during her visit to Germany, that there was no Kurdish problem in Turkey.

In answer to this question Işıklar said, "The prime minister may not have liked the fact that these problems were brought up in the international arena. There is indeed a Kurdish problem, and this can be understood from what she said. You can't talk about something that doesn't exist. The problem needs to be democratically solved, rather than evaded by pretending it doesn't exist."

Işıklar emphasized that he was not in Bonn to complain about Turkey, and said, "I want to see to it that Turkey isn't misunderstood abroad, that democracy is

strengthened within the country, and that the law is held above all else."

In the press conference, Işıklar said, "There is a very important problem in Turkey, and that is the Kurdish problem."

It is affecting inflation and unemployment. It needs to be solved. It needs to be solved within the unity of the country, with discussions held in an absolutely equal environment, while at the same time keeping in mind international agreements." Işıklar said that unlike other party members, he did not claim one thing in one city, and something totally different in another.

He said, "I have a definite line that I go by. I stick to what I say wherever I may be."

MINES ANTI-PERSONNEL

Armes et destruction massive..

« En septembre 1991, Raffoor Mohammed Ahmed, de Mawet au Kurdistan irakien, a été blessé au pied droit. Il cueillait du raisin dans son jardin. Le 21 avril 1991, une famille de huit réfugiés fuyant l'avance de la Garde Républicaine s'est aventurée sur un terrain miné. Plusieurs mines bondissantes inter-connectées furent déclenchées. La famille entière fut tuée »

LE BILAN de 10 ans de destruction : 100 millions de mines anti-personnel actives dans plus de 50 pays n'attendant qu'une chose, que quelqu'un marche dessus. Ce sont les soldats de « *La Guerre des Lâches* » : ils ne dorment pas, ne mangent pas, ne reconnaissent aucun cessez-le-feu et ne savent pas distinguer un civil d'un soldat.

Au Cambodge, 36 000 amputés. Au Kurdistan irakien, 2 000 amputés dans le seul gouvernorat de Suleimaniya en deux ans. En Afghanistan, 400 000 blessés, 200 000 tués par les mines anti-personnel. Et dans ces pays, pauvres, où les services de soins sont faibles ou inexistant, il est estimé que pour chaque survivant, deux victimes meurent avant d'arriver à l'hôpital.

« L'opinion publique fut indignée lorsque Saddam Hussein utilisa des armes chimiques contre les Kurdes. Mais le public réalise-t-il que toutes les morts causées par les armes chimiques, biologiques et même nucléaires ne sont qu'une poignée comparées au nombre de personnes mutilées ou tuées par les mines anti-personnel ». (Sénateur Leahy, au Sénat des USA, juillet 1993).

Au Kurdistan Irakien, 10 millions de mines anti-personnel, pour 80 % de fabrication ou de conception italienne (voir encadré), empêchent la reconstruction de la société kurde, qui a, semble-t-il, eu le tort de croire en la liberté et en la démocratie. *« Aujourd'hui, ce n'est pas Saddam Hussein, qui tue les Kurdes, ce sont les Italiens »* (R. Mc Grath, colloque Handicap International, Paris, 9/2/93).

Un partenariat original contre « *La Guerre des Lâches* »

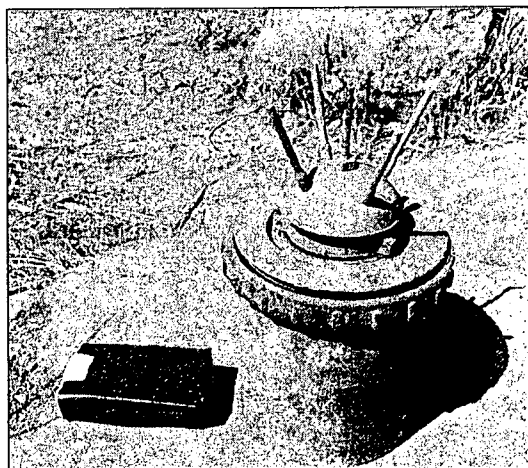
Handicap International (HI) et Mines Advisory Group² (MAG) associent depuis

Garçon kurde à l'hôpital de Suleimaniya amputé d'une jambe et grièvement blessé à l'autre.



deux ans la volonté, l'expérience et les connaissances d'une organisation para-médicale avec celles d'une organisation de déminage pour rechercher et mettre en oeuvre les solutions à ce problème sur le terrain et à la source, dans nos pays. HI œuvre depuis 1982 pour venir en aide aux personnes handicapées par ce type d'engin. 150 000 amputés ont été appareillés en dix ans et ont pu remarquer, retravailler, retrouver leur dignité humaine. Mais pour HI, « *réparer ne suffit plus* ».

Au printemps 1992, ces organisations ont lancé une campagne nationale et internationale visant l'interdiction de la production, du commerce, de l'exportation et de l'utilisation de ces armes.



La Valmara - 69 : mine bondissante fabriquée par Vaisella, en Italie

au ralenti

Tim CARSTAIRS

Mais les mines anti-personnel continuent à être posées, sans discrimination, sans avertissement, mettant en danger chaque jour des millions de personnes. HI et MAG mettent en oeuvre sur le terrain des programmes de déminage et encouragent les instances internationales à changer leurs priorités. Ainsi, les premières initiatives de déminage rural au Cambodge ne vinrent pas des Nations-Unies... mais des organisations humanitaires.

4 millions de mines anti-personnel sont enfouies dans le sol cambodgien. Au 31 mai 1993, 2 300 démineurs cambodgiens avaient été formés par les Nations-Unies, mais seuls 1 285 travaillaient, faute de moyens et d'encadrement. Près de 300 d'entre eux sont employés par les ONG. 90 d'entre eux ont suivi une formation supplémentaire par MAG.

Grâce à des fonds de la CEE, 150 Kurdes ont été formés au déminage par MAG. HI, présente au Mozambique depuis 8 ans, espère très prochainement, et avec l'aide de la CEE, être rejointe par Mines Advisory Group.

Les perspectives

Dans un hôpital d'Hargeisa, en Somalie du Nord, 75 % des amputés par mines n'ont pas 15 ans. En Afghanistan, les groupes les plus vulnérables sont les hommes entre 20 et 40 ans et les femmes entre 10 et 20 ans. A Inhambane au Mozambique, 33 % des personnes handicapées le sont suite à l'explosion d'une mine. Tous ceux qui avaient un travail avant leur accident l'ont perdu. Dans certaines régions du Cambodge, 80 % des terres cultivables sont minées donc inexploitable. Le Cambodge manque de 200 000 tonnes de riz aujourd'hui. Dans ces pays et dans de nombreux autres, les mines sont posées dans les conduits d'irrigation, devant les écoles, dans les habitations, sur les chemins, sur les pâturages, dans les champs et dans les forêts. Tout travail d'agriculture, de cueillette, d'élevage et de développement rural devient une prise de risque quotidien.

Ces quelques éléments attestent de l'étendue du désastre. Ce n'est pas prometteur pour ces pays, déjà détruits par des années de guerre. Les populations rurales payannes sont les plus à risque car elles sont



poussées par le besoin à s'aventurer dans les zones minées. Pourtant, c'est sur elles que reposent les espoirs d'auto-suffisance alimentaire ; c'est également sur ces populations majoritaires et silencieuses que reposent les espoirs de paix et de démocratie. Et ce sont ces hommes, ces femmes et ces enfants qui en temps de « paix » sont régulièrement mutilés ou tués par le legs mortel d'un passé guerrier.

Les premiers fruits d'une campagne

En octobre 1992, les États-Unis ont imposé un moratoire d'un an sur l'exportation des mines anti-personnel. En décembre 1992 et en mars 1993, le Parlement Européen, choqué par le comportement de certains états membres dans ce domaine, condamne le commerce et l'utilisation des mines anti-personnel et réclame un moratoire de 5 ans sur leur exportation. François Mitterrand a proclamé, le 9 février dernier, un moratoire sans limite sur l'exportation des mines anti-personnel ; le même jour, la France a saisi le Secrétaire Général des Nations-Unies afin de convoquer une conférence internationale pour revoir et renforcer la Convention de 1980 et son Protocole II qui régleme l'utilisation des mines et des pièges.

Cependant, si une interdiction mondiale était proclamée demain, les gouvernements et les militaires ne la respecteront que si l'opinion publique les y oblige. C'est pourquoi HI et MAG insistent sur l'information et la sensibilisation. La CEE a d'ailleurs choisi de co-financer cette campagne. C'est dire l'importance, en termes du développement et donc de la paix durables, que revêt ce dossier.

1. Un manifeste contre la Guerre des Lâches est disponible auprès de Handicap International et sur 3615 HANDICA.
2. ONG basée à Londres qui s'occupe du déminage exclusivement humanitaire.

Handicap International, ERAC,
14 av. Berthelot, 69361 Lyon cedex 07

LES MARCHANDS DE LA DESTRUCTION

Quelques 35 pays produisent des mines anti-personnel aujourd'hui : l'ex-URSS, la Chine, l'Italie, le Singapour, les États-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne, le Pakistan, l'Inde, l'ex-Yougoslavie, l'ex-Tchécoslovaquie... (les pays « ex » constituant une énorme menace pour l'avenir : le besoin de devises et l'absence de structures de contrôle ne font jamais bon ménage). En France, les sociétés Alsetex à Paris, et Giat Industries à Versailles (qui possède aussi la marque Poudreries réunies de Belgique) fabriquent des mines anti-personnel. La Société Nationale des Poudres et des Explosifs fabrique... des explosifs, entre autres, pour mines anti-personnel.

Le Royaume-Uni, l'Allemagne, les États-Unis ont déjà consacré des budgets importants au développement d'une nouvelle race de mines : des systèmes de mines pour mise en place à distance, à larguer par avion ou à lancer par obus ou par mortier. Ces mines sont « enveloppées » dans d'autres munitions (obus, roquette, etc...) et sont classées comme des sous-munitions, ne tombant donc pas sous l'effet d'éventuelles interdictions ou restrictions en ce qui concerne les mines anti-personnel.

En février 1991, sept dirigeants de Valsella Meccanotecnica SPA de Brescia en Italie ont été convaincus d'exportation illégale de neuf millions de mines vers l'Irak entre 1982 et 1985 ; ils ont tous été condamnés à des peines de prison de 18 à 22 mois, avec sursis.

Chartered Industries de Singapour commercialise des engins identiques à ceux conçus ou fabriqués par Valsella. Peut-on en déduire que cette entreprise italienne aurait décentralisé son circuit de production et de marketing pour contourner les contrôles et les embargos ?

Une autre entreprise italienne impliquée dans l'exportation d'engins anti-personnel : la BPD Difesa e Spazio de Rome.

À lire : Les Mines anti-personnel au Kurdistan irakien - La mort à l'offit, éditée en français par Handicap International, 14 av. Berthelot, 69007 Lyon, 134 p., 100 F.



Les mines anti-personnel blessent aussi au visage. Ce petit kurde a perdu les deux yeux.

Batman scene: Sincar murderers still at large

- 15 detained, 3 arrested in investigation
- DEP continues fact-finding mission in 'city of fear'

By Emre Gökalp
Turkish Daily News

BATMAN- As parliamentarians from the Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) continue their fact-finding mission related to unsolved murders in this southeastern refinery city, officials announced that three people involved in the assassination of DEP deputy Mehmet Sincar have been arrested.

Local officials say, however, that despite earlier statements that implied the killers were in custody, two "trigger men" who shot at Sincar were still at large.

Batman's Governor Salih Sarman said he suspected the murderers were still in the city, but they were keeping a low profile. He added, however, that intense police efforts were underway to catch them and to prevent new incidents.

A statement from the Emergency Law regional governor's office issued Thursday gave a murky picture of the recent developments. It said first that the three suspects had confessed to the murder of Sincar but added that "two suspects who used guns in the incident are being searched for."

One local official here said the three arrested suspects would only be charged with inciting a murder and not for carrying out the killing themselves. The fate of a group of 12 other suspects was not made clear in the statement but it is believed that they are still being questioned.

A total of 13 DEP deputies are currently in the city investigating unsolved murders committed here mainly after the first coalition government took to power in late 1991. The city's Motherland Party (ANAP) Mayor Atullah Hamidi has put the number of dead at more than 300 and says people are dying every day.

In the first 24 hours of the DEP's mission here, two more people were killed. Police said Şükri Tekince, who was shot on Thursday morning, was known as a leading radical Islamic Hezbollah activist. "Now we expect them to attack like mad dogs," one police officer commented.

Sincar was killed here on a main street on Sept. 4 while investigating the murder of another party executive. Along with him, a member of the DEP's provincial executive board was also killed. DEP deputy Nizamettin Toguç was wounded in the incident. "Even I am scared to walk out. I don't know if I'm next in line or not," is how Hamidi puts it. According to local speculation raised by Hamidi, there may be three separate causes of the assassination terror that has turned Batman into a city of fear.

First is a clash that has erupted between the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and a Kurdish flank of the radical Hezbollah organization. "But there are more claims," Hamidi explains. "They say some people are hiding behind these clashes and settling their own family blood feuds. There are also claims that the security forces are involved in the murders."

Local officials believe one of the factors behind the violence that has struck Batman is the immigration from rural areas. Either out of fear of clashes between the PKK and security forces or forced out of their houses by government troops, about 120,000 to 130,000 villagers have sought shelter in this city during the past year.

The DEP delegation now is under heavy protection. According to Governor Sarman, protection was doubled after the death of Tekince. Everyone fears retaliation. Wednesday night, as members of the mission dined at a local restaurant, a gunfight broke out between two groups nearby. One person was killed.

Even DEP deputy Leyla Zana, one of the most outspoken pro-Kurdish MPs in Parliament, is being protected. Threatened with death by a local military officer last year, Zana is now accompanied everywhere by a plainclothes policewoman.

Tension in Batman continues. Over the past two days, DEP deputies have been searching high and low for any indication of official support for Hezbollah and/or evidence that could break this organization.

"To do something is difficult," explains Sarman. According to him, people are not collaborating. They fear the consequences and thus refuse to testify against criminals. Many of the local folk here are saying that the pressure is increasing every day, and they have serious problems maintaining their living. On Wednesday night, the PKK raided a nearby village.

The militants killed seven people, of which two were pregnant women. One of the victims was a six-year-old child. The other, a seven-month-old infant. "That was a village guard's house," explains one of the locals.

The state has armed 47,000 villagers in this Emergency Law region in a bid to counter the PKK with a local paramilitary force. Villagers who want to return the weapons are banned from doing so. Villagers who refuse to arm themselves are forced to migrate, often losing their homes and all their belongings.

Sarman, as the new governor of this city, is confident that a solution will be found to the terrorism and appears to have built up a good image with even the most radical pro-Kurdish activists.

"Aside from those people who have died," he recently said, "We will make everything better than before."

But, it is clear that to do this, he needs more local cooperation. And, confidence is vital for cooperation. Batman is a city where only a year ago the police tried to change all traffic lights, arguing that when the

green-yellow-red came together, it made up the three colors of the Kurdish flag. Showing the Kurdish colors is still banned in many parts of the province. And recently, locals were banned from singing Kurdish songs in public places or during wedding ceremonies.

Under circumstances like this and with suspicion that the security forces tolerate Hezbollah activities, it is difficult to assume that winning the people's confidence is an easy thing.

Friday, October 1, 1993

turkish daily news

Turkey to secure borders in 3 years

■ Major steps taken to block infiltration

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey is rapidly continuing with its project to secure its borders with Iran, Iraq and Syria while officials say the whole "border physical security system" will be completed in a matter of three years.

As a result of work which has been continuing since 1984, a 250-kilometer strip on the Syrian border has been secured completely and the construction of physical barriers at the border strip between Suruç and Hamamboğazi is continuing.

The construction of border roads in the Iranian and Iraqi border region also continues with eight separate working sites.

Officials say the physical barriers being put up include wired fence, foot-trace fields, spotlighting, patrol and communications roads, guard posts, land radar, thermal cameras, night vision glasses, projectors and light armored ve-

hicles.

All are part of the border physical security system.

Meanwhile, Turkey also plans to use Turkish-made remote controlled aerial surveillance aircraft in controlling the border and obtaining intelligence on infiltration activities.

Turkey's borders with Syria, Iran and Iraq are frequently used by Kurdish militants who are based in those countries but infiltrate into Turkey either for hit-and-run attacks or to join guerillas units, believed to be some 8,000 armed men currently, in Turkish territory.

Land control stations and data terminals will be set up for the remote controlled planes which are to be built by the Turkish Aviation and Space Industry (TAI).

TAI's planes have a maximum flight distance of 1,193 kilometers at an average speed of 216 km/h and they can fly for 7.6 hours without refueling.

Officials say the UAV-X1 model plane is a major element in border security.

Another priority for the system are

land observation radars which can also be produced using Turkish technology by ASELSAN.

The Asksan observation radar produced here can identify vehicle convoys from 38 kilometers, heavy vehicles from 30 kilometers, light vehicles from 20 kilometers and pedestrians from 15 kilometers.

Military officials believe this will be a major improvement in taking measures against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants who normally cross the border in groups of 30 to 50 people.

Another important element in the Aselsan security system are thermal cameras which will also be used at these borders and which can sense heat-producing objects at a distance of 5 kilometers and identify them at 2.5 kilometers.

Another Aselsan-produced safety system to be used by Turkey at the borders are M929-M929 pilot night vision systems which are to improve mainly helicopter operations during the night.

1ER OCT 93

LACROIX L'ÉVÈNEMENT

QUELLE SOLUTION AU PROBLÈME KURDE?

De retour de Turquie, un lecteur nous fait part de son analyse du problème kurde :

Dans les premiers temps de cette révolte kurde, en 1984, les populations de la région étaient tout à fait du côté des forces gouvernementales; depuis bien longtemps, ce n'est plus du tout le cas. Pourquoi? Parce qu'une bonne partie de ceux qui sont là pour protéger la population contre les terroristes traitent au contraire l'ensemble de la population en ennemi : arrestations arbitraires, coups, brimades et rançonnements, tout comme les terroristes. Un policier arrête notre taxi et exige du chauffeur la somme de 200 000 livres turques (= 100 FF) de pourboire, autrement il lui inflige une amende bien plus forte. Commentaire du chauffeur : « Inch Allah, « ils » les descen-

dront bientôt tous, ces microbes! »

« Ces microbes » sont naturellement les policiers et autres forces spécialisées; quant à « ils », on pense tout de suite aux membres du PKK (Parti des travailleurs kurdes) qui mènent la lutte contre la Turquie depuis neuf ans. Mais il y a d'autres protagonistes. Notamment, il y a les Hezbollah, en relation étroite avec l'Iran, qui sont très actifs dans la région. Ils « défendent la cause de Dieu », alors que les PKK sont des « communistes ». En outre, les hezbollah se considèrent comme les auxiliaires des forces gouvernementales, une « milice » qui se croit tout permis, car elle est à la fois du côté du gouvernement et du côté de Dieu. Et, à l'égard de ceux qui ne veulent pas « collaborer » avec eux, ils emploient les mêmes méthodes de pression que les troupes gouvernementales spécialisées.

Il faut ajouter les « gardes de village »; le gouvernement à, depuis plusieurs années, donné des armes à des civils - gardes champêtres et autres volontaires - pour surveiller le territoire. Ils sont environ 40 000,

armés et payés par l'État. C'est une position enviée par beaucoup, malgré ses risques; car ils peuvent exploiter cette position supérieure pour veiller à leurs propres intérêts. En outre, une partie de ces gardes sont aux ordres des hezbollah - même si ce n'est pas toujours de leur propre gré - qui considèrent et dénoncent comme ennemis de l'État tous ceux qui ne partagent pas leur propre idéologie. Tous les attentats, meurtres, villages pillés ou brûlés ne sont donc pas nécessairement à mettre au compte des PKK.

Le nombre de villages détruits le long de la frontière est inconnu mais, vers l'intérieur, plus de 900 (neuf cents) écoles ont été réduites à l'inactivité, soit parce qu'elles ont été démolies, brûlées, ou que les instituteurs nommés à ces écoles préférèrent démissionner, ou même que le gouvernement n'ose envoyer personne dans ces postes dangereux; l'exploitation pétrolière a diminué d'au moins 30% au cours des derniers mois, les techniciens ont cédé aux menaces ou bien ont été tués; le tourisme est naturellement au point mort. La vie quotidienne continue naturellement,

comme d'habitude, car « il faut bien vivre », mais la population vit dans l'insécurité et l'anxiété, sentiments qui sont majorés encore par la présence de l'armée.

Il y a deux mois, Mme Ciller, premier ministre, avait déclaré vouloir trouver à ce problème une solution politique et démocratique; mais elle a vite changé de discours : les militaires ne veulent rien entendre d'une « solution démocratique ». C'est donc par la force qu'ils veulent résoudre la question.

C'est pourquoi l'armée mène une guerre sans merci contre les membres du PKK, mais ignorent les agissements des Hezbollah dont l'existence est officiellement niée. Les autorités gouvernementales répètent depuis neuf ans que la Turquie n'a pas un seul pouce de terrain à céder à qui que ce soit, faisant allusion aux séparatistes kurdes qui voudraient créer dans cette région un « Kurdistan libre » d'inspiration communiste; mais on risque également d'y voir surgir un « Kurdistan iranien » qui sera une enclave iranienne dans le territoire turc, ce qui ne sera guère plus avantageux.

KURDISTAN

S'entêter à soutenir le peuple kurde

EquiLibre

PRÉSENCE
DANS LE MONDE
l'Entreprise Humanitaire

Nouvelle série n° 7
1 octobre 1993 • 20 Frs

Dans un Kurdistan régulièrement bombardé par l'Irak et l'Iran, EquiLibre renouvelle pour la troisième année consécutive son opération cantines scolaires en direction des écoliers.

Deux ans et demi après la guerre du Golfe et l'insurrection kurde déclenchée dans le sillage de la défaite de Bagdad, les trois provinces du Kurdistan irakien protégées par les alliés des foudres de Saddam n'en demeurent pas moins la cible de l'agressivité irakienne. Depuis la ligne de front où est massée l'armée de Saddam, des bandes armées mènent des incursions meurtrières dans les bourgades kurdes. Incendies et assassinats comme à Awina où 17 civils ont trouvé la mort à la suite d'un de ces coups de main. Au mois de mai, l'aviation a bombardé à plusieurs reprises les champs de blé où levaient les moissons, pour empêcher les paysans kurdes d'effectuer leurs récoltes.



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Moisson de bombes au Kurdistan

L'Irak n'est pas en reste, qui mène une politique de terreur et de destruction chez les Kurdes iraniens, réfugiés chez leurs frères d'Irak. Des canons à longue portée, installés en Iran ont, cet été, tiré sur une quinzaine de villages situés à proximité de la frontière. Plusieurs milliers de Kurdes (de 2 000 à 15 000 selon les sources) ont abandonné leurs maisons, fuyant le danger de la cannonade des "pasdaran". Pendant ce temps, les Alliés dont l'aviation empêche la vengeance de Saddam sur les Kurdes, hésitent. Si tout un chacun a salué l'organisation d'élections démocratiques et les efforts du gouvernement kurde pour jeter les bases d'une administration, personne ne se hasarde à initier le processus politique qui puisse donner l'autonomie que réclament les Kurdes dans le cadre de l'Etat irakien. Résultat, les Kurdes sont assistés. On leur fournit de la nourriture et du fuel, alors qu'ils ont d'abord besoin d'aide pour exploiter leur pétrole et relancer une agriculture jadis prospère.

Cette enfant trouvera-t-elle le chemin de l'école ?

Des cantines scolaires pour 40 000 écoliers kurdes

Favoriser le retour au village

Voilà le cadre dans lequel évoluent les ONG encore présentes sur le terrain. Pour la troisième année consécutive EquiLibre réédite l'opération "repas chauds" dont bénéficieront les écoliers kurdes, durant toute l'année scolaire. Une enquête menée cet été nous a permis de sélectionner 114 écoles soit 41 000 élèves et profs. Aujourd'hui les financements européens devraient nous autoriser à assurer le servi-

ce de cantines gratuites pour 30 000 d'entre eux. Nous sommes en bonne voie d'obtenir des subventions complémentaires. Si elles nous sont consenties, nous serons en mesure d'assurer la nourriture de 45 000 écoliers. Nous cherchons en outre les moyens de donner une allocation aux professeurs. Le ministère de l'éducation est si pauvre au Kurdistan qu'un instituteur affecté dans un village de montagne dépense un mois de traitement pour rejoindre son poste. Du coup, un grand nombre d'éducateurs ne regagnent pas leurs classes. Les villages, privés d'écoles ne renaissent pas à la vie, alors qu'il faut encourager le mouvement de retour des paysans dans les villages dont Saddam les avait chassés. C'est dans cet esprit que nous avons conçu, dès le printemps 91, les cantines scolaires. C'est aussi dans cet esprit que nous avons présenté à l'OFDA, un organisme américain, un projet de reconstruction de 10 écoles de 6 classes, dans des zones où la population se réinstalle ■

*La Turquie dans la nasse
du problème kurde et des prises d'otages*
**Bernard Granjon,
le médiateur marseillais,
raconte son odyssée
en Anatolie**

Depuis trois ans, le docteur marseillais Bernard Granjon préside l'organisation humanitaire Médecins du Monde. Dans sa longue carrière de « French Doctor », il s'est rendu plus de dix fois au Kurdistan iranien et dans son bureau de la place Jean-Jaurès, il arbore la photo d'un immense hôpital de campagne au Kurdistan irakien dont il est une des chevilles ouvrières. Aussi son nom est-il connu dans toutes les vallées et montagnes où tente de survivre le peuple kurde. Il était donc l'homme idéal pour servir de médiateur dans la libération des otages français, mais aussi britannique et australien au début de l'été. Il raconte ici - en exclusivité - son odyssée sur les routes du lac de Van et de Dyarbékir, en Anatolie.

Pourquoi a-t-on fait appel à vous pour cette délicate mission ?

B. G. : Au moment où je parlais pour Zagreb, j'entends à la radio l'affaire des otages. Connaissant bien le problème kurde, je savais qu'une partie d'entre eux allait tenter de placer la Turquie dans une nasse cet été, en touchant au principal revenu en devises du pays : le tourisme. Les revendications des ravisseurs étaient simples. Ils réclamaient l'arrêt des combats, l'intervention du gouvernement français et la médiation d'une organisation humanitaire. Les deux premières conditions étant inacceptables par les parties en cause, je savais que la troisième serait retenue. A peine débarqué à Zagreb, j'ai repris l'avion pour Ankara via Francfort car le PKK avait demandé la présence de Médecins du Monde.

Le PKK, organisation marxiste-léniniste dure, l'équivalent du Sentier Lumineux au Pérou, prône ouvertement la guérilla et le terrorisme. J'ai fait savoir que j'acceptai d'être médiateur mais en aucun cas de servir de caution à une cause terroriste.

Comment ont-ils accepté ?

B. G. : Comme dans toute affaire de ce genre, on place la barre le plus haut possible pour obtenir ce que la popula-

tion croit être une intervention du gouvernement français. A Ankara, je suis parti avec un jeune journaliste de 33 ans, Ismet Imsat, reporter au « Turkish Daily News » et considéré comme le meilleur spécialiste du PKK dont il connaît tous les chefs. Ankara nous a facilité la tâche pour nous rendre dans le sud-est du pays où une guerre sans merci dure depuis neuf ans en Anatolie avec une armée turque sur-équipée qui répond au terrorisme par le terrorisme. On peut dire sans exagérer que cette guerre a déjà fait plus de 1.500 victimes dans des opérations de nettoyage systématique.

Les militaires vous ont-ils aidé dans votre mission ?

B. G. : Officiellement oui, puisque l'armée prend ses ordres à Ankara. En réalité, c'est un peu l'état-major qui fait la loi sans parler des milices ultranationalistes incontrôlées (l'équivalent des escadrons de la mort). Ils font irruption dans les chambres d'étrangers à trois heures du matin pour des interrogatoires musclés. Cela m'est arrivé une nuit et je n'en menais pas large d'autant que l'ambassade de France qui a été très efficace dans cette affaire, m'avait fortement déconseillé de me rendre dans les collines de Dyarbékir. **On ne vous imagine pas dans la peau d'un James Bond. Pourtant à vous écouter on se croirait dans un film...**

B. G. : Quand on est dans l'action, on ne pense pas à ce que l'on fait. Il y avait des vies humaines à sauver et l'essentiel c'est de parvenir à son but. C'est vrai qu'entre les filatures, les rendez-vous annulés en dernière minute, les pistes brouillées, il y avait du mauvais roman policier dans l'air. D'autant que partout où nous étions, une voiture, soit civile soit militaire, nous suivait. A un moment, sur une piste près du lac de Van, on s'est retrouvé nez à nez avec un char qui a pointé sa tourelle vers nous.

Mouch, Van Taytman, Dyarbékir : en fait j'étais sur les routes où il y a plus

d'un demi-siècle les Arméniens qui peuplaient ces lieux furent massacrés. Finalement, après une semaine de jeux de piste, nous avons réussi à avoir notre contact et nous avons récupéré les otages à minuit et demi sur la route de Van. Les journalistes se demandaient le lendemain pourquoi c'était ceux-là et pas d'autres qui avaient été choisis. En voyant leurs chaussures, j'ai tout de suite compris : ils avaient pris les mieux équipés.

Quelles leçons et quel avenir pour cette région ?

B. G. : D'abord souligner l'importance des organisations non-gouvernementales dans les cas où les Etats ne veulent pas négocier avec des terroristes et le PKK en fait partie. Cela dit, un Turc sur quatre est d'origine kurde, il sera difficile d'éluider définitivement cette question à Ankara. D'autant que 80 % d'entre eux sont Sunnites et le reste Chrétiens ou Juifs. Je ne vois pas d'issue sans une forme de Confédération où les élites locales puissent jouer un rôle. En dix ans, j'ai vu tous mes interlocuteurs modérés être assassinés, les uns après les autres. La plus grosse erreur des services secrets turcs a été d'éliminer Abdou Rahman Ghassemlou en 89 à Vienne ; c'était de loin, le seul véritable homme d'Etat que j'ai rencontré dans cette région, mais à l'époque l'armée ne voulait pas entendre parler de négociations. C'est donc l'escalade, car le PKK continuera à mener des actions médiatiques pour humilier le gouvernement turc et surtout semer le doute sur les déplacements en Anatolie. La mort du tourisme c'est aussi la précarité pour une population pauvre, tiraillée entre les exactions de l'armée et l'équivalent de terroristes du type Khmer rouge.

Repartirez-vous dans cette région ?

B. G. : Sije peux y être utile pourquoi pas ? En pensant à mes amis assassinés dans cette région, je pense toujours à la phrase du maréchal Leclerc : « On ne tue pas une idée avec des balles ».

**Propos recueillis par
Jean KEHAYAN**

MP says contra-guerrilla behind Southeast killings

■ *Parliament commission looks into Southeast question*

By Emre Gökalp
Turkish Daily News

BATMAN- A member of Parliament from the Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) claimed on Friday that a clandestine state force dubbed as the contra-guerrilla was behind the recent wave of killings in the troubled Southeast region.

Van Deputy Remzi Kartal said in a press conference following a fact-finding mission to this city that there was "definitely no connection between the Iranian supported Hezbollah organization" and those operating in the region under the same name.

Kartal said gunmen attacking Kurdish activists in the region and using the name Hezbollah were part of the contra-guerrilla organization and added that he had no more hope for a solution to the problem.

"Security forces are either directly involved in this or tolerate it. If neither of these, they are incapable of preventing the incidents," Kartal said.

He said that the Süleyman Demirel-Tansu Çiller administration "is very unfortunate" for Turkey and claimed that although both the president and prime minister were outside the developments, the incidents here were taking place with their knowledge. Kartal also called on the government to explain certain material revealed Thursday night during the popular television program "Arena."

"Arena" gave proof that alleged Hezbollah activists were being trained in at least three villages of

Gercüş, Batman, and that all of the camps were based beside military stations. It also revealed a tape-recorded confession by a senior police officer that the killers were "being protected by the Army." The DEP parliamentary delegation on a fact-finding mission to look into unsolved murders returned to Ankara on Friday. Before leaving Batman, they visited the place where on Sept. 4 Mardin Deputy Mehmet Sincar was gunned down. As the delegation laid flowers on the site, loudspeakers from a nearby shop started to blast out pro-Islamic marches. An Arabic march calling for "victory for Hezbollah" could be heard throughout the district.

The police could do nothing but comfort the DEP deputies and advise them not to respond. This alone shows how dramatic the situation is.

Meanwhile, six members of the Parliamentary Investigation Commission are currently in Van province to look into recent developments. True Path Party Deputy Ömer Lütfü Coşkun, who heads the commission, said they would look into the source of anarchy and terrorism in the region and prepare a report for Parliament.

Coşkun said they already had about a thousand pages of observations that would be compiled in a report to "try to solve the problems of the region."

turkish daily news

PKK bans newspaper sales in Diyarbakır

Turkish Daily News

DIYARBAKIR- In retaliation for an informal ban by local security forces on the sales of pro-Kurdish publications in southeastern Turkey, the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) this week banned kiosks and distributors in Diyarbakır from selling any Istanbul-based newspapers.

Local sources said 20 of the 50 distributors in this city have closed shop and only a couple of those remaining open dared to sell normal newspapers "under the counter."

As of Thursday morning, they said, the PKK had warned all distributors to halt sales of Istanbul newspapers such as Milliyet, Hürriyet and Sabah.

The development came after local security forces and radical Islamic militants launched a campaign to block the sales of the pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem newspaper in the region.

Although the paper is a legal one published in Istanbul, it cannot be sold or distributed in many cities here including Diyarbakır center, its 12 districts, Nusaybin, Batman and Hakkari.

This week in Diyarbakır alone, one distributor was killed and two others were wounded in armed attacks. One distributor was heavily injured with an axe.

In Midyat town of Mardin, a distributor was killed when his kiosk was bombed.

Aydınlık newspaper seized for naming alleged death squad

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Distributed copies of Turkey's left-wing Aydınlık newspaper were seized by police on Friday after the paper identified policemen said to be alleged members of a death squad hunting down left-wing activists.

Officials said the seizure followed an order of an Istanbul State Security Court based on the grounds that the newspa-

per report violated a law banning the Turkish media from identifying security personnel involved in anti-terrorist activities.

Aydınlık claimed in its report that the police teams involved in a number of operations carried out in Istanbul and which ended with the death of the suspects were always made up of the same people.

It said these officers worked as a team for extrajudicial killings and identified them with full name, birth place and personal information.

The operations carried out were against the outlawed Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol) and Turkish Workers and Peasants Liberation Army (TIKKO) organizations. All suspects in the Hasanpaşa, Balmumcu, Cihangir, Küçükalyalı and Tuzla operations were killed.

Saturday, October 2, 1993

Le Monde — 2 octobre 1993

TURQUIE

On n'enlève pas que les touristes...

IL a beaucoup été question des touristes enlevés l'été dernier en Anatolie. J'étais alors dans le village syriaque de Midine (en turc, Oğündük, à 20 km de la Syrie), où l'enlèvement du *malphono* (Lahdo Borinc, 24 ans), le professeur de syriaque, le 22 février 1993, par un groupe islamiste kurde armé, n'a guère eu d'écho extérieur. Les ravisseurs ont réclamé aux villa-

geois l'équivalent d'un demi-million de francs.

Cette petite communauté de cinquante familles chrétiennes paysannes, l'une des dernières du pays, a été déstabilisée par l'enlèvement du garant de son identité culturelle (le syriaque ou araméen était la langue du Christ). D'autant plus que, en août, le métropolitain syriaque de la région (3 000 fidèles contre 30 000 il y a vingt ans) a été avisé, selon une vieille pratique locale, que le *malphono* s'était converti à l'islam et demandait son épouse et sa fille de dix-huit mois. Consternation accrue chez les villageois, qui n'ont cependant pas cédé.

Les explications demandées à Ankara par la Commission des droits de l'homme de la CEE et par l'Autriche, alertées par des immigrés syriaques, se sont terminées par l'arrivée des gendarmes turcs chez le maire et le curé de Midine, pour leur faire signer une déclaration de « non-problème » ... Autre vieil usage. Midine est de toute façon mal vu par les autorités, pour avoir refusé les armes que celles-ci lui proposaient contre les irréguliers « laïcistes » du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK). Pris entre deux et même trois feux, les Midinois, la mort de l'âme, comme tant de leurs coreligionnaires avant eux, songent maintenant à l'exil, tandis que le

malphono reste incarcéré dans les montagnes. La nuit, de temps en temps, les gendarmes tirent sur les alentours de Midine, pour le « protéger », causant peur et dégâts. En outre, à Midyat, chef-lieu de la région, deux syriaques émigrés, détenteurs de passeports allemands, ont été assassinés lors d'une visite au sol natal. Tout cela se passe à nos portes, en Turquie, régime parlementaire, membre du Conseil de l'Europe et de l'OTAN, associé à la CEE. Mais l'Europe ne s'émeut que lorsqu'on touche à ses touristes ...

EDOUARD VALLERY-RADOT
Le Creusot (Saône-et-Loire)

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

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Turquie-Kurdes

Vingt-six personnes, dont dix-neuf rebelles kurdes, tuées dans le sud-est

ANKARA, 2 oct (AFP) — Vingt-six personnes, dont dix-neuf rebelles kurdes de Turquie, ont été tuées depuis vendredi dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, a-t-on appris samedi de sources officielles.

Huit "terroristes" (terme officiel désignant les rebelles kurdes) du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués vendredi par les forces de l'ordre près de Kulp (sous-préfecture de PKK).

Six rebelles kurdes ont été tués vendredi à Baykan (sous-préfecture de Siirt) et cinq maquisards du PKK au total ont été abattus dans différentes régions du sud-est, a-t-on ajouté de même source.

Par ailleurs, deux soldats turcs ont été tués et quatre blessés vendredi dans une embuscade tendue par des militants du PKK à une unité qui effectuait des opérations de recherche sur le mont Ararat dans la région frontalière avec l'Arménie et l'Iran, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Trois personnes ont trouvé la mort vendredi lors d'une attaque rebelle contre Yuksekova, dans la région frontalière turco-irako-iranienne, a-t-on appris de même source.

Enfin, deux personnes ont été tuées samedi par balles par des inconnus à Batman, a rapporté la télévision d'Etat.

Quelque 7.500 personnes (militaires, policiers, civils et maquisards kurdes) ont été tuées dans le sud-est de la Turquie depuis 1984, date à laquelle le PKK a déclenché la lutte armée contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara

KB/hc/ms

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Turquie-Cinéma

"Yol" de Yilmaz Guney, projeté pour la première fois en Turquie après onze ans de censure

ISTANBUL, 2 oct (AFP) - Interdit depuis 11 ans en Turquie, le film "Yol" du cinéaste kurde de Turquie, Yilmaz Guney, qui avait obtenu la "Palme d'Or" à Cannes en 1982 a été projeté pour la première fois à Istanbul vendredi soir.

Quelque 5.000 personnes parmi lesquelles le metteur en scène Costa Gavras qui avait partagé la Palme d'Or en 1982 avec son film "Missing", ont assisté à la projection qui a eu lieu dans une salle de sport de la capitale, transformée, pour l'occasion en salle de cinéma. Des slogans pro kurdes en turc ont été scandés par le public.

"Yol" de Yilmaz Guney, décédé en exil en France en 1984, raconte l'histoire tragique de cinq prisonniers en permission.

KG/mp/br

AFP 021228 OCT.93

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1993

TALLAHASSEE DEMOCRAT

A proud people keep alive their dream of nation

For nine years, unnoticed by many Americans, Turkish soldiers and Kurdish separatists have waged a guerilla war. Thousands died. On June 24, Kurdish fighters struck at Turkish interests all over Europe. When will there be peace?

By Salah Aziz, Ph.D.
SPECIAL TO THE DEMOCRAT

On June 24, Kurdish protesters attacked Turkish consulates, banks and travel offices in more than 26 locations across Europe. One protester was killed, several were wounded, and approximately 200 people were arrested. The Turkish authorities laid blame for the attacks on the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party).

The June 24 attacks reflected a long history of tensions between Turks and Kurds.

The tension began in the beginning of the 19th century, when the Ottomans adopted a new policy of increased centralization and restrictions on Kurdish provinces that had enjoyed self-rule. The new policy brought forth a vigorous resistance from the Kurds, including armed uprisings (all unsuccessful) in 1828, 1834, and 1880.

In 1920, the Treaty of Sevres called for the establishment of an independent Kurdistan. In the midst of a war to restore Turkish hegemony in territories occupied by Greece and France during the First World War, Kemal Ataturk (the founder of the Turkish Republic) asked for Kurdish support in exchange for a promise that "Turks and Kurds would live as brothers and equals."

Following Turkey's success against the Greeks and French, the Allied nations established relations with the new Republic of Turkey. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne replaced the Turkish state. Kurdish autonomy was thus effectively denied.

Left without a state, the Kurds faced a new challenge: The govern-



Kurdish suffering

Marine escorts Kurdish refugees from Iraq.

ment passed legislation "canceling" the existence of the Kurdish nation. Once again, the Kurds resorted to armed resistance. Rebellions in 1925, 1930, and 1938 were unsuccessful. Kurdish casualties were reported in the thousands; thousands of Kurdish villages were either destroyed or evacuated.

SALAH AZIZ is director of the Badlisy Center for Kurdish Studies and a physics professor at Florida A&M University.

From the early 1920s until 1990, successive Turkish administrations banned the very word "Kurd" from public discourse. Consistent with

this were bans on the Kurdish language, music, clothes; and of course political organizations and publications focusing on Kurdish issues.

Areas traditionally associated with the Kurdish population were "left behind" in the national development; it was only after 1950 that modern schools, roads, and hospitals began to appear in Kurdish areas.

In late 1960, new Kurdish cultural and political parties began to appear. Most were Marxist-Leninist. They were influenced by the ideological drift of other "liberation" movements, in particular the Turkish socialist parties, which were supportive of Kurdish rights.

The PKK formed in 1979 under the leadership of Abdullah Ocalan,

a former student of political science at Ankara University. The PKK adopted Kurdish independence as its political goal, and advocated guerrilla warfare as the means to attain this end. In 1984 the organization began a military campaign that continues to the present — witness June 24. As a result, approximately 6,000 people have been killed.

Most immediately, on May 24 the cease-fire proclaimed by the PKK ended. Since then, 1,300 people have been killed, the Turkish authorities have extended the "state of emergency" in 10 provinces, and Tansu Ciller, the new prime minister, has announced plans to give priority to military means in Turkey's attempts to discipline the PKK.

Although the PKK is not the only Kurdish political party in Kurdistan-Turkey, its military action made the Kurdish issue a top priority for the Turkish government. Thus, in April 1990, former President Turgut Ozal announced that his government would seek a political solution to its conflict.

Most of Turkey's political parties at least admit the reality of a Kurdish community, and many have proposed political solutions to the "Kurdish problem," the Turkish military still believes it can solve the problem with force.

This fact threatens to overwhelm interest in a political settlement. Murat Yetkin, a Turkish journalist, reminds us that "there has not been a single example (since the 1920s) of a (Turkish) government taking a decision counter to the advice of the military."

In the context of the struggle between those advocating a political settlement to the Kurdish issue, and those favoring a military ap-

proach, the Turkish government was unable to respond positively to the PKK's unilateral cease-fire declared on March 20, 1993.

Advocates of a political settlement should not give up hope, however. Despite the difficulties on both sides, there are positive developments, and these should be encouraged by Turkish and Kurdish leaders.

From the Kurdish point of view, the positive developments encouraged by President Ozal remain in place: the veto on the term "Kurd" has been removed; 20 members of Parliament defend Kurdish rights; books, magazines, radio and television broadcasts address the Kurdish issue with regularity. Clearly there is momentum which any Kurdish group must consider as positive.

From a Turkish perspective, there are important reasons to continue the policies of President Ozal, and even to further them. Turkey has ambitions to become a regional superpower, with influence from Central Asia to the Balkans. It also wishes to be the foremost example of modernization and democracy in the Islamic world. Its location, large population, and history of holding power make these ambitions logical for Turkey. But a weak economy, political instability, and persistent violations of human rights — all factors in Turkey's historic dealing with the Kurds — present obstacles to the fulfillment of Turkey's legitimate ambitions.

To fulfill its longstanding ambitions, Turkey needs stability and democracy. Ankara could go a long way toward the fulfillment of its goals by granting human, cultural, and political rights to the Kurds. Investors do not risk their money in an unstable region. Mobil Oil

Turk, third largest producer in Turkey, cancelled its operations following a PKK attack in September 1992. To restore stability, the Turkish government spent hundreds of millions of dollars monthly to control the Kurdish areas.

What will it take for Turkey to solve its "Kurdish problem"? From the Kurdish point of view, the provision of freedom to educate children in the Kurdish language and to establish Kurdish political parties are the two most immediate requirements for a settlement. Such provisions already have the support of the European community, and are crucial to Turkey's own identity as a democratic nation.

Abdullah Ocalan of the PKK advocates an understanding of Kurdish self-determination that accords with the approach endorsed by the international community in the case of Kurds living in Kurdistan-Iraq. Given this, it is difficult to see why there could not be an arrangement that honors both Kurdish desires for self-determination and Turkish interest in preserving national strength.

Leadership in this regard should come from the Turkish authorities in Ankara, who might find it in their interest to develop proposals around notions of self-governance for the Kurds.

In any case, have we not learned from the example of the now defunct Soviet Union that might without right cannot long serve as the source of stability in a modern state?

Note: The author wishes to thank Professor John Kelsay from Florida State University for his input.

L'Alsace — 2 octobre 1993

L'oubli de Léotard

Léotard a dû succomber au charme de M^{me} Tansu Ciller, la ravissante Premier ministre turc qui vient déjà de conquérir les Allemands (difficile pourtant pour qui vient de Turquie...). Lui qui défendait les minorités, dénonçait les atteintes aux droits de l'homme et se rangeait aux côtés du peuple kurde en souffrance, a viré de bord à Ankara. Il a déclaré qu'«il y a incompatibilité radicale entre l'action des terroristes et la vie démocratique». Et ajouta: «Nous avons choisi la démocratie, donc nous

avons choisi la Turquie.» Dans l'absolu, la première partie de la déclaration du ministre est totalement juste et il est exact que les militants du PKK mènent des actions terroristes. Mais Léotard fait bien peu de cas de la lutte des Kurdes soucieux de conserver leur identité et leur culture, un droit que la Turquie leur dénie. Et il accorde un peu vite un brevet démocratique à cette Turquie qui a encore bien des progrès à faire. Et tout cela pour quoi? Pour vendre vingt hélicoptères! F.B.

gamk - quotidien arménien

LUNDI-MARDI, 4-5 OCTOBRE 1993

"Yol" n'est plus interdit en Turquie

C'est le dégel sur les écrans turcs. Après "Midnight Express", c'est au tour du film "Yol" (La Voie) du cinéaste kurde Yilmaz Guney, qui avait obtenu la Palme d'Or à Cannes en 1982 mais qui était frappé par la censure depuis 11 ans, d'être projeté pour la première fois à Istanbul le 1er octobre dernier. La réhabilitation du "cinéaste maudit" n'est toutefois pas complète; si 5000 personnes, dont le metteur en scène Costa Gavras, ont assisté à la projection qui a eu lieu dans une salle de sport de la ville, "Yol" n'est pas encore au programme des salles de cinéma d'Istanbul. Et la levée de l'interdiction du film, décidée il y a un mois par la Commission de contrôle des films, après des interventions de la Fondation Yilmaz Guney, créée par sa veuve, a une valeur surtout symbolique.

Les slogans pro-kurdes scandés par le public durant la projection du film devraient d'ailleurs faire hésiter les autorités à en élargir la diffusion, de crainte de faire de ce film, qui raconte l'histoire de cinq prisonniers en permission, et de son réalisateur, décédé en exil en France après plusieurs années de prison en Turquie, les nouveaux prétextes à une mobilisation kurde dans les villes de l'ouest de la Turquie.

Toujours est-il que la levée de cet interdit s'inscrit dans le cadre des timides concessions faites par les autorités d'Ankara à la culture et à l'identité kurdes. Celles-ci risquent pourtant de peser de peu de poids face aux bilans toujours plus lourds des affrontements entre forces de l'ordre turques et rebelles kurdes dans le sud-est de la Turquie qui s'enferme dans la spirale de la violence et de la répression.

La Marseillaise — 3 octobre 1993

INTERDIT depuis 11 ans en Turquie, le film "Yol" du cinéaste kurde de Turquie, Yilmaz Guney, qui avait obtenu la Palme d'or à Cannes en 1982 a été projeté pour la première fois à Istanbul vendredi soir. Quelque 5.000 personnes, dont le metteur en scène Costa Gavras, ont assisté à la projection qui a eu lieu dans une salle de sport de la capitale. Des slogans pro-kurdes ont été scandés par le public. "Yol" (la voie) de Guney, décédé en exil en France en 1984, raconte l'histoire de cinq prisonniers en permission.

Turquie : « Yol », de Yilmaz Guney, projeté après 11 ans d'interdiction.

ISTANBUL. — Interdit depuis 11 ans en Turquie, le film « Yol » du cinéaste kurde de Turquie, Yilmaz Guney, qui avait obtenu la Palme d'or à Cannes en 1982 a été projeté pour la première fois à Istanbul vendredi soir. Quelque 5.000 personnes, dont le metteur en scène Costa Gavras, ont assisté à la projection qui a eu lieu dans une salle de sport de la capitale. Des slogans pro-kurdes ont été scandés par le public.

« Yol » (la voie) de Guney, décédé en exil en France en 1984, raconte l'histoire de cinq prisonniers en permission. Le tournage de « Yol » dont le scénario avait été écrit par Guney alors qu'il était en prison, avait été terminé en 1981 par Serif Goren, l'assistant de Guney.

Guney réussit à s'évader après cinq ans de prison et à sortir du pays en 1981 pour se réfugier en France où il réalisa son dernier film en 1983 « Duvar » (le Mur) sur les conditions de vie dans les prisons turques.

Courier Picard — 4 octobre 1993

« Yol » n'est plus censuré

Interdit depuis 11 ans en Turquie, le film « Yol » du cinéaste kurde de Turquie, Yilmaz Guney, qui avait obtenu la Palme d'or à Cannes en 1982 a été projeté pour la première fois à Istanbul vendredi soir.

« Yol » (la voie) de Guney, décédé en exil en France en 1984, raconte l'histoire de cinq prisonniers en permission.

104 films de Guney ont été détruits sous le régime militaire au pouvoir entre 1980 et 1983, selon sa veuve, Fatos Guney.

L'Indépendant — 3 octobre 1993

LIBÉRATION — 4 octobre 1993

TURQUIE. Le film Yol a été projeté vendredi en Turquie après onze ans d'interdiction.

Près de 5000 spectateurs ont assisté à la projection dans une salle de sports d'Istanbul. Son auteur, le Kurde Yilmaz Guney, est mort en exil en France en 1984 après avoir été emprisonné pendant cinq ans en Turquie.

TURKISH DAILY NEWS ON SUNDAY
17 OCTOBER 1993ARTS

"It is better to a bad boxer rahter than a good spectator, my boy."

By TDN Istanbul Office

So said Yılmaz Güney, famous actor, writer and director in a letter to his son. Perhaps this sentence expresses the totality of his life experiences - tiny roles in the Turkish cinema where he began, climbing up to the king's throne that he reached with great difficulty, and his efforts to renew himself in balance and out of balance. He didn't finish school. Because he was not afraid of jeopardizing the profession that he had learned as an apprentice and losing what he had in the way of craftsmanship, he was not afraid of taking risks.

Yılmaz Güney put his stamp both as a film maker and a political personality on a period that stretched from the 1960s up to the first half of the 1980s. The one aspect of his persona upon which all his close friends and film critics agree is that Güney had as many positive sides as he had negative. He had an artistic personality that he developed step by step and renewed and in doing so, at times, he lived for sensation.

In an interview he gave in 1974, Güney himself acknowledged himself as a sensitive and intuitive person in the following way: "...When I am looked at through the eyes of a sociologist, perhaps I can be understood completely. But when an ordinary person looks, he may say 'Hey this guy says this and does that. This is contradictory.'

"Today there are some things that could be characterized as contradictory in the eyes of a number of people. But I definitely don't agree with them. Because I know what needs to be done today and how I shall do it. So the results of today's product I think will appear two years from now. And what I have done will be better understood....

"Now, if a person lives in some communal form, no matter how much he may be opposed to the ideology of the community, he carries it with him. I, too, carry the ideology of this community with all its mistakes. So at the various moments when I am confronted with some echo from life, my consciousness of being opposed to this and wanting to destroy it comes. And this, as I made known elsewhere before, brought Yılmaz Güney to the point of being destroyed. I am making a new film but basi-

cally I'm uncomfortable and disturbed. I see the film I'm making. Even if they say that this film today is the best film in Turkey, it doesn't matter to me. My being able to catch the mistakes and not repeat them is what's important."

Yılmaz Güney, whose real name was Yılmaz Putun, began his film-making life

in Adana, the city in which he was born. He carried film cans and huge, huge film panels on his back. His first acting roles were in "Bu Vatanın Çocukları" and "Alageyik," which were directed by Atıf Yılmaz in 1958. He also contributed to these films as a scriptwriter, and later he had big and small roles, did scenario writing and storytelling



Yılmaz Güney

and became a director. In 1974 in the Yumurtalık district of Adana, he was blamed for killing a judge during an argument that broke out in a nightclub. He did time in prison, but was later released for political reasons.

There were stormy relations with women, but his happy days were with his last wife, Fatoş Güney, who never left him alone until the end of his life. Yılmaz Güney's last curtain in his 25 years in films ended with "Yol," the assembly of which he carried out during the days he spent in Paris during his exile after he fled prison and "Le Mur," which he completely directed himself. The film "Yol," whose scenario he wrote and whose editing he did and whose director was Şerif Gören, shared the 1982 Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival with "Missing" by the famous Greek director Costa Gavras. Güney's films were forbidden in Turkey for many years because the powers in the government and the soldiers during the time when there was a military coup counted him as having a dangerous personality. Eleven years later, as a result of the democratic winds that seemed to be blowing and the efforts of his wife and friends, the viewer in Turkey had the opportunity to see this film. His wife, Fatoş Güney, gave the opening address at a gala evening in the Zeytinburnu Abdi İpekçi Sports Hall. The audience was filled with the artist's friends intent on making Güney come alive in memory for themselves and his loyal viewers and the young generations who never knew him. Fatoş Güney couldn't hold back her tears in front of the crowd, and she thanked the labor unions, foundations, press and artists who had supported the Yılmaz Güney Culture and Arts Foundation.

She continued, "We are here because of

Yılmaz. In a little while the heroes whom he created will be shown on the screen. They are real; they are our people... They are our people drawn from the Turkish and Kurdish people. This evening I would like to ask you to be constrained in your excitement. Because this evening is Yılmaz's evening. There is a brand new generation that doesn't know Yılmaz. Let's let them get to know him." Later on the film's actors were invited on stage.

One of the film's lead actors, Halil Ergün, who asked the impatient, overly excited people to be calm, warned as follows: "Friends, I am trying to be part of the artistic struggle in Turkey as a democrat and revolutionary for 30 years. I came here to watch the film for which the great Yılmaz Güney wrote the scenario. Most importantly, I want to watch an artistic product as an artistic product. I salute you."

On stage also was the film's child actor, Engin CÇik, now a grownup young man but until now unable to see the film because of the 11-year censorship.

The last guest of the evening, and undoubtedly the most interesting of all was, Costa Gavras, the Greek director who has put his signature on world-famous, provocative films. Gavras was obviously very excited and touched. He said, "I am very happy at being able to see this film with you. Unfortunately it's only after millions of people have been able to see this film throughout the whole world that you are finally able to see it. Without modesty let me say the following: This is a great film for the Turkish and Kurdish film world. At the same time, I'm sorry that Yılmaz was unable to have the honor of seeing it with us. That person spent his whole life among poor people and struggled for democracy and the honor of the Kurdish people as well

as Turkish people. He was a great artist whose heart was full of feelings for democracy, revolution and patriotism." Following Gavras' speech, Fatoş Güney presented him with a plaque from the Foundation.

The first showing of this film was disappointing in the sense that one couldn't follow the dialogue because the sound track was broken. The curtain in the back and a light that flashed on and off in a corridor of the sports hall made one uncomfortable. Because these things had an effect, it's impossible to make a proper evaluation. But one could still say the scenes, the acting and the effects were persuasive and good.

It is also a mistake to talk as if the entire film belonged to Yılmaz Güney. However much he may have written of the scenario himself, one could say that a new spirit was given to it on the editing table. It would be a mistake for the cinema world to neglect the share a film director like Şerif Gören had in making it. If some people say that Güney had planned this film frame by frame and relayed this to the director, it is still a matter of being able to give these things a material form. This capability exists in Gören, and it is not just a matter of being able to lay one's hands on the scenes of a story, to create beautiful natural compositions and to show the actors' obvious mental states by remote control.

I think that Güney's active persona in the Turkish cinema won a reputation and rightly so, thanks to the films he made -- until "Yol." But his political mission left the film director's name in the shadows. The soundest measure here is conceding the share of both of them as creators. Before this film, Gören, who assisted Güney on a number of occasions, made the film on the basis of trust and understanding. Güney also gave new form to what had been shot while it was on the editing table.

A master passed through Istanbul

By TDN Istanbul Office

Costa Gavras, who is of Greek origin and one of the leading film directors in the history of the movie industry, in his movies especially focuses on intensive political themes. He has criticised both the capitalist world and the Iron Curtain by shooting such films as "Z", "Etat de Siege", and "Music Box". Some of his other works include "Compariment", "Tueurs", "Un Homme de Trop", "L'Aveu", and "Missing" which shared the Golden Palm Award with "Yol" Yılmaz Güney's film.

He came from a poor family and in the early 50's the rather aggressive right wing

government made it very difficult for him to study. Like many others, as his only solution he chose to immigrate to France where he studied literature and later he went on to attend the Institute of Graduate Cinematographic Studies (IDHEC). Gavras has been residing there ever since. While in the middle of shooting a new film, Gavras suspended his own work to attend the gala opening night of the film Yol (Road) which was being shown for the first time in Turkey after years of having been censored. While Gavras was here, he answered some questions posed to him by the TDN.

What is your opinion regarding Yilmaz Güney's art and of his movie "Yol"?

"I think Yılmaz Güney is an important di-

rector not only in Turkey but all over the world. His movies are important because they deal with reality and his aesthetics are very personal and unusual. I can say they are linked with Turkish art, not so much resulting from the influences of the foreign cinema but rather as a result of the evolution of Turkish art."

You met and observed him on the film set. How would you best describe his style?

"I met him several times. I was only able to see him once on the set while at work during the shooting of 'Le Mur' (The Wall) in Paris. I think he was full of passion, probably more than any other director, very close to the actors, very close to every tech-

nician, to the camera, to everything. He was like a storm on the set and I think he was the same in his daily life."

Do you think that some critics exaggerate his role in the cinema? Was he really so talented?

"No, this is not an exaggeration; he was a very talented man. I know it because years ago, before meeting him, while at the French Cinematique, whenever the subject of the European cinema and its important directors was raised in meetings Yılmaz's name would always come up. If you go to the famous French cinematique, which was created by Langlois, as you enter, the first thing you'll see on your left is a big poster picture of his movie 'Le Troupo' (Sürü) which was made years before 'Yol', and then we saw 'Yol' and in it his character. It certainly isn't only my opinion; as you well know French critics are very, very, tough."

At a press conference here, you talked about your plans to do a new project based on Turkish-Greek relations.

"Yes, I said I hope to find the time to do such a project, because I think it's very important to make. But for the moment I'm preparing another movie which takes place in the United States."

What is your opinion regarding Turkish-Greek relations? What is the role artists should play in improving relations?

"I think artists can improve the relations. There is always tension, too much tension between the two. Situations like Cyprus, or the situation of the Greeks residing here and that of the Turks residing in Greece, they create a negative atmosphere but I am sure, if the leaders of both sides are willing to find a solution, they can. They can also impose it on the country and its people, even



←
Fatoş Güney (right) presenting Costa Gavras with a plaque in memory of the gala evening showing of the Yılmaz Güney film.

on those who are opposed to a good solution. In a solution, there is always a price to be paid, a compromise which would respect the dignity of the people on both sides."

You know that nowadays some artists deny the political function of film art; you have always emphasized the political role of the cinema.

"Everyone is free to believe what he wants to believe. I don't think we should create rules. My personal belief, which I would like for others to respect... not follow, is that art, theater, literature, cinema, and television art shouldn't be just an empty entertainment. If you go back to the classic theater, from the Greeks and Shakespeare to the French or the German, you always

have scenes concerning people's lives, society's life. And when you speak of politics, it is not for whom you vote, or whether you're on the left, right or center. Politics seem to deal with the cities' problems or just things in general. So the cinema can not live on another planet. Those are my feelings."

How is your relationship with your motherland? Do you sometimes cooperate with other Greek directors or have you broken your ties with them?

"Passionate! My relationship with Greece is very passionate. Everything I can do for Greece and the Greek cinema I do, and I shall continue to do so in the future."

Bonn continuera de discuter avec Téhéran. - Le gouvernement allemand a fermement rejeté, vendredi 15 octobre, les critiques provoquées en Grande-Bretagne et aux Etats-Unis par la visite en Allemagne du ministre iranien des renseignements, Ali Falahian. Il a souligné qu'il continuera d'avoir de tels entretiens lorsqu'ils auront des «butts humanitaires». Deux Allemands sont détenus en Iran, dont l'un a été condamné à mort pour espionnage. Le Foreign Office avait rappelé que, selon une décision commune de la CEE en 1992, tout dialogue avec Téhéran était lié à une amélioration des droits de l'homme et à la levée de la condamnation à mort de l'écrivain britannique Salman Rushdie. - (AFP.)

● Le Monde ● Dimanche 17 -
Lundi 18 octobre 1993

24 Heures — 16 octobre 1993

ETCÆTERA

FORCE ANTI-KURDE

Le ministre iranien de l'Intérieur, M. Ali-Mohammad Bécharati, a annoncé la création prochaine d'une force d'intervention spéciale pour «assurer la sécurité» dans la province du Kurdistan iranien, dans l'ouest de l'Iran, a indiqué hier la radio d'Etat iranienne.

Le Monde — 18 octobre 1993

En Turquie, les séparatistes kurdes ont pris un Américain en otage

Interrogé vendredi 15 octobre, au cours d'une conférence de presse commune avec Tansu Ciller, le premier ministre turc qui effectue aux Etats-Unis une visite officielle depuis mercredi, sur la coopération entre Washington et Ankara en matière de lutte anti-terroriste, le président américain Bill Clinton a répondu que cette question «était devenue plus importante et plus immédiate au cours des dernières vingt-quatre heures lorsqu'un citoyen américain a été pris en otage par le PKK». La veille, l'agence de presse Kurd-ha, proche des séparatistes kurdes de Turquie, avait affirmé que deux touristes, un Américain et un Néozélandais, avaient été placés «en garde à vue» par des «guérilleros de l'Armée populaire de libération du Kurdistan» - (AFP.)

LE COUP DE CŒUR *de Simone Guye*

COMMENT PEUT-ON ÊTRE KURDE ?

L'autobiographie de Nouredine Zaza, un volume passionnant, une réédition qui vient à son heure pour nous éclairer sur le présent.

Nouredine Zaza vivait à Bussigny-près-Lausanne, où il est mort en 1988. Réfugié politique depuis 1970, il avait fini par recevoir la nationalité suisse, lui qui n'en avait plus d'autre.

C'est en 1982 qu'il avait terminé cette autobiographie, aujourd'hui rééditée, et qui nous en apprend beaucoup sur l'histoire des Kurdes, le comment et le pourquoi des événements actuels. Si c'était un roman, on le dirait épique, à peine croyable, extraordinaire ! Hélas, c'est la réalité, une immense tragédie que Nouredine Zaza avait eu le talent de raconter en nous faisant découvrir, tout d'abord, le village de son enfance.

Imaginons ce village des montagnes du Kurdistan turc où, jusqu'à la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale, les communautés kurde, grecque, arménienne et turque vivaient non seulement en harmonie mais dans une heureuse prospérité... pour ne pas dire dans l'opulence. « En ce temps-là, être Kurde était une chose tout à fait normale », rappelle Nouredine Zaza. « On était Ottoman et on ne faisait guère de distinction entre Arabes, Turcs et Kurdes. »

En 1923 commença la politique discriminatoire de Mustafa Kemal en même temps que les premières velléités kurdes d'autonomie. Diabolique engrenage. En très peu de temps, le Kurdistan de Turquie allait être dévasté. Tortures, villages incendiés, récoltes détruites, enfants assassinés : plus rien ne redeviendrait comme avant.

Nouredine, à 10 ans, était secrètement emmené par son frère aîné en Syrie, sans trop savoir ce qui lui arrivait... C'est là qu'il poursuit ses études, se forge peu à peu une conscience politique et devient un militant de plus en plus actif, déterminé, et de plus en plus charismatique.

Il ne caresse pas encore franchement le rêve d'une nation kurde mais ne se lasse pas de réclamer le respect des langues et des cultures minoritaires, la non-discrimination dans tout cadre démocratique comme cela existe... en Suisse par exemple.

Mais jamais le jeu de la politique internationale ne tourne en faveur de ces exclus, sauf pour en jouer, de temps en temps, comme de pions utiles. Les Kurdes sont turcs ou irakiens, iraniens ou sy-



riens : ce sont « les affaires intérieures » de chaque pays.

Nouredine Zaza n'expose pas ici de longues théories, il raconte son périple au quotidien, ses efforts, ses fuites périlleuses, ses emprisonnements, tortures, humiliations, espoirs indéracinables. Parfois même ses bonheurs. On s'attache à son récit sans reprendre souffle.

Simone Guye

« *Ma vie de Kurde* », par Nouredine Zaza (préface de Gilberte Favre Zaza), éditions Labor et Fides.

Le Monde -4 octobre 1993

Après sa visite à Ankara

Le ministre de la défense a bon espoir de vendre des hélicoptères français à la Turquie

Le ministre français de la défense, François Léotard, a fait état, vendredi 1^{er} octobre, de « signes encourageants » pour la prochaine conclusion d'un contrat de fourniture de vingt hélicoptères Cougar à la Turquie (*le Monde* du 1^{er} octobre), se déclarant « très satisfait » à l'issue de ses entretiens de deux jours à Ankara. « Nous avons reçu des signes encourageants de la part des dirigeants turcs rencontrés », a déclaré le ministre d'Etat, en évoquant de « bonnes perspectives de conclusion prochaine d'un accord sur les hélicoptères » face à la concurrence américaine.

M. Léotard, qui a été l'hôte de son homologue turc et qui a été reçu par le président Suleyman Demirel, par le premier ministre, M^{me} Tansu Ciller, et par le chef d'état-major de l'armée turque, a cependant tenu à placer ce contrat potentiel dans « l'ensemble d'une réflexion générale sur la sécurité dans la région ». Il a remis à M^{me} Ciller un message du premier ministre, Edouard Balladur, l'invitant en France au début de l'année prochaine. M. Léotard a fait état d'une « communauté de vues » franco-turque sur les Balkans et sur la question du terrorisme, dont il a réaffirmé la condamnation par la France, sans citer les rebelles kurdes, qualifiés de « terroristes » par Ankara.

Le montant du contrat en discussion avec les Turcs est de 1 milliard de francs. A plusieurs reprises, sa conclusion a été ajournée, en particulier à la suite de déclarations de Danielle Mitterrand en faveur des populations kurdes.

Le Quotidien de Paris

4 octobre 1993

Turquie : des rebelles kurdes tués

Vingt-six personnes, dont dix-neuf « terroristes » (terme officiel désignant les rebelles kurdes) de Turquie, ont été tuées depuis vendredi dans le Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde, selon des sources officielles. De son côté, le PKK affirme avoir tué 1 210 personnes, dont 929 soldats turcs, en septembre, et avoir abattu un avion de combat, deux hélicoptères Cobra et 28 engins blindés de l'armée turque.

Environ 7 500 personnes (militaires, civils, policiers et rebelles) ont trouvé la mort depuis 1984, date à laquelle le PKK avait déclenché la lutte armée contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara pour créer le « Kurdistan indépendant ».

Le Nouveau Quotidien

4 octobre 1993

TURQUIE

REBELLES KURDES TUÉS EN IRAK

Les forces de sécurité turques ont annoncé avoir tué neuf rebelles kurdes ce week-end dans le nord de l'Irak au cours d'une opération transfrontalière ainsi que six autres dans le sud-est de l'Anatolie. Ce bilan porte à vingt-cinq le nombre de personnes tuées en relation avec le séparatisme kurde pendant ce week-end, selon des bilans officiels parvenus dimanche à Ankara.

turkish daily news

Monday, October 4, 1993

Weekend killings:

39 killed in southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- At least thirty two people, including twelve civilians and a soldier, were killed in southeast Turkey over the weekend, officials said on Sunday.

They said that Turkish troops had killed 13 militants of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in separate clashes in Diyarbakir, Bingöl and Siirt provinces on Saturday.

Nine militants were killed in another skirmish between security forces and PKK militants in Şırnak's Uludere town near the Iraqi border on Sunday, they said.

Kurdish militants set fire to a house in the village of Altiova in Mus' Hasköy township on Sunday which killed nine villagers including seven children, officials added. In another clash in the Yeniköprü district of Hakari province, four PKK militants and a soldier were killed. They also said two other militants were killed in Mardin's Nusaybin township.

In another development, Kurdish militants killed a civilian and wounded nine others in a roadblock in Kahramanmaraş' Elbistan village.

Meanwhile, two more people were gunned down by unidentified assailants in southeastern refinery province of Batman.

PKK claims they kill 929 soldiers, 174 guards within September

The ARGK (People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan), armed flank of the PKK asserted on Sunday that they had killed 929 soldiers and 174 state-paid village guards during the month of September.

During this time they had lost some 148 guerillas.

The Germany-based Kurdistan News Agency claimed Sunday that PKK guerillas had destroyed a warplane, two Cobra helicopters, six tanks and 22 armoured vehicles.

Interior Ministry denies claims Hezbollah has 3 camps in Batman

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Interior Ministry denied allegations that militants of the clandestine Hezbollah organization were being trained in three villages near the southeastern refinery city of Batman.

The popular television program "Arena" and left-wing daily Cumhuriyet claimed last Thursday that alleged Hezbollah activists were being trained in at least three villages of Gercus in the Batman province and that all of the camps were situated near military installations.

According to the press reports members of a parliamentary committee investigating unsolved murder cases visited Batman last July for on-the-spot studies and during the tour "they received a briefing from the Batman security chief and the deputy governor that the pro Islamic Hezbollah militants had training camps in the three villages of Gercus township.

An Interior Ministry statement on the allegations said there were no "such camps in any province let alone Batman," adding "the claims that military units are supporting the Hezbollah organization is totally baseless."

"The stories and TV programs in question are the products of a campaign which deliberately aims at harming the Turkish Security forces," the statement concluded.

Meanwhile, Sadik Avundukoğlu, chairman of the special parliamentary committee investigating the unsolved murder cases, accused the press of obtaining "secret tape recordings" through clandestine means.

Avundukoğlu said the purpose of latest allegations in question are not to find out the realities, but to create confusion.

Parliamentarians from the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) said in a press conference following their fact-finding mission related to unsolved murder cases in Batman over the weekend that the government should explain certain questions raised by the Arena TV program on Thursday night.

Before holding the press conference 13 DEP deputies visited the place where Mardin deputy Mehmet Sincar was murdered on Sept. 4. As they laid flowers on the site, loudspeakers from a nearby shop started to blare pro-Islamic slogans

calling for "Victory of Hezbollah" and the police could do nothing but to advise them not to respond.

Sweden expels three Kurds in suspected connection with PKK

■ *Three men suspected of plotting guerrilla acts on behalf of the Kurdish separatist organisation PKK have been expelled to the Netherlands, Denmark and Switzerland respectively*

Reuters

STOCKHOLM- Three men suspected of plotting guerrilla acts on behalf of the Kurdish separatist organisation PKK have been expelled from Sweden, the daily Svenska Dagbladet reported on Sunday.

Security police officials were not available to comment on the report, which was also carried by the independent TV4 television station.

Svenska Dagbladet named the three men as Ali Ak-yağız, 28, Bahtiyar Zelik, 32, and Hasan Özgüvercin, and said they had been expelled to the Netherlands, Denmark and Switzerland respectively.

Nori Amini, chairman of the Kurdistan Committee in Sweden, denied that the three men had been planning violent activities in Sweden, the national news agency TT reported.

October 5, 1993

turkish daily news

PKK threatens all parties

■ *Separatists demand resignation of provincial chairmen n Defence Minister says terrorism to end by year's end*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- As Turkey's Defence Minister Nevzat Ayaz promised in the central province of Konya to end separatist terrorism by the end of the year, the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) issued a statement to party provincial chairmen in Southeastern Turkey asking them to resign from their seats.

The PKK communique, a one-page handwritten text signed and stamped by the Martyr Ayhan Battalion Northern Battle Front, said provincial chairmen of all political parties had until the end of this month to submit their resignations.

Inviting those concerned to apply to "the closest units," the PKK command said those who refused to resign by the end of September would be placed "among the revolutionary targets" -- meaning they would be killed.

The PKK's demand coincided with the resignation in Tunceli province of



Defence Minister Nevzat Ayaz

the ruling True Path Party (DYP) provincial chairman Veli Yeşil, who submitted his petition to State Minister Mehmet Gölhan.

Yeşil said they had been told to resign by Oct. 1 at the latest or meet their fate. He also revealed that he had been tried twice at a PKK "Peoples' Court" and was sentenced to a fine of 33,000 DM of which he had already paid 10,000. The DYP chairman explained also that the PKK had agreed to collect

the remaining fine of 23,000 DM in two installments.

Sources said, meanwhile, that a number of provincial executives of political parties had travelled to Ankara in recent days to discuss the issue with their leaders. Meanwhile, Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz on Monday promised again to end terrorism in the country "by the year's end, or failing that, at the start of 1994."

Saying that no "special army" had been set up as reported in the national press, Ayaz said they had no plan for such an army. He added, however, that Turkish security forces were being reinforced by professional personnel recruited among former commando soldiers.

"In line with new NATO strategies, a reorganization and restructuring of the Turkish standing army through the creation of professional cadres has been decided on. Such personnel will work in concord with the existing army staff. No such thing as a special army is envisioned," Ayaz told reporters during his visit to Konya Governor Atilla Vural.

He disclosed that 24,000 people, 20,000 of them for the Land Forces Command, had already been recruited for the said cadres.

"The number will increase up to 60,000 to 70,000 in the future," Ayaz said.

The Defense Minister told reporters that his government had taken every

possible measure to prevent the incidence of terrorism.

He added that Turkey had managed to talk foreign countries into considering the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) as a terrorist organization.

Referring to forces of Operation Provide Comfort deployed in Southeast Turkey, Ayaz said they would stay in the region until the situation in northern Iraq was restored to normal, adding that Operation Provide Comfort was conducted under the supervision of Turkish commanders.

Ayaz added that his government would ensure that the local elections of 1994 would be held under normal circumstances in the Southeast.

Turkey strikes PKK in northern Iraq

- Iraqi Kurds claim 9 civilians killed
- 40 dead in new round of violence

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish warplanes and artillery hit Kurdish targets in northern Iraq over the weekend in this year's first cross-border operation into that country which allegedly left behind nine civilians dead and three wounded. Sources reported fresh bombings on Monday but the information could not be confirmed. The operations coincided with two separate incidents in which 31 Kurdish civilians were killed.

A senior military officer, referring to the weekend strike, said, "our forces have conducted necessary strikes on two areas where the bandits had settled," but refused to elaborate. A representative for the Iraqi Kurds said nine people, including one woman, had been killed in Turkish shelling and air strikes of Nerwa and Sanatt, said to be around 12 miles inside the border.

Sources around the border region told the Turkish Daily News on Monday that they could hear bombing on the other side of the border as of the early hours of the morning. Local journalists in Diyarbakir said the warplanes took off from that city as well as Malatya's Erhaç airport.

One source said there was a buildup of armoured vehicles near the Çalışkan village of Silopi, immediately on the border. It was not clear whether a land operation would be launched. Safeen Dizayee, the Ankara representative of the (Iraqi) Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) said on Monday that contact had been made with Turkish officials and an explanation was expected for the weekend attack.

Ankara argues that the "targets" of the initial operation were camps used by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) that has been waging a violent armed campaign for self-rule for Turkish Kurds since 1984. More than 7,300 people have died in the conflict in the past nine years.

"We accept that the PKK has small mobile groups of guerrillas that have moved back into the area," Dizayee said. He added, however, that "there are certainly no established PKK camps in the area under our control."

A senior military source, asking not to be identified, said Turkey had warned the Iraqi Kurds several times against harboring PKK militants and had warned that if they failed to clear the border, Turkish forces would react.

During the summer, Ankara sent a secret memorandum to Iraqi Kurdish leaders Jalal Talabani and Masoud Barzani, pointing out that the PKK was returning to the border region and creating "pockets" for use in cross-border attacks in

Turkish territory. The Iraqi Kurds have been tense over the past two months, fearing this would be the pretext for new Turkish strikes. Last October, Turkey entered northern Iraq to battle the PKK there and announced terrorist casualties as high as 4,500. Iraqi Kurds said the number of PKK militants

killed throughout the vast operation was lower than 200. Most militants surrendered and were allowed to move to the Kurdish-controlled Zele camp far from the Turkish border, from where they reportedly crossed into Iran and returned to Turkey.

Ankara has refused the PKK's calls for autonomy talks, ignored a two-month bilateral cease fire that ended in May and launched a major offensive in the region this July.

Military sources said, however, that the main crackdown was being launched this month and would target the destruction of this organization by next March. Officials put rebel casualties for this year at nearly 2,000. Chief of General Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş recently vowed to "finish off the PKK by next spring." He warned that if this campaign failed, Ankara could be forced to implement martial law throughout the troubled region. A special force of about 10,000 well-trained counter-guerrilla warfare experts are to be deployed to the region this year under a decision made by the ruling coalition government. In the words of Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, "These people will act like the terrorists, live like them on the mountains and will fight them." An additional force of about 50,000 troops have also been deployed to eastern and southeastern Turkey.

Observers in Ankara believe the PKK and Turkish forces will lock horns before the winter sets in, and there will be much bloodshed in the

coming days.

Last week, PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan claimed his forces would reach a record 35,000 by next spring and vowed an increase in attacks on Turkish targets as well as Western investments. He claimed this was in retaliation for Turkish operations in the troubled region.

On Monday, the Anatolia news agency reported that 26 civilians were killed when a mini bus carrying them hit a land mine in Mardin province. Officials said the villagers were travelling from one village to another when the blast occurred. Five more civilians were killed in the Mutki district of Bitlis province when their minibus came under fire from PKK militants.

The agency also reported that an officer and four soldiers were wounded in the Bingöl province when on Sunday night a group of PKK militants attacked the Yeniyazı gendarmerie station. The organization has upgraded its attacks on military and police targets since 1990 and frequently ambushes patrols. At the end of last month, PKK militants attacked a village in Batman where they shot seven people including two pregnant women, an infant and a toddler. During the weekend, another group of militants burned nine villagers to death after surrounding and attacking their house. Officials say these attacks aim at spreading fear in the region and forcing the local people to collaborate with the terrorists.

The Kurdish Scene: Entering a Hot -- a Very Hot -- Winter

İsmet G. İmset

Last week's announcement by Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan declaring an all-out war on Turkey and promising attacks even on foreign investments from now on indicate the approach of a hot, a very hot, winter. What Öcalan said had no importance in its literal sense because he appeared to be repeating his earlier threats and views. What mattered more was the timing of his statement -- that it came days before Turkey launched its own massive crackdown in the Southeast.

According to senior military commanders, who have more than once been quoted by the national press, the PKK must be crushed this winter even at the cost of risking many lives. According to Abdullah Öcalan, the PKK's new campaign will claim as many as 50 lives a day. Already, the death toll is up at around 20 per day and is rising steadily.

Looking at either side of the coin, the only thing that meets the eye is that a vast number of civilians, perhaps hundreds more, will be victims of this undeclared war, which has already claimed over 7,300 lives.

Both sides are heading toward a collision course that will shatter all balances in the region and unavoidably have repercussions in Ankara, where the civilian government already suffers from administrative weaknesses.

The collision is expected to take place this month. Some predict the campaign, launched by Turkey, will last for at least three months. According to one view, the operation will end only in December, if successful. If no great success is achieved, some politicians suspect the military will then use the pretext of terrorism, to first declare martial law throughout the region and then to deliver a letter of warning to the civilian administration -- taking over state powers through that very administration, in the form of a covert coup.

Turkey's new coalition government is nothing similar to the one that was elected to power in the Oct. 20, 1991 general elections. The names of the ruling True Path Party (DYP) and the junior partner Social Democrat Peoples' Party (SHP) are the same. But their leaders are different. What's more, their priorities are also different.

When the then Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel started off his "first 500 golden days," his priority

was to restore human rights, complete Turkey's democratization drive and bring back stability to the country. Frequently heard slogans at that time were: "transparent" police stations, no more torture, a vocal (konuşan) Turkey and last, but not least, support for the Paris charter.

How long has it been since anyone has heard any mention of these "main targets" or even of the Paris charter? Not under Tansu Çiller's administration, at least. When the first Mesut Yılmaz administration took power in July 1991, it was greeted with a military proposal to begin an immense campaign in the southeast and east regions, directed at eliminating the PKK en masse, grassroots and all.

But Yılmaz did not survive long enough to implement such a scheme. So, the same proposal was made to Süleyman Demirel in late 1991 and his first resistance lasted only several months. His open support of the crackdown only led to mass deaths and migration in 1992, with two events which have since black-marked Turkey's human rights record. In the week following the March 21 celebrations of the Kurdish Newroz new year, more than 100 demonstrators were shot in the streets in the troubled region. In August of the same year, troops literally tore apart the city of Şırnak, claiming that the PKK had half captured it.

More than 18,000 residents were forced to migrate then.

And with Tansu Çiller now in power, similar suggestions are being made within the Ankara administration. It appears that the threat of martial law, and even a military memorandum to the government, is tweaking some interest. It is in the form of a warning.

According to ANAP's former minister and current parliamentarian Halil Sivgin, the military is now expected to concentrate on the region for the next three months, beginning in October.

But if they do not succeed, he argues, they will deliver a memorandum to the government by January 1994 at the latest and demand that all control be put in their hands. "If they conclude that a parliamentary regime cannot solve terrorism," he said in a recent interview with TDN correspondent Hayri Birlir, "they will introduce their own policies."

What these policies will be or how different they

“ The war has reached the point of no return... There is genocide going on... The (Turkish) chief of staff said they will wipe us out by next March but they cannot... We are opposing this policy with tremendous resistance. ”

will have from those military-introduced policies of today are not clear. What Parliament sources believe, however, is that the conditions of moderate policies no longer exist, that the government has completely shelved the Paris Charter and rights -- as far as the Kurdish issue goes -- and that the chances of any peaceful solution to the problem are being lost by the day.

In the coming three months a dramatic change in the regional picture is expected. On the Turkish side, the war on terror is to be escalated -- apparently to the extent of repeating the Şırnak incidents over a vast area.

On the PKK side, the situation is worse. Öcalan, under pressure from his own constituents has the spirit to fight to the end.

In the words of Active Television (ATV) news anchorman Güneri Cıvaoğlu, Öcalan a.k.a Apo, is like a cornered rat. Öcalan previous warning to Cıvaoğlu and other journalists is that if an outlawed organization is cornered, it becomes more violent. Cornered he is, but not only because of Turkish operations. Looking at the PKK's problems today, it could be seen that it is cornered on four fronts. First, operations are concentrating on mountain units. Second, there are operations concentrating on urban settlements and hurting civilians. When these two come together they create the circumstances for only two things: more recruits to the organization (at a rate it cannot train or indoctrinate) and more pressure for violence.

This is where Öcalan is really cornered. "We will take harsher measures. In one day, 50 people could die. If we say this we will do it...We will not be responsible if 50 people die. We have no choice because they are destroying Kurdistan," said Öcalan

in his recent press conference.

At least 200 people have died on both sides in the past week alone and, according to Reuters, more than 1,600 people have been killed in the region since May 24, 1993, when Apo called off a two-month unilateral cease fire that Ankara ignored from the very beginning.

"I have never been as confident as today...when we started, there was no one talking about the Kurdish identity but now there is," Öcalan said, emphasizing correctly that the PKK enjoys strong popular support.

About three months ago, when leading Turkish newspaper owners and directors were invited to the chief of general staff's office where they were "advised" what to write about and what not, they were told to avoid statements such as the above. A colonel then went to the extent of even giving a slide show of a recent commentary written by Sabah's Hasan Cemal, "pointing out" how damaging it was for Turkey. "The PKK has spread its roots among the people," Cemal said in his column then, which now rarely refers to the Kurdish issue.

During the briefing it was made clear that although it should not be pronounced openly, wartime conditions prevailed in the Southeast and the national press should act accordingly; an argument that may be accepted as legitimate, if only what is happening -- or the policy put into practice -- was really in the national interests of Turkey.

The key factor to PKK activities in the coming period will clearly be the amount of damage it will inflict on local people during Turkey's war on terrorism.

In its first three years of violence, from 1984 to

“ We will take harsher measures. In one day 50 people could die. If we say this we will do it...we will not be responsible if 50 people die. We have no choice because they are destroying Kurdistan ”

Operations Underway

News reaching Ankara from the troubled Southeast region on Monday indicated that Turkey had already launched its long-expected crackdown on the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) which is believed to have some 8 to 10 thousand fighters in the region.

There has been increased fighting in the mountainous region and at least two operations have been started on urban settlements. The death toll is up at an average of about 20 per-day but increasing rapidly.

During the weekend, Turkey shelled and bombed what was claimed to be PKK targets in Iraqi territory, although the Iraqi Kurds have claimed they were civilian settlements. An Iraqi Kurdish woman was killed and five men were in-

jured when Turkish aircraft attacked the suspected rebel camps in Sanatt, about 12 miles from the Turkish border, said Safeen Dizayee, the Ankara representative of the Kurdistan Democratic party.

Similar attacks at the Nerwa region where the borders of Turkey, Iraq and Iran converge, killed seven other Iraqi Kurds, three of them women, Dizayee said. Ankara's civilian government has been told by security officers that PKK camps have been established in the Iraqi border region. In reality, the PKK only has mobile groups in the area and their number is quite low.

Cynics believe the aim of the new campaign is to distract attention from what is going on in Turkey and give the Turkish electorate a moral victory with a story whose veracity cannot be established.

1987, the PKK's main targets were military installations, patrols and village guards. The aim was to mainly recruit new guerillas and train them, while building the image that the organization could cope with Turkish forces. In this period of "strategic defense" as it is put in guerilla jargon, the target was to recruit from among "the revolutionary people" (meaning poor peasants), the unemployed and those who in one way or another were in conflict with the state apparatus.

In its second stage of warfare from 1987 to 1990, the PKK's main target was the "non-revolutionary" masses. It targeted the village guards with full steam, often killing off whole families, including women and children. The aim was to terrorize the "collaborators" but also to send a message to those still on the fence as to what their fate would be -- if they sided with Turkey.

As of 1990, the PKK became more and more dependent on shifting the violence -- from its own hands to that of local security forces -- and what it has tried to do since that year is to convert the local masses, by provoking the security forces to attack the "undecided," and even those who are pro-state. And, it has succeeded. During the weekend, the pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem reported an attack by troops on the town of Yüksekova in Hakkari and claimed that at least four people were killed.

The newspaper said troops continued firing until Friday morning and all entrances to the town were blocked. On Monday, the same newspaper said troops opened artillery fire on the Altinova district of Hasköy, Muş, killing nine people including seven children. For the masses who matter, the propaganda mechanism works skillfully.

The previous week, there was an attack in the Doğubeyazıt town of Ağrı during which the house of an ANAP deputy was blasted with tank fire. Last month, there were similar incidents in Dargeçit, Mardin, Ferhend, Kayadere and Kelekçi, Dicle. The Turkish Daily News is in possession of photographs showing destroyed houses and burned down buildings.

The PKK is succeeding, if its aim now in this new stage is to flush out any sympathy for the Turkish regime in the region. Security forces have been forced to face the people and more and more are joining the organization.

What tactics does the PKK pursue in doing this? Recent incidents have shown that attacks on civilian settlements almost always follow a PKK attack either on the same settlement or on local government buildings.

Either the PKK enters several houses and starts shooting at them, forcing troops to reply en masse, or it attacks the troops directly.

In the first case, forces end up opening fire on the

house where PKK militants hide but almost always hit other buildings as well. In the second, as put by ANAP chairman Mesut Yılmaz last week, troops spray the settlement with bullets following a PKK attack, in the form of a warning.

Only in some cases are houses burned down. But, it is now evident that instead of turning the people against the PKK, such practices only strengthen local support for the organization. Even Welfare Party (RP) Urfa Deputy İbrahim Halil Çelik had to accept last week that there was "state oppression" in the Southeast. They say they are dealing with the PKK," Çelik noted, "they are only lying."

As far as Yılmaz's main opposition ANAP is concerned, things are not going well in the region and policies put into practice are only dragging Turkey to the brink of division. The RP, which represents a strong fundamentalist opposition, appears to share the same view.

But the Tansu Çiller administration is nowhere close to changing its policy. In fact, it has given full control over the Kurdish issue to the military and is only waiting to see what will happen and whether the army can actually keep its promise. Apparently,

not even Çiller shares the army's views that the PKK can be crushed by next spring.

Counter to Chief of General Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş's earlier promise to crush the PKK by the end of the year, Çiller recently said it would take one year, perhaps more, to deal with the issue.

She also appears not to have heard the army's threat to impose martial law or to deliver a memorandum.

As far as Ankara is concerned, the heart of the government seems to care little about the repercussions of the campaign against terrorism that is underway.

For the time being, Turkey has the full support of the government's coalition forces based in the Southeast to defend the Iraqi Kurds. It has the understanding of Washington, Paris and London.

If, however, this understanding expires, what some officials define as "those little countries out there in Europe" will have the "crack in the wall" they are seeking. The reaction then could snowball and it will be much, much more difficult to explain what is going on.

The March local elections are approaching and it is evident that Ankara is under much pressure from the military to cancel the elections on grounds of security.

On one hand, Ankara is being promised that the PKK will be crushed by March. On the other, new security scenarios are being imposed.

What is evident is that in the period ahead, the PKK will retaliate more viciously to statements of victory made by Turkish officials. What is also evident is that a hot, a very hot, winter is starting. ■

***“Our campaign
against Turkish
tourism will be
developed because
of the war waged
against us.
We will attack
tourist facilities and
we will attack
foreign
investments”***

Turkish Probe October 5, 1993

5

Batman: A City of Fear

Emre Gökalp

Batman, Turkey's southeastern refinery city which in the past offered jobs for thousands of Kurds, is now a city of fear. Everyone living here asks the same question: Will I live tomorrow?

An "alarming increase" in death squad-style killings and "unsolved murders" of Kurdish activists has been recorded recently. The killing of a member of parliament representing the Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) in the city last month, has been followed by a series of attacks.

Now, Batman, long regarded as a crucial regional center owing to its economic value that stems from the petroleum refineries, is somewhere anyone can die, at any moment.

Despite official reports and statements, many locals believe that the Iranian-affiliated Hezbollah is not responsible for most of the attacks currently being attributed to this organization.

Even the city's Motherland Party (ANAP) Mayor Ataullah Hamidi, who has been in the mayoral post for nine years, puts the number of dead at more than 300 and says people are being killed every day.

For Hamidi, there may be three separate causes for the "murder terror" that has turned Batman into a city of fear. First is the clash that has erupted between the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) and a Kurdish flank of the Hezbollah organization. Second, is the blood feuds between the families who hide behind these clashes. And last, the state forces.

"Even I am scared to go out. I don't know if I'm next in line or not," Hamidi said last week during a meeting with DEP deputies.

But, many pro-Kurdish politicians in Ankara and locals of the region have charged that the organization responsible for the assassinations, known there as the Hezbol-contra -- in reference to its contra-guerrilla nature -- has official links and is supported by local officials in its plight against separatism. As in the words of DEP Van Deputy Remzi Kartal, most of the Kurdish politicians and people believe there was "definitely no connection between the Iranian supported Hezbollah organization and those operating in the region under the same name." According to one pro-Iranian Hezbollah source in Batman, the mainframe organization has no relation with such clandestine activities and maintains close ties with the PKK.

"The so-called Hezbol-contra," he says "appears to enjoy an official tolerance in the region if not open support." Not only pro-Kurdish activists or politicians, but also civil servants, teachers and many others representing various occupational groups and political ideas believe that the Hezbol-contra is

involved in various forms of clandestine activities including the abduction and killings of pro-DEP residents, journalists, politicians.

"Activities on behalf of the Hezbollah have been tolerated by security forces in some areas because they hinder the activities of the PKK," a high school teacher says.

In all cases committed to date, the gunmen who launched brutal clandestine activities in the region have managed to make an escape and the security forces have failed to find any evidence leading to this radical organization.

According to many in Batman, The Hezbol-contra enjoys immunity in the region and since its activities target pro-Kurdish activists who are automatically labeled as "PKK-supporters," officials do not bother to take any measures against it. What is more obvious now is that the Hezbol-contra has concentrated its activities mainly in and around the regional capital of Diyarbakir, in the refinery-city of Batman, in several villages and towns of Mardin.

What do the officials here feel? They complain of the lack of cooperation from the local people. "People are not

collaborating. They fear the consequences and thus refuse to testify against murderers," says Batman's newly appointed Governor, Salih Sarman.

A total of 13 DEP deputies who investigated unsolved murders last week visited the place where on Sept. 4 Mardin deputy Mehmet Sincar was murdered. As the delegation laid flowers on the site, loudspeakers from a nearby shop started to blast out a pro-Hezbollah march calling for "Victory for Hezbollah." None of the over 200 policemen who were present on the street could do anything but advise the DEP deputies not to respond. This alone showed how dramatic the situation has become in Batman. It is, as if the state has pulled off the streets.

"Those attacking the Kurdish activists in the region and using the name Hezbollah were part of the contra-guerrilla organization, and the security forces are either directly involved in this or tolerate it," Remzi Kartal said in a recent press conference.

Although his claim or previous claims of the same nature have never been taken up at the Turkish Parliament, the London-based Amnesty International noted in a recent report that "there is a strong evidence of security force involvement, no action has been launched to investigate it. Turkish authorities, unfortunately, continue to deny the charge."

How many more unsolved murders do the people in Batman have to tolerate? How long will they be able to maintain their patience? How long will Ankara be able to deny the charges and refuse to look into them? ■

The Week in Perspective

SEPT. 27 Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) formally announces that none of its 17 deputies in Parliament would resign from their seats for the time being.

■ Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin arrives in New York for the 48th General Assembly meeting of the United Nations. Çetin is expected to meet with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and deliver a speech in the General Assembly on Sept. 30.

■ Turkey rejects a Russian demand to revise the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement so as to allow it to increase its presence in the north Caucasus, Foreign Ministry sources say.

SEPT. 28 Kurdish separatists pledge to strike at Western interests, tourists and economic targets across Turkey in retaliation for Ankara's crackdown against their struggle for autonomy.

■ PM Halil Şivgin warns that the Turkish military is sure to offer its "own policy" if Parliament fails to find a solution to terrorism in eastern and southeastern Turkey, adding "terrorism in eastern and southeastern Turkey, coupled with political deadlock" might mean the imposition of martial law and postponement of the local elections of March 1994.

■ Security forces cross the border into Iraq in an operation against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Local sources claim that Iraqi Kurdish pashmargas fight alongside Turkish forces against the PKK.

■ In a speech in Erzurum, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller says Turkey will never bow to terrorism and that no one will be able to upset its unity and integrity.

■ The Constitutional Court rejects an application for the annulment of a government decree allowing for the privatization of the state telecom company PTT on the grounds that the application, made recently by 92 members of Parliament, is incomplete.

SEPT. 29 A military plane crashes shortly after take-off into a house in Antalya, killing eight people, his three siblings.

■ Tourism Minister Abdülkadir Ateş says that holiday reservation cancellations are between 10 to 15 percent this season due to terrorist attacks on touristic targets in Turkey.

■ Press reports of a True Path Party (DYP)-Social Democratic People's Party (SHP) alliance for the nationwide local elections in March 1994 are denied by SHP Vahit Suiçmez.

■ Greek Prime Minister and New Democracy Party leader Constantine Mitsotakis reaffirms his firm belief in continued dialogue with Turkey, with just over a week to go to early elections in the country.

SEPT. 30 23 people, including 10 Kurdish militants, are killed in clashes in Southeast Turkey. Meanwhile police detain 15 people suspected of involvement in the murder of Mehmet Sincar, a Kurdish member of parliament.

■ Prime Minister Çiller addresses the nation in a televised speech.

■ Bulgarian President Jelu Jeleu says that Bulgaria's good relations with Turkey and Greece are prerequisite for the establishment of a "security triangle in the Balkans."

■ Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk says the most prominent effect of the turmoil in Russia might appear in the form of big migrations to Turkey.

■ The body of a drowned man found in the Bosphorus last month is identified as that of a missing Scottish engineer, Roy Dingley, 36.

OCT. 1 Turkish Union of Chambers and Stock Exchanges (TOBB) Chairman Yalın Erez says the country will have to live with inflation for some time and warns that the foreign trade deficit continues to grow.

■ French Defence Minister Francois Leotard arrives for a one-day visit to Ankara as the guest of his Turkish counterpart Nevzat Ayaz, for talks on security and cooperation in the defence industry.

■ In a speech to the U.N. General Assembly, Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin says the enlargement of the Security Council will render the organization more effective and suggests Turkey as a possible candidate for a new category of semipermanent member of the council.

■ A surveillance committee on the Uğur Mumcu murder claims that certain investigators looking into the case have been sneaking crucial information to the perpetrators. said.

OCT. 2 Prime Minister Tansu Çiller repeats her promises for a perfectly working economy at a press gathering held in Istanbul. She says the economy will take off from 1996.

OCT. 3 With only a week to go for early general elections in Greece, Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis reiterates his commitment to keeping the channels of dialogue with Turkey open.

FRA0349 4 I 0212 TUR /AFP-OP30

Turquie-Kurdes

Explosion d'une mine dans le sud-est anatolien: 26 morts, selon un nouveau bilan

ANKARA, 4 oct (AFP) - Vingt-six personnes ont été tuées et trois blessées lundi dans l'explosion d'une mine sur le passage d'un minibus près du village de Kayalipinar, dans la région de Midyat (frontalière de la Syrie), selon un nouveau bilan officiel publié lundi après-midi.

Vingt-six civils, dont neuf enfants et cinq femmes, ont trouvé la mort lorsque leur minibus a sauté sur une mine, indique un communiqué, parvenu à l'AFP à Ankara, de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir chargée de la coordination de la lutte contre la rébellion armée du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

Selon le communiqué, la mine a été posée par des "terroristes", terme utilisé par les autorités turques pour désigner les militants armés du PKK.

Par ailleurs, cinq passagers d'un minibus ont été tués lundi matin dans la région de Mutki, dans la province de Bitlis (est), par des "terroristes" qui ont mitraillé le véhicule, selon le même communiqué.

Ce nouveau bilan porte à au moins 40 le nombre des tués dans des actions des rebelles kurdes du PKK et des opérations de représailles de l'armée turque dans l'est et le sud-est anatolien depuis 24 heures.

CE/ms

FRA0113 4 I 0280 TUR /AFP-SY77

Turquie-Kurdes

37 civils tués par des rebelles kurdes de Turquie

ANKARA, 5 oct (AFP) - Trente-sept civils ont été tués et une cinquantaine d'autres blessés dans la nuit de lundi à mardi par des rebelles kurdes de Turquie qui ont attaqué le village de Daltepe, province de Siirt (sud-est), et une autre localité voisine, a annoncé mardi la première chaîne de la télévision d'Etat turque TRT1.

Il s'agit d'une action attribuées au Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) qui mène une lutte armée depuis 1984 contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde pour créer le "Kurdistan indépendant".

Deux groupes de rebelles du PKK forts de 30 à 40 hommes sont arrivés lundi soir vers 00h00 locale (11h00 heure de Paris) au village de Daltepe, et à Kalkancik tout près de ce village, dans la région de Sirvan (Siirt) pour demander aux villageois de rallier le PKK, a indiqué la Télévision.

Après le refus des habitants de Daltepe, les militants du PKK ont ouvert le feu sur les villageois et attaqué leurs maisons avec des roquettes et grenades avant de les incendier, a ajouté TRT1.

Les forces de l'ordre ont déclenché une opération d'envergure dans la région pour retrouver les assaillants. M. Unal Erkan, le super-préfet de Diyarbakir, chargé de la coordination de la lutte contre le PKK, s'est rendu sur place, a indiqué TRT1.

Ce bilan porte à au moins 80 le nombre de tués dans les actions du PKK suivies de représailles de l'armée turque dans l'est et le sud-est anatolien depuis dimanche.

La rébellion armée kurde et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait plus de 7.500 morts en moins de 10 ans.

CE/jmg

AFP 050900 OCT 93

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1993

31 Kurds Die in Attacks in Turkey

DIYARBAKIR, Turkey (Reuters) — A total of 31 Kurdish civilians were killed on Monday in two separate attacks blamed on Kurdish rebels in southeastern Turkey, officials said.

Five soldiers and four guerrillas reportedly were killed in separate incidents in the mainly Kurdish region.

A minibus traveling between the villages of Kayalar and Kayalipinar in Mardin province hit a land mine. A total of 26 people, including 9 children and 5 women, were killed, a statement from regional authorities said. Three people were wounded. Five civilians were killed in the Mutki district of Bitlis province when their minibus came under fire from Kurdistan Workers Party guerrillas, the statement said.

Turquie : mine meurtrière

Vingt-six personnes, dont neuf enfants et cinq femmes, ont été tuées et trois blessées hier dans l'explosion d'une mine sur le passage d'un minibus, près du village de Kayalipinar, dans la région de Midyat (frontalière de la Syrie), selon un nouveau bilan officiel publié hier. Par ailleurs, cinq passagers d'un minibus ont été tués hier matin dans la région de Mutki, dans la province de Bitlis (Est), par des « terroristes » qui ont mitraillé le véhicule, selon le même communiqué. Ce nouveau bilan porte à au moins quarante le nombre des tués dans des actions des rebelles kurdes du PKK et des opérations de représailles de l'armée turque dans l'est et le sud-est anatolien depuis dimanche.

Wednesday, October 6, 1993

turkish daily news

PKK massacre:

33 killed

- Women, children gunned down in mosque yard
- 24-hour death toll at over 60 as violence spreads
- PM office says cross-border operations to continue
- Gazioglu repeats: PKK's backbone is broken

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Following a pledge by outlawed Kurdish separatist leader Abdullah Öcalan to escalate attacks in the Southeast, more than 60 people were killed this week in 24 hours of violence that also left behind nearly 60 wounded by Tuesday afternoon.

Outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants on Monday night attacked two villages in the Siirt province and massacred 33 villagers, wounding 8 others. The raids, during which a total of 22 houses were set aflame, followed a series of similar attacks that have left 31 civilians and five soldiers dead since Sunday night.

Observers said the attacks appeared to be in retaliation to a Turkish military offensive over the weekend to wipe out guerrilla bases some five kilometers (3 miles) inside northern Iraq. The land and air operations were formally announced Tuesday by the Prime Minister's Office.

Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu said the militants attacked Kalkanlık and Dagtepe in Siirt province Monday night. A local correspondent told the Turkish Daily News that about 70 militants encircled houses in Dagtepe on Monday night and de-

manded all village guards to surrender along with their weapons.

Emergency Law governor Ünal Erkan told reporters that after gathering the villagers in the yard of the mosque, the terrorists sprayed them with bullets. He also added that one infant was grabbed out of his mother's arms and tossed into the flames. "Of our citizens killed in Dagtepe," Erkan said, "10 are children, five are women and eight are men."

Local sources said the villagers had been warned earlier by the PKK against cooperation with Turkish forces and told to drop out of the para-military village guards system.

Turkey currently employs some 48,000 village guards in the region in the form of a local defense system against the PKK. The separatists announced an amnesty for these villagers last year and said those who refused to surrender their weapons would be among the organization's priority targets.

Officials said four terrorists were killed during the recent attacks while Gazioglu claimed that Turkey had broken the backbone of the PKK. He also

revealed that Ankara had increased the number of gendarmerie troops in the region by 40 percent and that mines were being laid at all border areas. "Four big operations against the PKK are continuing in the Southeast," Gazioglu said. "The PKK, not brave enough to come up against our security forces, is now directing its attacks on innocent people -- villagers, children and women."

The PKK has been fighting for self-rule in southeastern and eastern Turkey since 1984. The fighting flared up recently when in May 1993 the organization ended a two-month long unilateral cease-fire following Ankara's refusal to negotiate.

Officials argue that the militants have increased their attacks lately by infiltrating from their bases in northern Iraq and in neighboring Iran. Turkey's state-run television on Monday night quoted an unidentified PKK militant confessing that they had trained in Iran and were in touch with Iranians who also crossed into Turkey for attacks.

The Turkish army in October last year launched a one-month long operation in cooperation with the Iraqi Kurdish peshmergas to wipe out PKK bases in northern Iraq near the Turkish border. Prime Minister Tansu Çiller told her ruling True Path Party (DYP) on Tuesday that the recent cross-border operation had continued "for three or four days" and that "PKK camps had been hit close to Hakkari and in Iraqi territory." She said a series of camps in Iraq had been destroyed along with weapons depots. A statement issued by her office said, on the other hand, that "to eliminate the bandits where they are is a principle for

Turkey" and noted that "such operations will continue when necessary."

At least eleven Iraqi Kurdish villagers died in the weekend Turkish military operation in Iraqi territory, according to Serçhil Kazzaz, the representative of the Iraqi Kurdish opposition group.

Although the PM's statement said the peshmerges had been informed of the operation "in time" and that all measures for coordination had been taken. Kazzaz said they were notified by Turkish authorities about the operation only half an hour before it started. "We do not oppose the operation but we ask them (Turkish army) to be extremely careful with the civilians," he added.

The Prime Ministry's announcement said Turkish authorities were investigating reports "that a few northern Iraqis were wounded and their crops were damaged during the operation" without mention of a single death.

Fighting between government troops and the PKK over the past year has claimed about 2,000 lives from all sides up till now.

Öcalan last week declared an "all-out war" on Turkey in a news conference in Lebanon and said that his fighters would double in number to 30,000 by March.

"The war has reached the point of no return," he said.

"There is genocide going on... We will take harsher measures. In one day 50 people could die."

In a recent statement to the press, Turkey's Chief of Staff Commander

Gen. Doğan Güreş pledged to crush the PKK by spring 1994 the latest and warned that if this did not happen, the implementation of martial law could be considered for the region.

Iranians caught buying uranium in Istanbul

■ Turkey suspects SAVAMA connection

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Police in Istanbul seized 2.5 kilograms of enriched uranium just before it was sold to a group of Iranians believed to be connected to the Iranian intelligence agency SAVAMA, the semi-official Anatolia news agency reported on Tuesday.

The agency said eight people, three of them Iranians, had been placed under arrest in connection with the seizure. Five Turks, apparently selling the uranium were among the detained.

It was the first time in Turkey that the police had captured enriched uranium while it was being traded on the open market.

One of the biggest worries following the

collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing chaos in this country was that its vast stockpile of uranium would begin to be exchanged clandestinely and pass to the hands of terrorists and "undesirable" sources.

Police identified the Iranian suspects as Mohammed Saidi, Davud Ahmedi and Hüseyin Şehrabî. They said the Iranians had agreed to purchase the uranium for 40 thousand dollars per gram. Officials said they suspected the Iranians were connected to the Iranian intelligence and the investigation was continuing.

They added that the uranium was held by the group in a special container but had been transferred to the Büyükçekmece Nuclear Research Center for safety reasons.

Ankara reassures neighbors on water

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey will continue to show care and consideration towards its neighbors in the sharing of water resources, Turkish State minister Mehmet Gölhan said on Tuesday.

Gölhan, who was delivering the opening speech at an international conference entitled, "Water as an element of cooperation and development in the Middle East" said it was Turkey's natural right to use its water potential as it chose. He added however that Turkey would still give the utmost care and consideration, "within the limits of fairness," towards downstream countries in meeting their water requirements. The three day conference in Ankara is being organized jointly by Hacettepe University and the Friedrich Nauman Foundation. Turkey has a long standing dispute with Syria and Iraq on the question of the use of the waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Both countries accuse Turkey of having embarked on massive dam projects within the context of the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP), which they say will eventually deprive them of water, one of the scarcest and, to that extent, most valuable of resources in the generally arid Middle East.

President Süleyman Demirel has angered both Damascus and Baghdad in the past for suggesting that Turkey had a right to its own natural resources -- water in this case -- just as countries in the region have rights over their own resources such as oil.

Syria and Iraq are generally highly disturbed by any suggestion likening water to oil as a resource.

Turkey has, nevertheless, said persistently in the past that it has no intention of depriving its neighbors of water. An-

kara has stuck generally to a commitment it entered into with Damascus in 1987 for allowing 500 cubic meters per second of water to flow from the Euphrates across its borders into Syria.

"The Euphrates and the Tigris are trans-boundary waters that need to be used fairly and optimally. Otherwise it will lead to mutual distrust" State Minister Gölhan said in his speech on Tuesday.

He added that conflict in this area "was of benefit to no one."

Gölhan also pointed to the need of regional countries to reevaluate Ankara's "Peace Pipeline Project," which foresees the transportation of water by pipeline from Turkey through the Middle East to the Persian Gulf.

This project was first put forward by the late President Turgut Özal in the late 1980's and was one of his pet schemes. While some countries, such as Israel, have always been keen on this proposal, others, such as the United Arab Emirates, have said it is not feasible for them because it is cheaper to desalinate and purify sea water.

Arab countries in the Middle East have also been reluctant to endorse the project because of the cooperation it foresees with Israel.

It is thought that the latest peace accord between Israel and the Palestinians may go some way in overcoming this obstacle. "With its 'Peace Pipeline' project, Turkey has also put forward a concrete example of its understanding of cooperation. The main meaning of this project is to prove that water can be a source of cooperation in the region" Gölhan said.

He pointed to the recent peace accord between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization and added that in view of the new political environment created by this accord Turkey saw a great advantage to all the countries in the region reviewing the Peace Pipeline project once more.

"The project is especially relevant today when Israel and the State of Palestine have begun to bury their swords." Gölhan said.

Among the participants at the conference are speakers from Egypt, the European Community, France, Germany, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Syria, Turkey, Britain and the United States.

The conference, the first of its kind in Turkey, aims to review the possibilities of cooperation on the subject of cross boundary waters.

While welcoming the conference as "an important contribution to the understanding of this vital issue," Turkish officials have nevertheless distanced themselves from the gathering, saying the views expressed there do not necessarily represent the views of the Turkish Government, and are not, therefore, binding for Ankara.

The issue of attending the conference has also caused some controversy among Arab countries who are disturbed by the presence of Israel.

But Syria and Jordan, the most likely two countries to be disturbed most by this fact, have sent representatives to the conference.

Iraq was the only country that did not have any representation when the three day gathering opened on Tuesday. The conference's organizers do not expect a late Iraqi participation at this stage.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1993

Kiosk

Accord Lacking in UN-Iraqi Talks

BAGHDAD (Reuters) — Outstanding issues remain after four days of intensive talks between Iraqi officials and United Nations arms inspectors, a senior UN official said Tuesday.

"It is good atmosphere, but there are complex questions," said Rolf Ekeus, chairman of the UN Special Commission on Iraq, after a meeting with the Iranian deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz.

Mr. Ekeus arrived in Baghdad on Friday and said that he would stay for a long as it took to reach an agreement.

The talks are being held in an effort to close the UN file on Iraqi arms and weapons-related activities banned under the terms of the Gulf War cease-fire and to lay down a strict mechanism to monitor and control Baghdad's weapons potential in the future.

The United Nations is asking Iraq for a complete list of its former arms suppliers and comprehensive revelations of its past weapons programs. Iraq has said that it is ready to comply, but it wants a pledge from the Security Council that sanctions against it will be eased or lifted in return.

ANAP executives insist tank fired on house of Ağrı deputy

■ Fact-finding mission claims PM covering up for incident

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Senior executives of Turkey's main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) repeated claims on Tuesday that tanks had opened fire on the house of a party deputy and said an official statement issued earlier by the prime ministry on the issue was bending the truth.

ANAP deputy chairman Hasan Korkmazcan told reporters in Parliament that a fact-finding delegation which visited Ağrı's Dogubeyazit town had concluded that a tank had fired on the house and caused damage.

As the son of the house's original owner, ANAP Ağrı deputy Yaşar Eryılmaz said in a separate address to his group that his family had been loyal to the state for years and that there were no supporters of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) among them.

Eryılmaz's announcement came in reply to a statement by the Prime Ministry which claimed last week that a tank had fired two salvos on the house and a nearby building only after separatist militants opened fire on military barracks from inside.

This statement, said ANAP's acting group chairman Oltan Sungurlu --also a former Justice Minister-- has given more damage (to Turkey) than the tanks opening fire on houses.

Sungurlu argued that the government was insisting on mistaken practices in the region.

ANAP deputies Mehmet Seven and Ali Kemal Başaran told the party's parliament group Tuesday morning that they had established there was no clash with security forces, as claimed by the government. They said no one had fired from inside the house.

Sungurlu argued that the official statement on the issue aimed at falsifying the statements of Mesut Yılmaz "and do not reflect the truth."

Charente Libre — 6 octobre 1993

■ Turquie

Une quarantaine de civils tués par les Kurdes

Trente-sept civils ont été tués et une cinquantaine d'autres blessés dans la nuit de lundi à mardi par des rebelles kurdes de Turquie qui ont attaqué le village de Daltepe, province de Siirt (sud-est), et une autre localité voisine. Il s'agit d'une action attribuées au Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) qui mène une lutte armée depuis 1984 contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde pour créer le « Kurdistan indépendant ».

Deux groupes de rebelles du PKK forts de 30 à 40 hommes sont arrivés lundi soir vers minuit (11.H00 heure de

Paris) au village de Daltepe, et à Kalkancik tout près de ce village, dans la région de Sirvan (Siirt) pour demander aux villageois de rallier le PKK.

Après le refus des habitants de Daltepe, les militants du PKK ont ouvert le feu sur les villageois et attaqué leurs maisons avec des roquettes et grenades avant de les incendier.

Les forces de l'ordre ont déclenché une opération d'envergure dans la région pour retrouver les assaillants. M. Unal Erkan, le super-préfet de Diyarbakir, chargé de la coordination de la lutte contre le PKK, s'est rendu sur place.

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Kurdes-Irak

Bagdad veut chasser 600 familles kurdes de Mossoul, selon un responsable kurde

PARIS, 6 oct (AFP) - Les autorités irakiennes ont demandé à 600 familles kurdes résidant à Mossoul (nord de l'Irak) de quitter cette ville avant mardi prochain, a indiqué mercredi le représentant en France du "gouvernement" régional du Kurdistan d'Irak Mohamad Ismaïl, dans un communiqué à l'AFP.

Ces familles ont été informées le 2 octobre de cette décision qui "entre dans le cadre de la politique d'arabisation menée par le régime raciste de Bagdad contre le peuple kurde", précise le communiqué.

Ces autorités irakiennes ont donné le choix à ces familles de se rendre là où elles le souhaitent, à l'exception des trois gouvernorats dont Bagdad, ajoute-t-il.

Selon M. Ismaïl, cette pratique ne "constitue pas une nouveauté de la part d'un régime qui a tué plus de 250.000 Kurdes entre 1988 et 1991 et qui a détruit 4.500 localités kurdes afin de modifier la composition démographique de régions du Kurdistan et en chasser ses habitants d'origine kurde".

Le communiqué appelle "l'opinion publique internationale pour dénoncer cette politique inhumaine conduite par Saddam Hussein (...) en contradiction avec la résolution 688 du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU".

Le représentant kurde en France est membre de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) qui contrôle, avec le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PKD), le Kurdistan d'Irak depuis 1991.

Dans un autre communiqué, l'UPK s'interroge, par ailleurs, sur le récent rapprochement irako-iranien tout en dénonçant les bombardements de la part de l'Iran et de l'Irak contre les populations kurdes.

hm/eb

AFP 062101 OCT 93

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Tirqui-Kurdes-France

Le Comité du Kurdistan appelle à l'arrêt de la vente d'armes françaises à la Turquie

PARIS, 6 oct (AFP) - Le Comité du Kurdistan (proche du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan - PKK) a demandé mercredi à la France, dans un communiqué publié à Paris, de renoncer à ses ventes d'armes à la Turquie.

Appelant les "organisations démocratiques et humanitaires à intervenir pour que la vente d'armes par la France à la Turquie s'arrête", le Comité du Kurdistan a déploré ce projet conclu à l'occasion de la récente visite à Ankara du ministre français de la Défense François Léotard.

Alors que "la guerre menée entre les forces armées turques et la population kurde s'aggrave de plus en plus", ce "geste de collaboration" va encourager Ankara à "intensifier sa lutte d'extermination contre le peuple Kurde", estime le Comité.

M. Léotard a fait état vendredi dernier de "signes encourageants" pour la prochaine conclusion d'un contrat portant sur la vente de vingt hélicoptères Cougar Super-Puma à la Turquie.

Le Comité du Kurdistan estime que le gouvernement français devrait plutôt "chercher la voie d'une solution politique et démocratique au problème kurde" et demande à la France d'aider à la conclusion d'un cessez-le-feu entre la Turquie et le PKK.

hm/jl

AFP 061422 OCT 93

turkish daily news / Thursday, October 7, 1993

PKK swings to more radicalism

- *Öcalan defends village raids, says grassroots want radical actions from PKK and DEP*
- *Separatists prepare to create alternative parliament by next year*
- *New orders issued for metropolitan attacks in form of massive retaliation*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Statements made over the past two weeks by Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan confirm expectations that this organization, believed to have a growing force of around 10,000 fighters, has resolved on radical policies once again.

More than 7,200 people have died since the PKK launched its first attacks as part of an armed campaign for self-rule in 1984 and even before Öcalan declared "all-out war" on Turkey last week, the death toll for the past year had exceeded 2,000. Öcalan was quoted by the pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem saying on Tuesday that the people wanted radical activities not only from his organization but also from Kurdish deputies in Parliament. In his instructions issued on Sept. 18 and published later in the official PKK Serxwebun magazine, the militant leader noted that his struggle had entered a different era and "tactics in the form of retaliation" would be adopted. He said the PKK would retaliate now in metropolitan cities and listed the new targets. These targets, he said, included rich markets, money markets, gold markets, luxury districts, places of luxury entertainment and touristic places. He said these attacks would be "in return for a country which has been devastated... In return for that, devastated metropolises."

On Wednesday, coinciding with a new wave of village raids by the organization in the Southeast region, Öcalan defended attacks on civilian targets -- saying it was in the form of retaliation. Interviewed by the Özgür Gündem and denouncing arguments that certain PKK activities were alienating the Kurdish and Turkish people, Öcalan a.k.a. Apo, argued it was their right "to evacuate some fascist villages."

His statement came after PKK militants killed over 60 people in 24 hours of violence, leaving behind more than a dozen dead children.

"All of Kurdistan is being evacuated. Is to evacuate some fascist villages an alienation of the people?" Öcalan bluntly asked. He called on Turkish critics of his organization to "go and pick on the (Turkish) special war" instead of discussing damages caused by the PKK.

Observers believe Öcalan's recent statement is a final step in the organization's turn to radical policies and that the civilian massacres of the 1987-1990 period will be revived. Already, three separate villagers have been raided and their populations have been massacred without differentiating between men or women, or children and the elderly.

The PKK campaign for 1993 is underway at full steam as if to prove baseless Turkey's military commander's claims that the organization will be crushed by next year. And, in the words of Öcalan, "despite torture and murders, the people's support (of the PKK) has increased."

Observers say there are three major developments in the near future which will inevitably affect the PKK's future policy. The situation of the PKK-supported Democracy Party (DEP) and Turkish attempts to prosecute it; the upcoming March local elections and winter conditions.

The organization is aware of Turkish plans to cut it off from supplies and crackdown on mountain units as of this month and sees its survival, at least until March 1994, vital. In this context, spreading fear in the hearts of the local people and minimizing cooperation with the state has become a priority target once again. The aim is to cut off as many village guards as it can from supporting Turkey's operation. Thus, the target villages hit by PKK militants are selected from among those who have accepted state-issued weapons and who have been warned by the organization -- at least once -- to drop their weapons.

One priority on Öcalan's agenda is the situation of the DEP, which has been accused frequently by Turks of being a pro-PKK party. Apo's recent statements clarify a point repeated by the TDN over the past months: That he is not pleased with the DEP and sees it only as an instrument.

The PKK leader has made it clear this week that he will not tolerate any individual activities of DEP parliamentarians and that he expects all of them to fall in line with radicalism. Some say that between the lines, Öcalan is actually giving signals to Turkish leftists and implying that the DEP has failed to work out as a Kurdish party but could do good in raising Turkish issues on the agenda.

In his recent interview with Özgür Gündem, Öcalan criticized DEP deputies from failing to resist "Turkish chauvinist pressures" directed at them. "At this point," he said, "the masses got more disturbed. They asked why the DEP was not taking a more radical attitude."

He also lashed out at DEP deputies for living a life of luxury, failing to be together with their people and failing to come up with alternative radical policies.

According to Apo, it is true that DEP is a legal party but none of its leaders come from "a period of struggle." More openly, he does not see them fit to play their role of voicing Kurdish demands.

Öcalan also believes that the state is using the DEP and trying to create an alternative to the PKK which will force the struggle to surrender. "In other words, they want to use them like political village guards," he says.

The PKK leader also puts forth the conditions of PKK support for the DEP in the future: "If the executives turn to a radical, revolutionary and democratic line," he says, "we will support them."

But he also has a warning: "The deputies are not able to reply to the demands of the people. The people want them to withdraw, but they are sticking to their seats even in a stronger way. This is not only a step taken backwards but a failure to meet popular demands."

What Öcalan exactly wants from the DEP is not yet clear although he has said openly that his movement is to support all "revolutionary and democratic candidates" during an election whether they be from DEP or not. He also added that no one could be elected without PKK support.

Before the winter sets in, the PKK leader wants to get stronger, attract more popular support to the organization and retaliate as hard as he can to Turkish military campaigns in the region. In the words of a local source in Diyarbakır, "much blood is to be shed after this. There will be a stronger campaign against the village guards. When they (Turkey) burn villages, the PKK will do the same." On Monday night, PKK militants burned a total of 22 houses in Siirt. A day later, security forces were accused of burning down a complete village in Agri.

What is evident policy-wise is that the PKK intends not only to boost its armed activities in the region and throughout Turkey but also to establish authority.

Öcalan's own orders dated Sept. 18 are headlined: "This era is one of freedom and establishing authority."

In the past two years, the authority put into practice in the region has been in the form mainly of forcing village guards to resign from their duties -- or die. Or, to force locals to pay a certain amount of "tax" to the organization. The main presence of PKK authority though has been

militant checkpoints put up on main roads.

Recently, there have been additions to these.

1. All provincial party leaders have been ordered to resign from their posts or be put among "revolutionary targets." 2. All locals have been banned from joining parties in the region.

3. The distribution and sales of all Istanbul-based newspapers have been banned.

These, added to the so-called "Peoples' Courts" which have pulled away thousands of complaints from official courts, are only part of the organization's authority drive.

As of this month, more "regulations" are coming.

The PKK Dersim Provincial Command, falling in line with other commands, has issued a statement recently which -- in addition to those listed above -- refers to new orders and bans. Accordingly,

1. The people are banned from watching any television station. 2. To monitor whether they are listening to these or-

ders, all locals will pull down their television antennas and not even open their sets to listen to the news.

3. All schools which are part of the "colonialist assimilation system" will be closed down and no one will serve there.

4. All teachers will immediately abandon their jobs. 5. Gambling in any form is banned.

6. Excessive use of alcohol is banned and it is a crime to become drunk.

In some cities, the PKK has already banned the sales and use of alcohol. The fine imposed on alcoholic beverage sellers by the PKK is as high as TL 50 million.

And, now the PKK is telling the people in Ankara that the people in the region will vote only for those candidates approved by the organization.

What lies behind all of these?

Looking at Öcalan's recent statements, it becomes evident that the PKK is determined to create an alternative "national assembly" in 1994 at the latest and this assembly will produce "policies based on the guerillas."

Apo recently said the March local

elections were very important because they would take the form of a hidden referendum of support for the organization. But this is as much importance as he can give to the public poll.

"Provincial national assemblies and preparation committees will together start activities as soon as possible... We had actually wanted to complete this era in 1993," Öcalan told the Gündem recently.

He believes that like the Turkish Parliament which was created while at war, this so-called Kurdish parliament will also take shape during war.

According to him, the Tansu Çiller government has completely surrendered to military policies and it has put all of its hopes on the success of military operations until the March elections. Until then, the PKK will retaliate in full to Turkey's military campaign, becoming more and more radical. It will continue with its village raids and with the campaign on village guards. More important, it is expected to spill this undeclared war to other parts of the country -- in quest for full authority and say over developments in the Southeast region.

Friday, October 8, 1993

turkish daily news

Reuters: Kurds say Turkish forces

■ 729 villages evacuated since October 1991 general elections emptying villages

■ Witnesses say troops shelling, burning down villages

By Aliza Marcus

Reuters

YAMAÇ- Tractor carts piled with belongings bump along the dirt track out of this village in southeast Turkey, where state forces are battling rebel Kurds.

The villagers, hoping to move in with friends and relatives in the nearby town of Cizre, blamed the security forces, not the rebels, for forcing them to abandon their bullet-riddled homes. "Every night, for months, the army has shelled us from the hills," said a 19-year-old man as he helped his father salvage wood from the roof of their house in Yamaç.

"Last week, the soldiers came at night and told us we had two hours to leave or else they would shoot everyone. What else can we do but leave our homes?" he said.

Turkish forces have been locked in a struggle with the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) which has cost more than 7,200 lives in the region since 1984.

Villages such as Yamaç, Dersek and Küçük Dersek, not far from PKK strongholds in the Cudi mountains, often get in the way.

Many villages in the foothills lie empty, some in charred ruins. Former resi-

dents, now living in Cizre, say Turkish troops and state-paid Kurdish village guards made them leave. Turkish officials deny that security forces attack villages, but local human rights activists and journalists believe the tactic is part of a tough campaign to break support for the PKK. "But if they burn a house, or kill a villager, then the next person thinks his only option is to become a guerrilla and fight in the mountains," said Meral Daniş, an official in the Diyarbakır branch of the Turkish Human Rights Association.

She and her colleagues say 729 southeastern villages have been emptied since Turkey's general election in October 1991.

They say villages which refuse to take guns from the state to fight the PKK or which are suspected of giving food to the guerrillas are frequent targets of intimidation.

"The soldiers can't find the guerrillas, so instead they attack us, accusing us of being terrorists and throwing us out of our homes," said a man in Çağlayan, which residents said had been repeatedly shelled from a nearby army base in recent weeks. Last year Turkish soldiers burned many houses in Çağlayan, a

once-lush settlement of spacious two-storey stone dwellings and fertile gardens. About 20 families out of an original 60 remain in the few houses still standing.

At night, people take refuge in a tunnel which cuts through a small hill to shelter from Turkish bullets and tank shells. "Somebody must tell our story -- how we have no security, no freedom to live," shouted one man, pointing to an unexploded shell lying in a stream.

The government-appointed district governor of Cizre, Ömer Adar, said it was the PKK which was intimidating villagers. "The terrorists go to villages and force people to give food or threaten to kill them," he told Reuters, adding that the state compensated people if their homes were accidentally destroyed in clashes between troops and guerrillas.

Villagers said PKK fighters would sometimes demand food from them. But they blamed troops for driving them out and said they had never received any government money for damaged property. "The soldiers would come and beat us, swear at us, telling us we had to be village guards -- or leave," said a man from the now-empty hamlet of Küçük Dersek, evacuated this month. "Why

would we want to take guns and attack the guerrillas? They are fighting for us and they never hurt us," he said. On the main road leading from Cizre towards the big regional city of Diyarbakır stands a line of shattered restaurants, petrol stations, shops and burned-out trucks.

Their owners, lounging amid broken glass and bullet holes, said soldiers destroyed their businesses in late August in retaliation for a PKK attack on a nearby military base. "If human rights come to this region, perhaps one day I will reopen, but maybe I will just move out," said a restaurant owner. He said soldiers had visited his village, Kocapınar, and threatened to burn houses unless the men became village guards. Kurds make up an estimated one-fifth of Turkey's 60 million people, but are not recognized as an ethnic minority. Turkey says they have the same rights as any other citizens. Kurds in the east and southeast complain more about the tactics of the security forces than about the continued ban on Kurdish-language education, radio and television.

"There is no right to life in this region any more," said Ali Dinçer, chairman of the Cizre branch of the Human Rights Association.

"I can't say clearly what people want, but in general, if they have a choice between life and death, they will choose life and they will take up guns to fight for it."

Gazioğlu: PKK tries to frighten village-guards

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioğlu said on Thursday that the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) aimed to frighten paramilitary village guards and force them to resign. Gazioğlu's statement came amid reports from southeastern Turkey that 27 more people had been killed in fresh fighting among village guards, security forces and PKK militants. Officials quoted by Anatolian news agency said pro-government village guards killed 15 PKK militants in Bingöl province after the terrorists killed four villagers. Three village guards were killed in the clash.

Security forces killed five PKK guerrillas in a separate shootout near the town of Şemdinli, near the Iranian border, said a statement from the emergency rule regional governor's office in Diyarbakır. It did not say when the incident occurred. Gazioğlu said on Thursday that a Turkish offensive over the weekend to wipe out guerrilla bases

some five kilometers inside northern Iraq had ended. The minister said, "There is no possibility of an offensive operation against PKK camps in northern Iraq." He added that a meeting of regional governors would be held in Diyarbakır on Monday to review the security situation.

More than 7,200 people have died since 1984 when the PKK launched its armed campaign for self-rule in south-eastern Turkey.

PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan declared "all-out war" on Turkey last week and said up to 50 people would die every day. In three separate raids since Sunday night, the PKK killed more than 60 villagers, including women and children, on the grounds that they accepted state-issued weapons to fight the guerrillas.

Turkey currently employs around 47,000 guards in the region where there are 180,000 security personnel fighting an approximate force of about 10,000 PKK militants.

Iran denies trying to buy uranium in Turkey

Reuters

NICOSIA- Iran has denied Turkish reports that its agents might have tried to buy uranium smuggled from Russia in Istanbul.

Deputy Foreign Minister Alaeddin Boroujerdi told the Turkish ambassador in Tehran, Korkmaz Haktanır, that the reports were a plot to damage relations between the two neighbours,

Iran's IRNA news agency said.

Boroujerdi said Iran was ready to cooperate with Turkish security organisations over the case of four Iranians, who Istanbul police said were arrested with four others on Tuesday when buying 2.5 kg (5.5 lbs) of uranium from a Turkish economics professor at a clothing shop he owned.

An Istanbul police official said a

Russian visitor had brought the uranium to Turkey. It was analysed at a nuclear research centre and found not to be weapons-grade material. Turkey's Anatolian news agency said police were trying to find out if the four Iranians had links with Tehran's secret service.

Iran denies Western reports that it is trying to develop nuclear weapons.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Vingt personnes, dont 8 militaires, tuées par des rebelles kurdes

ANKARA, 8 oct (AFP) — Vingt personnes — 8 militaires, 8 civils et 4 miliciens pro-gouvernementaux — ont été tuées par des rebelles kurdes de Turquie dans la nuit de jeudi à vendredi dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a rapporté l'agence semi-officielle turque Anatolie.

Ce bilan porte à au moins 140 le nombre des personnes tuées dans des actions du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et des représailles de l'armée depuis le début de la semaine.

CE/hc/ac

AFP 081442 OCT 93

Why the blood flows over an old silk route

AS THE sun sets on this mainly Kurdish-speaking city that was once a camel stop on the silk route between Europe and China, the streets fall silent.

In the daytime you can see the heavy military presence, the armoured personnel carriers that point their guns along the crowded shopping streets. But after dark it is harder to see the security forces and their shadowy secret agents, who have free reign as they hunt for members of the terrorist Kurdistan People's Party (PKK). Very few ordinary citizens venture out.

Tension is rising in Turkey as the struggle between government forces and the Marxist PKK polarises society. From interviews with senior Turkish officials in Ankara and in Kurdish-speaking Turkey it is clear that the government does not know what to do to keep control of the situation. The underground PKK seems better organised than ever. Despite frequent terrorist acts it wins approval abroad, and has gained favourable publicity in Europe by capturing and releasing a group of European tourists.

The government has moved some way towards accepting some of the aspirations of the ten million Kurds. It has lifted the ban on the Kurdish language and on Kurdish newspapers and books. But still the killing intensifies. Yet the coalition government, headed by Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, dares not go further in accommodating the demands of the PKK.

"There would be outrage if the government allowed broadcasting in Kurdish and Kurdish curricula in the schools," said Mustafa Aksin, a former Turkish ambassador to the United Nations. "We are a centralised country. We have a very strong military. They are keeping this country together and they would not accept it."

The PKK is making the most of the opportunities presented by the rise of regional nationalism in Europe. It is well organised both in Turkey and among the Kurdish communities in western Europe. Sanctions against Iraq have further impoverished this wild, mountainous and backward region, turning it into an even more fertile ground for PKK recruitment. The struggle is brutal. The regional governor, Unal

Ian Mather from Diyarbakir in Anatolya, Turkey, on the dirty battle between government forces and Marxist Kurds fighting for two very different ideals

Erkan, says that since the beginning of the year 711 civilians, including women and children, and 306 members of the security forces have been killed by the PKK in south east Anatolya. During the same period 1,048 PKK members have died. Erkan governs an area with 5.5 million people of whom around two million are Kurds. From his inside jacket pocket he produced a loose-leaf notebook in which he had written up-to-date details of the atrocities that occur daily.

He said that the day before my arrival the PKK had ambushed a minibus and taken away eight passengers. It was not known whether they were dead or alive. In the two days before that they had burned a minibus and abducted the driver and assistant, and had also attacked a village. He then produced a horrific video and some colour photographs of murdered women and children.

"All these people were killed because they refused to join the PKK," he said. "Usually the PKK attacks in villages or in the mountains. They burn schools, health centres and road-making equipment, and they put mines on the roads. They force people to give them money and food."

Astonishingly one of the photographs he produced, showing a dead baby, happened to be identical to one which had been dis-

tributed by the PKK in Brussels. The PKK's version is that the baby was one of many innocents murdered by secret death squads run by the security forces.

However, the Turkish government maintains that it is locked in a bitter struggle against a ruthless enemy. "It is impossible to solve the problem by negotiations, only by military force", said Erkan. "We don't negotiate with terrorists. They are not just seeking cultural identity. They want a separate state."

The governor said there were 3,500 PKK members in south-east Turkey. In addition there were 1,500 in camps in northern Iraq, 500 in Syria and between 500 and 600 in Iran.

"It is said that some foreign tourists were kidnapped," he said. "But I don't believe that. Tourists normally go to cities. In the big cities there's no danger. Why did these people go to the mountains? Everybody knows there are terrorists in the mountains. I believe that the tourists went to the camps."

But many local people say they are more afraid of the security forces than of the PKK. This view was shared by a group of local Kurdish leaders from Batman, an oil refinery city in this region, whom I met in Ankara. "The PKK are not from somewhere beyond the border. They are the children of our nation, who speak and

know our language," one of the leaders told me. "They know the difficulties we face. But the secret services say that every Kurd is a terrorist. That's why our children go to the mountains." The local leaders were among 300 from Batman who had travelled to the Turkish capital to complain to parliamentary leaders about the situation.

They said that in two years 200 "Kurdish patriots" had been killed by "secret forces" in Batman province. The latest victim was Mehmet Sincar, a deputy of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), who was murdered in Batman.

"All these people were killed in broad daylight," said one man. "People believe they were killed by counter-guerrilla groups." Police arrived at the scene within seconds, but there were never any investigations by the security forces, he said. Eye-witnesses were too afraid to speak.

The elders produced their party membership cards to demonstrate that they were from a cross-section of parties. However, Erkan said he did not know that 300 elders from Batman had gone to Ankara to protest. He blamed internecine fighting between the Marxist PKK and the Islamic fundamentalist Hizbollah. He claimed that the rival factions were killing each other and blaming the security forces.

Asked about the situation in Batman, he said: "If you walk along a muddy road your shoes will be muddy. We are trying to clean the road." He agreed that Batman was a muddy road.

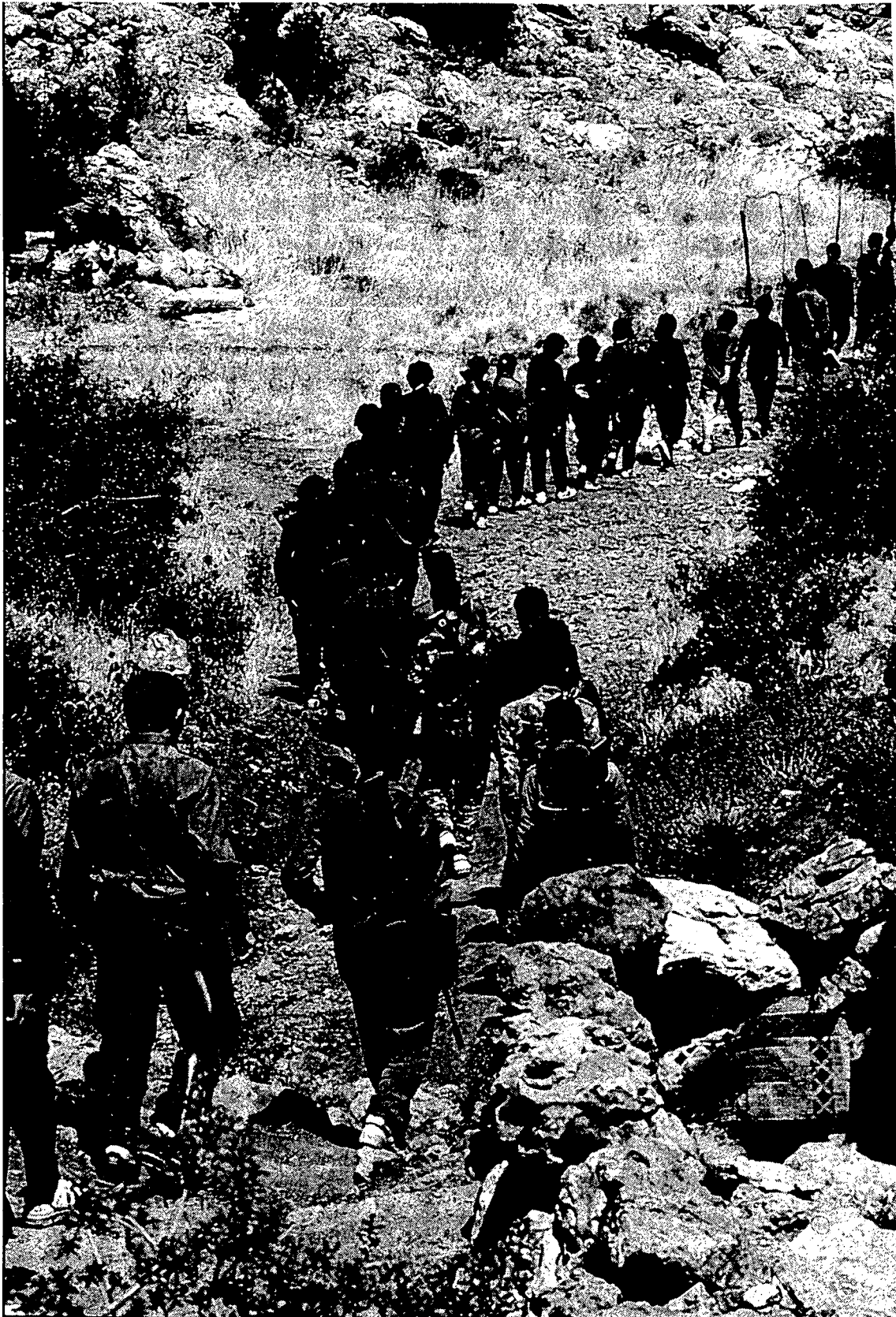
Equally worrying is the prospect that legal supporters of the Kurdish cause may be driven underground. Since the October 1991 elections 54 Kurdish politicians and activists, and 15 Kurdish journalists have been murdered. Two weeks ago the chairman of the DEP, Yasr Kaya, was arrested, and the Constitutional Court opened cases against the pro-Kurdish newspaper *Ozgür Gundem*, which he owns, in an attempt to close it.

Victims of human rights violations can take little comfort from the actions of the Turkish parliament's human rights committee, which was set up two-and-a-half years ago. Out of 3,200 applications it is pursuing only 200. So far not one person has been successfully prosecuted, despite the fact that it is common knowledge



Armed struggle: Marxist ideology on the walls of a PKK camp

PETERSON / GAMMA / FSP



PKK trainees: "if you walk along a muddy road, your shoes will be muddy. We want to clean the road"

that torture is routinely practised by police in Turkey. It is as though a deliberate attempt is being made to suffocate the legal Kurdish movement. The Turkish government finds itself in a genuine dilemma. If they give any more "concessions" to the Kurds there is a very real fear of a backlash from the Turkish population, for which regionalism

means separatism. Aksin, the former envoy to the UN, said: "In our minds all regionalism smacks of secession. South east Anatolya is an impoverished region. Because of sanctions this area has become even more wretched. The local people used to take their sheep up into the mountains, but they cannot do so now because of the PKK." To try to

rectify matters the Turkish government is building a vast complex of dams for hydro-electric power and irrigation which it hopes will "put a wedge" between the PKK and the local population. But that is a long way into the future. Meanwhile the killing intensifies. But who is really responsible? It is impossible for the outsider to tell.

turkish daily news / Saturday, October 9, 1993

Courts take action against writers on Kurdish issue

- Yaşar Kaya charged with spreading 'separatist propaganda'
- Award-winning Gunay Aslan imprisoned on Friday
- Professor Yalçın Küçük put on trial
- Arrest warrant issued for İsmail Beşikçi

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey's State Security Courts (DGM) this week have taken what appears to be simultaneous steps to imprison three of the country's most prominent activists and writers on the Kurdish scene, only for expressing their opinions on various occasions.

Yaşar Kaya, held in prison in the capital Ankara for the past three weeks, was finally charged on Thursday with "separatist propaganda," and now faces a jail term of up to five years. İsmail Beşikçi, a Turkish sociologist-author of many books on the history and culture of the Kurds, was placed on a police search warrant with a court order for his arrest.

Another DGM prosecutor demanded Turkish Professor Yalçın Küçük to be imprisoned as well.

Meanwhile, Gunay Aslan, a writer who recently won the Yunus Nadi literature award for her book "33 Bullets," was arrested in Istanbul.

According to reports reaching the TDN, the Ankara DGM prosecution has prepared its investigation of Kaya and has concluded that in a speech he made at the Iraqi Kurdistan Democrat Party (KDP) congress in northern Iraq, he had praised separatism. Kaya's speech was published in Turkish newspapers, but legal sources say the court has no tape of the speech or any direct witnesses. They argue that the charges are based only on press reports.

If Kaya is found guilty, according to the relevant articles of the controversial law to struggle against terrorism, he can be sentenced to two to five years of imprisonment and fined up to TL 100 million. It is not yet clear when Kaya's hearing is to take place.

As for Beşikçi, this Turkish writer and accredited sociologist who has written a number of books on Kurdish history is now being searched for. Investigations have been launched of 22 of Beşikçi's research books, but the case against him at the Istanbul DGM, based on his 1992-dated book "Thoughts on the PKK and the Cost of Freedom," ended recently.

Accordingly, Beşikçi was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 41 million. The sentence was immediately ratified by the Court of Appeals, which also decided that the author should be placed under arrest.

Sources said 22 of Beşikçi's 31 books are the subject of investigation and that the writer is being charged in 60 separate cases, mainly for separatist propaganda.

Another development this week was the hearing of Professor Yalçın Küçük, who may face arrest if found guilty for his new book "Conversation in a Kurdish Garden," which contains a long interview with Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan.

An Ankara State Security Court prosecutor reportedly said the book was "bad in the current political conjecture" and is using pictures of Küçük taken under a PKK flag and a picture of Öcalan on the back of the book, as evidence.

Earlier, Küçük had been caught by the Istanbul police while entering Turkey after an interview with Öcalan in Syria but he was acquitted. All of Küçük's documents, photographs and film were seized and given to the state-run Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) to be broadcast without his permission. Another case against Küçük is related to a speech he made on April 29 at a cultural center. His hearing is set for November. As for Aslan, officials said she was placed under custody on Thursday while going through passport control at Bodrum, on her way to Greece. They said she was placed under arrest on Friday by an Istanbul State Security Court. She is expected to be tried at the same court on charges of separatist propaganda "against the indivisibility of the state."

Aslan's award-winning "33 Bullets" was earlier seized by the police along with her other book, "The Truncheon Republic," mainly concentrating on human rights violations in Turkey.

HR groups protest Turkish violations

Reuters

NEW YORK- Two international human rights groups said on Thursday that the world has remained indifferent as torture, assassinations and other abuses have surged in Turkey. The complaints from Helsinki Watch and Physicians for Human Rights were made in letters sent to officials of the Council of Europe which is due to convene on October 9-10 for a summit in Vienna.

Helsinki Watch, a human rights monitoring and advocacy group, said in a letter to the council that it had seen "appalling torture inflicted during police interrogations."

The group also mentioned a failure by Turkey to investigate "the assassination of hundreds of Kurdish leaders in southeast Turkey."

Helsinki Watch noted that the government is faced with a separatist guerrilla war being waged in southeast Turkey by the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK)

and extremist groups in western Turkey.

It said PKK kills civilians and security forces while groups in western Turkey kill police and government officials, but that "unfortunately the government has chosen to deal with these problems by shooting and killing suspects in violation of international standards and agreements."

The organisation called on the council to make efforts "to bring Turkey's abusive practices to the forefront of international concern and hopefully, to end them."

In the physicians' letter they noted reports of hundreds of unsolved killings, the murder and torture of physicians and instances where physicians, "voluntarily or coerced," were involved in torture of detainees in Turkey.

Helsinki Watch, with offices in New York and Washington, is affiliated with the International Helsinki Federation in Vienna. Physicians for Human Rights is based in Boston.

PKK no threat to Turkish democracy, OECD official says

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A senior official from the 24-member Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) said that the separatist terrorist organization, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), represents no threat to Turkey's democratic image abroad. "Turkey's general creditworthiness among the developed group of nations is indisputably strong. The terrorist PKK cannot tarnish this image," Werner Flandorfer, OECD director of the Turkey Consortium, has told Anatolia news agency. He commented that the PKK is a burden on the shoulders of Turkey and the international community today is fully aware of the fact that this organization has truly terrorist aspirations. "The PKK cannot cast doubts on the legitimacy of Turkish democracy. It cannot change favorable international opinion of Turkey, which, with its economic and political might, is an element of peace in its region," Flandorfer told Anatolia. He noted that Turkey is strong enough to solve its economic problems despite some chronic difficulties. "Turkey's rapid economic growth is the best indication of this."

FROM THE COLUMNS

Atrocity on record

From an Oct. 8 article titled "Films of Atrocity in Vienna Today" by **MİLLİYET's Yalçın Doğan**.

The recent village raids, the vicious massacre of children, old folk, and women. The beastly burning of children (yet to call them beasts is an insult to animals). So many murders, attacks. Video recordings of such incidents are being taken by Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to Vienna today, to be submitted to the prime ministers of about 30 European Council member countries.

A first-ever summit of state heads and prime ministers of European Council member countries is being convened in Vienna today.

Why is it that the European Council decided to hold such high-level talks?

The recent developments in Europe, the questions posed by the establishment of democratic regimes in East European countries following the collapse of the Soviet Union, consideration of new applications for membership to the council, solutions to problems of increasing xenophobia and racism in Europe are among issues to be debated at the summit.

Another important issue in Vienna is "Protection of Minority Rights." With draft resolutions, Austria, the Netherlands, and perhaps Germany are planning to put Turkey in a tight spot regarding the Kurdish question.

Turkey, Britain, France, and Greece are against such resolutions.

Austrian tricks

Turkey is prepared for Vienna because Austrian authorities seem to have reverted to their old ways as regards the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) activity [in their country]. For instance, the Austrian government is said to allow the PKK to stage a demonstration in front of the venue for the summit. There is another

scandalous permission granted [to the PKK by the Austrian government].

Some time ago, the European representative of the ERNK, the PKK's popular front organization, held a press meeting in Vienna. And where in Vienna? At the Austrian Association of Journalists and Writers.

Usually, the headquarters of this association is the scene of press meetings by Cabinet members, political party representatives, prominent names in art and business circles.

Though an autonomous organization formally, the Austrian government exerts considerable behind-the-scenes influence on the association.

The Turkish ambassador asks the association for an explanation of their conduct.

"We have previously informed the Interior Ministry of the press meeting.

They told us that the activities of the said organization were allowed in Austria," was the answer. What's more, the building that organizations affiliated with the PKK occupy is the property of the Socialist Party, which is currently in power. Which means Austria and the baby-murdering monster are walking arm in arm.

The atrocity shall be made public

Although the summit is scheduled to debate a number of issues concerning member countries, discussion of "minority rights" could leave Ankara face to face with provocation of every imaginable sort.

As a preventive measure, PKK atrocities have been documented on film. Turkey is determined to prove that no connection exists between the concept of "minority rights" and such barbarity.

If the issue is brought up at the summit, Prime Minister Çiller is expected to submit the records of PKK atrocities to Europe's leaders, in order to smack in the face those that keep crying for human rights. When they see the visual proof of the beastly atrocities committed by the PKK, one wonders whether they will still manage to justify terrorism and violence.

PKK atrocities continue: Militants gun down 4 teachers

■ More than 20 die in one day

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which killed more than 60 people, including women and children in three separate raids this week, gunned down four teachers in the Southeast region on Friday.

Officials said the PKK raided an elementary school housing complex in the Pirinçli village of Pertek, Tunceli, on Friday and sprayed the teachers with bullets. Four were killed while another was seriously wounded, they said.

Earlier this week, the PKK command for Tunceli issued a statement demanding that all teachers resign from their positions and all schools close down. The statement said those who refused would be placed among the "revolutionary targets" of the organization, meaning they would be killed.

Along with the teachers killed in Tunceli, the death toll in the Southeast for Friday was more than 20 again, as in previous days.

Officials said three children died in Senova, Şırnak, while playing with a rocket that had apparently landed in a field but failed to explode.

In the Çatak district of the eastern province of Van, officials said a late night attack by PKK militants on the Ovecik and Kiyıcak villages, as well as the Büyükağaç gendarmerie station, resulted in the death of eight soldiers and four village guards.

Officials said three soldiers and three villagers wounded in the attacks were removed in military helicopters and had been treated at a military hospital in Van.

In the Güngüş district of Diyarbakır, officials said the militants raided a house and killed three people.

They reportedly entered the house, ordered İbrahim Akmeşe and his two sons outside, and gunned them down. After setting the house on fire, the terrorists escaped.

Pro-Kurdish newspaper tests Turkish press freedom

By Metin Demirsar

Reuters

ISTANBUL- For its readers, the pro-Kurdish newspaper *Özgür Gündem* is a flickering beacon of free speech. For the Turkish authorities, it is the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) which is waging a guerrilla war for an independent Kurdish state in southeast Turkey.

Given the restrictions on freedom of expression which have lingered since the 1980 military coup, *Özgür Gündem's* troubles are less surprising than its ability to publish at all. "*Özgür Gündem* is the PKK daily," said an official at the government Press and Information Department. "The newspaper feeds its readers on exaggerations and sensational news." Armed forces chief General Doğan Güreş refers to *Özgür Gündem* and the leftist daily *Aydınlık* as the "terrorist press". Since the Istanbul-based *Özgür Gündem* went on sale in April 1992, prosecutors have tried to gag it on the grounds that it publishes separatist propaganda on behalf of the PKK. More than 70 indictments have been brought against its staff.

Its chief editor, Gurbetelli Ersöz, 29, spends several days a week at the state security court embroiled in legal battles. A former university chemistry lecturer, she says the court cases are aimed at silencing information on the Kurdish cause. "Officials want us to toe the government line, like other mainstream Turkish newspapers. They do not want us to publish what is really happening in the southeast," she told Reuters. More than 7,200 people have been killed in Turkey since the PKK, claiming to speak for the

country's estimated 12 million Kurds, began its armed secessionist campaign in 1984. Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's government has promised to expand democratic rights and stop human rights violations, but such talk does not inspire optimism at *Özgür Gündem*. Six of the paper's journalists, including Musa Anter, 74, a prominent Kurdish author, have been victims of unsolved murders. They are among 17 journalists killed in Turkey since 1990. Nevertheless, *Özgür Gündem*, published in Turkish, managed an average daily circulation of 28,000 in one week in September. The newspaper has enraged the authorities with reports that Turkish troops have used chemical weapons against PKK rebels, razed Kurdish villages and, on one occasion, dragged the body of a PKK fighter behind an armoured troop carrier.

Turkish officials have denied all the reports and accused the paper of falsifying photographs it published as evidence. The officials also said the murdered *Özgür Gündem* reporters were Kurdish militants, not bona fide journalists.

"The murder of journalists worries us," said Necmi Tanyolaç, president of the Istanbul-based Journalists Association. He said that reporting in the mainly Kurdish southeast was increasingly difficult, partly because of lack of cooperation from officials.

Oktay Ekşi, president of the Istanbul-based Press Council and columnist for the big *Hürriyet* newspaper, said the council felt unable to defend journalists who were also PKK militants. It was intolerable for *Özgür Gündem* to refer to Turkey as the "enemy republic", he said.

Yet Ekşi argued that Turkey was a "closed state, which claims that all news belongs to it and not to the public". He said the statute book contained more than 150 laws and decrees relating to the press, many of them restrictive. "We are under very severe pressure from the state," he declared.

Ekşi said that Turkey, like other democracies, faced a real dilemma over how to protect the interests of the country without simultaneously destroying its democratic system.

Kurdish nationalists and people holding radical leftwing views appear to take the brunt of official harassment. *Özgür Gündem's* publisher, Yaşar Kaya, who also heads the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party, was arrested this month in connection with a speech he made in Kurdish-held northern Iraq. Four of the paper's editors, including Ersöz's predecessor, Davut Karadağlı, are also in jail.

Özgür Gündem reporter Aysel Malkaç was abducted outside the paper's Istanbul office on August 6 and is still missing. Editors say the police took her. Security officials deny it. Vendors of *Özgür Gündem* have also come under attack. Kiosks have been burned. A 13-year-old boy selling the paper was knifed in Diyarbakır and one vendor, Orhan Karaağa, was killed in the eastern city of Van.

Özgür Gündem does not hide its sympathies for the PKK. Ersöz herself was arrested while teaching at Adana University and served a two-year prison sentence for membership of the group. "If you say you are a Kurd, all doors shut in your face in Turkey," she said, describing what prompted her militancy.

Özgür Gündem

Southeast Turkey remains one of the world's most dangerous trouble-spots for a journalist to work.

...Although the government has vigorously denied involvement in the killings, it has continued to take other forms of action against *Özgür Gündem* (Free Agenda) which has been almost constantly harassed since its launch in May 1992. A total of 80 issues of the newspaper have been confiscated.

The paper closed down voluntarily for four months in January, but there has been no let-up since it reappeared. The paper's premises are often placed under surveillance, and the Istanbul state security court is trying to close it down permanently on the ground that it praises PKK activities with separatist propaganda... Meanwhile, the bad news continues: Aysel Malkaç, 22, a reporter from the paper, went missing since she left its Istanbul offices... Her colleagues presume that she is dead.

Turkey's PKK note to the US

Turkey last month asked the United States to take measures against certain Kurdish groups which it claimed were organizing in that country for the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the daily *CUMHURİYET* reported on Friday. The newspaper said in its front page story that Washington had still not responded to Turkey's note. The note reportedly said that various associations and organizations in the United States including the Kurdish-American Information Network were actually front organizations for the PKK and supporting this terrorist organization. The note asked Washington to give immediate information on this, *Cumhuriyet* said.

Saturday, October 9, 1993

turkish daily news

Turkey, France sign 20-helicopter deal

■ The contract is another indication of Turkey's will to get closer to Europe, Turkish defense minister says

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA-A \$253 million contract was signed between the Turkish Defense Industry Undersecretariat (SSM) and Eurocopter, a French company, on Friday for the direct purchase of 20 general purpose helicopters for the Turkish Armed Forces. The AS 532 UL "Cougar" type helicopters are to be used by the Turkish land forces, mainly for troop deployment and search-and-rescue operations. Negotiations between the SSM and Eurocopter on the package started in March 1993. Yalçın Burçak, the head of the SSM, said at the signing ceremony that \$162 million worth of direct and indirect off-set benefits will be provided to Turkey with the contract. The contract will take effect when the credit agreement for the purchase is signed -- which is expected within two months. The first helicopter will be delivered to the Turkish Armed Forces in 13 months and delivery will be completed in 27 months following



AS 532 UL "Cougar" t

the signing of the credit agreement. The Cougars can deploy two fully equipped platoons at once, Turkish Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz said at the ceremony, and they will contribute significantly to the mobility of the Turkish military. Ayaz said that in recent years Turkey has been following a policy of supplying its defense needs by joint production in Turkey. However, this direct purchase from the French company was made in light of the immediate needs of the Turkish military. He also

pointed out that the purchase was an indicator of Turkey's closer ties with Europe. American companies have the lion's share of Turkish defense industry projects. Eurocopter's Cougar can also be used for different purposes, such as cargo transportation, VIP transportation and for medical airlift purposes. It can deploy 25 to 40 personnel at once, depending on the configuration. It can fly at 283 km per hour at an altitude of 7,200 meters, and its maximum range is 1,100 km.

Le Monde • Dimanche 10 - Lundi 11 octobre 1993 •

L'Humanité — 9 octobre 1993

Hélicoptères français pour l'armée turque

La Turquie et la France ont signé, vendredi, à Ankara, un contrat de 253 millions de dollars (1,5 milliard de francs) pour la fourniture de 20 hélicoptères Cougar « multi-usages » de la société franco-allemande Eurocopter à l'armée turque. Ces engins, version modernisée des Super-Puma, sont spécialisés pour le combat anti-guérilla. L'ambassadeur de France en Turquie, François Doppfer, a qualifié ce contrat de « nouvelle étape » dans les relations « excellentes » entre Paris et Ankara, soulignant que la coopération et les consultations dans le domaine militaire se sont « remarquablement développées ». Une déclaration particulièrement choquante, alors que l'on sait que ces armes seront utilisées dans les opérations de répression contre les Kurdes de Turquie, à qui Ankara refuse tout droit à l'autodétermination.

Pour 1,4 milliard de francs La Turquie achète vingt hélicoptères Super-Puma

Le ministère turc de la défense a signé, vendredi 8 octobre, avec le consortium franco-allemand Eurocopter, la commande de vingt hélicoptères logistiques Super-Puma Mark 1 pour une somme de 253 millions de dollars (soit l'équivalent de 1,4 milliard de francs). Ce contrat était en discussion depuis 1989. La Turquie devient, après la France, l'Espagne, la Suède, la Suisse, la Finlande et l'Allemagne, le septième client de cette catégorie d'hélicoptères en Europe.

Selon son constructeur Eurocopter, qui est une alliance entre l'Aérospatiale française et la DASA allemande, les livraisons commenceront au premier semestre de 1995 et elles devraient se faire au rythme de deux « machines » par mois.

Le ministère turc de la défense a obtenu, durant les négociations, que

la commande soit compensée, à hauteur de 60 %, par des échanges industriels ou commerciaux et par des transferts de technologie dans le domaine aéronautique.

A plusieurs reprises, les tractations entre Eurocopter et la Turquie ont été ajournées à la suite de déclarations de personnalités françaises en faveur des populations kurdes et sous l'effet d'une vigoureuse concurrence des Etats-Unis. Finalement, ces négociations ont été relancées tout récemment à la suite d'une visite à Ankara (le Monde des 1^{er} et 3-4 octobre) du ministre de la défense, François Léotard.

Non compris ce contrat, le groupe Eurocopter a vendu, à ce jour, un total de quatre cent vingt-cinq Super-Puma et Cougar (la version modernisée) à trente-quatre pays différents.

Germany, Iran agree to combat terrorism

Anatolia/Associated Press

BONN, Germany- Iran's Intelligence Minister has paid a little-publicized visit to Germany and the two sides have agreed to step up cooperation in fighting international terrorism, a newspaper reported.

The newspaper Die Welt said the minister, Ali Fallahian, held talks last week with chiefs of Germany's intelligence and domestic security services, and Bernd Schmidbauer, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's top intelligence aide.

Fallahian spoke to a small group of reporters in Bonn and told them Germany and Iran will step up their cooperation in fighting international terrorism and drug smuggling, Die Welt said. He said the intelligence services of the

two countries have been cooperating for two years and now want to increase this cooperation.

"We agreed with the Germans that we don't want to work against each other in each other's country," Fallahian was quoted as saying by Die Welt. The paper said Fallahian visited Germany at the invitation of Schmidbauer.

Spokesmen for the Germany's intelligence and Kohl's spokesman, Dieter Vogel, declined to comment on the visit, with Vogel saying he would not even confirm it took place.

Mujahideen Khalq, Iran's main opposition group, issued a statement criticizing Germany's government for receiving Fallahian.

The statement said the visit would only

embolden the Iranian government "to continue domestic suppression and export of terrorism."

The Mujahideen claim that Iran's agents have killed or wounded at least 270 opposition figures in attacks abroad since the Islamic government came to power. Iran has repeatedly denied involvement in killings that have occurred in France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, Greek Cyprus and the Middle East. But senior Western and Arab diplomats say intelligence agencies have found links between Iran and terrorist networks.

On May 27, German authorities charged an Iranian intelligence agent and four Lebanese in the assassination of an Iranian Kurdish leader, Sadiq Sharafkindi, and three colleagues in Berlin one year ago.

Vienna Summit ends short on concrete results

■ Sources say divergent interests of nations tripped up attempts to move toward an all-European yardstick for national minorities

Associated Press

VIENNA- Europe's leaders pledged Saturday to protect the rights of their countries' minorities. But their 32-nation meeting failed even to agree on what a minority is. The two-day Council of Europe summit appeared to illustrate that the tug of national interests on a continent shaped by centuries of distrust remained stronger than the goal of breaking down barriers.

Against the ominous backdrop of ethnic warfare in former Yugoslavia, the Vienna Declaration adopted by participants condem-

ned "territorial ambitions" and "aggressive nationalism."

It proclaimed that "protection of national minorities is an essential element of stability and democratic security" across Europe. And it pledged establishment of a new international Human Rights court to give minorities due process.

But sources with access to the closed meeting said divergent inte-

rests of participating nations tripped up attempts to move toward an all-European yardstick for national minorities. Some countries, like Germany, have no large traditional non-Germanic ethnic groups but large recent influxes of Turks and immigrants from former Yugoslavia. It opposed defining national minorities purely by common language and customs, arguing that Turkish "guest workers," for instance, were not historically or culturally part of Germany.

Other countries had different worries. Britain and France would not be interested in any definition that would support separatist aspirations in Northern Ireland or Corsica, for instance.

The specter of Yugoslavia loomed over the conference. But Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar characterized the minority problem as troubling "not only central or eastern Europe but Europe as a whole."

"Human rights have human dimensions," he told reporters. "But collective rights have ethnic dimensions, that's the difference."

Still others argued for less emphasis on the collective rights of nationalities and more support of individual rights. In his speech to the assembly, Czech President Vaclav Havel, whose republic is more ethnically homogeneous than most emerging East European democracies, argued that undue backing of group rights could lead to "new unrest and tension" across Europe. "Attempts of this kind ... call into question the very principle of civic society and the indivisible rights of the individual," he said.

European leaders and conference organizers down-played the differences, however. They said it was a success in itself that the European Council - the oldest organization working for unity, democracy and human rights throughout the continent - was able to hold a summit meeting for the first time in 44 years.

Human rights organization blasts Turkey

The Associated Press

VIENNA- Turkey, one of the nations attending a summit of European democracies on issues including human rights, was taken to task outside the conferen-

ce for alleged police torture and other violations.

The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights urged Turkey of to put an end to police torture that included electric shocks to the genitals; beatings; vaginal and anal rape, sometimes using truncheons, and death threats.

"In 1992-1993, at least 20 people died under suspicious circumstances while in custody of Turkish police or gendarmerie,"

said a statement from the Vienna-based organization, which monitors provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. "Suspects of both political and ordinary crimes, children as well as adults, are routinely and systematically tortured."

The organization's accusations mirrored charges raised by Amnesty International in its 1993 report, including summary executions of political suspects.

The Helsinki Federation condemned a "pattern of shooting and killing alleged suspects rather than bringing them to court," saying hundreds have met their deaths in such a fashion.

As well, the Federation criticized the high number of journalists killed and arrested in Turkey - it said 16 were assassinated in 1992-1993 and 14 others were sentenced to a total of more than 200 years in prison.

It showed some understanding, however, of the "immense problems" Turkey faces in fighting separatist Kurds and "other extremist groups," and condemned their excesses.

Monday, October 11, 1993

turkish daily news

Saddam targets old allies in new purge

Anatolia/Associated Press Writer

NICOSIA- Saddam Hussein's security forces have rounded up hundreds of prominent members of his Tikriti clan and other Sunni Muslims who have long supported him, Iraqi rebels and other sources have said.

The crackdown against Saddam's own minority sect indicates that after three years of U.N. sanctions and Iraq's isolation, even those who have traditionally been a pillar of the Baghdad regime may be turning against it.

Secret police are everywhere in Baghdad, and it is difficult to assess whether Sunni disenchantment with Saddam has reached a point where it will affect his rule. Saddam is clearly still in control. But by all accounts, the purge is Saddam's most extensive since he crushed rebellions by Shiite Muslims and Kurdish separatists right after the 1991 Gulf War.

Sunni Muslims form 15 percent of Iraq's 18 million people, but they have dominated the country for decades.

Travelers from Iraq — mainly Arabs who move in knowledgeable Baghdad circles — report deepening disenchantment among the Sunnis, who fear that Saddam's confrontation with the United Nations is driving Iraq to ruin.

U.N. weapons inspectors over the weekend completed an eight-day mission in Baghdad to get more information about Iraq's main weapons systems, which are to be destroyed under Gulf War cease-fire terms. Punishing economic sanctions against Iraq won't be lifted until the U.N. decides Iraq has complied with the terms.

There have been reports of several abortive coup plots or assassination attempts against Saddam over the last few weeks, some apparently implicating Sunnis. None of these upheavals has been independently confirmed.

But the current witch-hunt involves Sunnis of considerable standing, a stratum of Iraqi society not before targeted in Saddam's periodic purges against people he perceives to be a threat. Iraqi dissidents and the travelers say that the people rounded up since July include retired army officers, former government ministers and other influential civilians. Some sources say many have been executed.

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Turquie-Kurdes-Irak

Opération de l'armée turque en Irak du nord: 17 rebelles tués, selon un nouveau bilan

ANKARA, 11 oct. (AFP) - 17 rebelles kurdes ont été tués lors de l'opération lancée jeudi dernier par l'armée turque contre les rebelles kurdes de Turquie du Parti séparatiste des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), selon un nouveau bilan officiel publié lundi.

Les rebelles, qui s'apprêtaient à s'infiltrer en territoire turc, ont été tués dans des zones montagneuses du nord de l'Irak, selon la même source. Il s'agit de la troisième opération lancée depuis début octobre contre des militants du PKK.

Par ailleurs, cinq soldats ont été tués et 23 autres blessés, dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi près de Bingol (est), dans une embuscade tendue par des rebelles kurdes contre un véhicule transportant des soldats permissionnaires, a rapporté l'agence turque Anatolie.

YM/mc/br

AFP 111209 OCT 93

Le Nouveau Quotidien — 11 octobre 1993

TURQUIE

L'ARMÉE POURCHASSE LE PKK EN IRAK

L'armée turque a tué 17 maquisards séparatistes kurdes au cours d'une incursion en territoire irakien ce week-end, a rapporté dimanche l'agence anatolienne.

LE RÉPUBLICAIN LORRAIN - 7 OCTOBRE 1993

WISSEMBOURG

FESTIVAL DE CANNES JUNIOR: il aura lieu pour la troisième année consécutive à Wissembourg (Bas-Rhin) du 12 au 21 octobre. Sept films sont à l'affiche, avec en ouverture « Le Pays des sourds », de Nicolas Philibert (France/1992) jeudi 14 octobre à 20 h 30 ; et en guise de clôture, « Une chanson pour Beko », de Nizmettin Aric (Allemagne-Kurdistan 1992). Toutes les représentations ont lieu au Relais Culturel, rue des Ecoles.

Southeast crisis: Political leaders say postponing March 1994 local elections may worsen conditions

■ *Parties say Martial Law no solution for Kurdish problem*

■ *"The state and PKK should not hinder the elections"*

■ *DEP says ceasefire may be announced before March 1994*

Ismet G. Imset

Turkish Daily News

DIYARBAKIR- Political party leaders in this southeastern provincial capital believe that any decision to postpone the March 27, 1984, local elections will jeopardize the future of the region and lead to more bloodshed.

In interviews with the Turkish Daily News over the weekend, provincial chairmen of Turkey's four major parties have called on the state and Kurdish separatists not to interfere in the upcoming electoral contest. They also expressed concern about possible plans to implement martial law in the region, saying this too would only worsen the situation.

Main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) provincial chairman Mehmet Reşit Seydoğlu warned that people in the region were "waiting in panic" to see what would happen as a result of "policies based on violence." He criticised Ankara for seeking military solutions to regional problems and said this would only deepen the crisis.

"When we were in power, there was only one unsolved murder" he said, referring to the clandestine death-squad attacks on Kurdish activists. "We were ashamed of that. But now, we have more than 500 unsolved murders," he added.

Despite all of the risks and continuing problems, the ANAP official said, elections in March had to be held.

"Because, the people need this above everything else, as much as they need oxygen. One cannot think of any alternative but to hold the elections... In conditions when the guns are doing the talking, even with the risks it brings along, the elections should be held... Without the elections, other dark forces will come out of their places of hiding," he said.

Ruling True Path Party (DYP) deputy provincial chairman Galip Ensarioğlu said, on the other hand, that he expected the elections to be held under normal and democratic circumstances. His plea, he made clear, was more to the state than the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

In his words: "as in all other world democracies, the people here should be able to express their thoughts, to debate all of their opinions. All opinions should be debated

NEWS ANALYSIS

openly and the good and bad should come into the open. Then the people will act as referees. This is the principle of democracy."

"The people will listen to everyone but elect the candidate they chose in the end. The state or the other side (PKK) should not tell them what is right, the people should decide on this." The DYP official added that it was "a great mistake to seek military solutions to the ongoing problem" and said, "the only solution is one which lies in democracy." Like Seydoglu, he too argued that the "right to life" was being removed from the region and that unsolved murders had become a major item on the daily agenda.

Complaining of "the pressures on the people which do not come from only one side," the coalition's junior partner Social Democratic Peoples' Party (SHP) provincial chairman Hayati Kahraman told the TDN that problems in the region had gotten out of hand.

"Every day, someone is killed in an unsolved murder. The situation is getting worse," he said.

Kahraman added, "the region is at war. Much blood is being shed. Everyday there are unsolved murders. If elections are held in an atmosphere of fear for the people, we are concerned that the results will not reflect the true political will of the people."

He said, however, that there was no other alternative.

"No sir," he said. "Postponing the process for whatever time is nowhere close to solving the problem."

"Unfortunately, there is a vicious circle. The elections cannot be postponed. But without truly efficient measures, the elections cannot be held. I don't know what to do. We are in a true quandary."

Ankara is deeply concerned that the PKK, which has expanded its grassroots over the past years, will inevitably hinder the elections and force the local populace to vote for its own candidates.

In the words of Diyarbakır residents randomly interviewed on the streets, this is not possible. "At least not in the cities," according to one merchant. But in the rural areas, the only political alternative to the PKK appears to be the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP) which is growing in force throughout the country.

According to one source close to the PKK, "the parties here are nothing but mirages. Only the RP has a chance

against the PKK. And this, only where it is stronger than the PKK." Everyone believes that even if the PKK does not "order" or "instruct" the voters on what to do, the people will know who they should vote for. "The criteria," whispers a local driver, "is that the candidate should be a [Kurdish] patriot." "Until I joined the party, it was in shambles. Now we are strong and confident. But we see that democratic elections are being blocked by a dirty war which has not yet been named," says ANAP's Seydoglu.

Pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) provincial chairman Edip Yıldız believes that unless the state calls for it, the PKK will not hinder the elections. "But if the state takes a specific attitude and attempts to block developments," he says, "the PKK will develop its policy accordingly."

But, for the time being, Yıldız argues that everyone should "respect the will of the people."

"The people will determine their own candidates. Neither the state should say 'this is a PKK candidate' nor should the PKK say 'this is a state candidate.' There should be full respect for the popular will, and with this respect, the people should go to the ballot boxes," he says.

Both he and DYP's Ensarioğlu agree that if there are official attempts to hinder the election results, the people could boycott the elections. But they say this is a last resort.

Yıldız even has hopes that peace will be

turkish daily news

Tuesday, October 12, 1993

restored --even on a temporary basis-- in March.

"The PKK may declare another unilateral ceasefire," he explains. "It may not say it as openly, but it could put a truce into practice, ceasing its attacks for a specific period. And, if Turkey gives signs of changing its views on the Kurdish problem, the incidents here will come to an end and free elections can be held."

Some argue this is wishful thinking and that the state should take all possible measures to insure the safety of the ballot boxes and ballots. Others claim that the DEP, seen by hard-liner Turks as a PKK "front" cannot be trusted.

What is clear, however, is that from whatever party they be, everyone is in favour of holding local elections in March and taking the risks. "These risks are worth taking... for the continuation of democracy," Seydoglu says.

Party leaders here believe that postponing the elections will close any existing chances of democracy for the people. "If the conditions are paved for the people to vote without fear and in peace," says SHP's Kahraman, "the ballot boxes will reflect the true political will of the people."

What Kahraman says is probably true. But it is also an indirect reference to Ankara's unpronounced concern. Rather than the possibility of PKK militants going away with ballot boxes or attacking them, Turkey fears

what the "true political will" of the Southeast people might turn out to be.

"It does not matter who the people will vote for. I don't say they should vote for the DYP. They will know which candidate is best for them," Ensarioğlu says. He bluntly adds that as long as Turkey insists on seeking military solutions to the problem, the winners of the elections will be the same.

"The PKK will not interfere by saying 'vote for this or that candidate.' The people will be the determining factor. Because of this, I don't think it [the PKK] will be against the will of the people," says Yıldız.

"In other words, if the people see someone fit for the seat, the PKK will respect this."

ANAP's Seydoglu also offers a meaningful argument: "The greatest values of our people, to live, speak and to express their free will, and reflect these to the ballot boxes must be realized."

Both the people on the street and their political leaders believe the military policies put into effect until now have only deepened the crisis and are leading to a vicious circles. Here, no one wants to hear of Martial Law which, even according to the ruling party's local chairman, "is only a change of reference to the existing system."

There appears to be a consensus between all parties that, let alone the issue imposing Martial Law, even the current State of Emergency should be lifted and a rapid democratization based on restoring human rights and freedoms should begin.

"The people want rights. This is their priority," Ensarioğlu explains.

There is also fear that coming six days after the March 21 celebrations for the Kurdish new year of Nevroz, March could be a month of immense violence despite all the hopes for a peaceful election.

If, for instance, the PKK fails to halt its armed campaign, the blood shed of Nevroz could spill over to the elections, creating the circumstances for Martial Law as well. "What will happen now?" is perhaps the most heard question in this region where everyone, including security personnel, is frustrated at Ankara's failure to draw up concrete policies with regard to the problem.

But no one has an answer. Can the elections really be held and will the ballots reflect the free will of the people? More important, what will happen if the elections are postponed? With these questions raised, about six months in advance of the crucial poll, Diyarbakir's parties reflect the blood pressure of the whole region.

Despite everything, will the ballots reflect the true choice of the people? Moreover, if they do, but if the "PKK supported candidates" still win the elections, what will Ankara do? Here in the troubled region, and especially in rural areas, local elections are more an expression of political will than the determining of mayoral executives. Neither the parties nor their politics matter. What matters are the candidates and how much trust the people can place on them...

Ankara debates Spanish model for

■ Çiller expected to meet tough resistance from system

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller and President Süleyman Demirel this week fell at odds over suggested solutions for the country's age-old Kurdish problem with Demirel closing all doors on any alternative to military policies currently underway. Days after Çiller suggested that Turkey should review the Spanish Basque model to solve its own separatist problem, the president said in an interview that Turkey would continue fighting the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) without changing style in any way. "There is no second solution but the form of struggle put into practice today," he said, clearly referring to the ongoing military campaign in the troubled southeast and eastern regions.

Çiller last week told Turkish journalists in Vienna after a meeting with her Spanish counterpart Felipe Gonzales that she was in favor of debating administrative changes re-

EDITORIAL

PM discovers the Basque reality

When Professor Tansu Çiller, the prime minister of Turkey, met with her Spanish counterpart Felipe Gonzalez and found out how Spain overcame its own separatist problem she was gripped by euphoria and decided this was what we needed in Turkey to cope with the Kurdish militants.



TANUSU ÇİLLER

sembling what the Spanish did when faced with Basque terrorism.

Gonzales had reportedly explained Spain's threefold campaign on the Basque issue, which was summarized as agreeing with neighboring Syria, Iran, Iraq and Armenia to prevent the PKK from using their territory (as Spain had done with France), reaching a consensus between all parties in Parliament to take a joint and concrete stance against terrorism, and to give more authority to local administrations -- if need be differing between regions.

To put such a plan to practice, Turkey would not only have to se-

cure full and sincere cooperation with its neighbors, but also take simultaneous steps to restore Kurdish rights and freedom. This means lifting all bans on Kurdish culture, allowing them to learn in their own language, have radio and television rights, and be acknowledged as a separate culture.

Demirel's reaction, say parliamentary sources, is actually what a majority in the ruling True Path Party (DYP) believes and is the first obstacle Çiller faces.

The Prime Minister was due to attend a crucial summit meeting of state and military officials on Monday evening where she was expected to hear further reaction.

In the words of Demirel, the situation in the Southeast is completely

Kurdish crisis

different from the situation in Spain. "To approach the issue according to a Basque model is a waste of time and would only mean dampening the struggle. There is no other way but to take the gun out of the hands of armed men in the mountains," Demirel said. He emphasized that a solution against separatist activities lay only in the success of the country's security forces.

Turkey currently has around 180,000 security personnel, thousands of heavy artillery and armored vehicles, as well as dozens of helicopters and warplanes in the troubled region. According to Chief of Staff 2nd commander Gen. Ahmet Çörekçi, the PKK has around 375,000 sympathizers. But the organization also has 10,000 fighters and an alleged 60,000-strong militia force. About 7,300 people have been killed in the past nine years since the

PKK launched its first major attacks in 1984 and Ankara adopted military policies to crush the separatist movement.

One of the strongest oppositions to Çiller came recently from the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which on Monday branded the Prime Minister's recent proposal as "a bargaining," and said Turkey could not bargain "with bandits who have blood on their hands."

Both Demirel and the MHP appeared to reflect what many Turks feel in the face of increased armed attacks and corpses of innocent Kurdish civilians, Turkish soldiers and policemen being buried every day.

According to the President, Çiller should "not turn to Spain for a solution."

Perhaps aware that the resemblance with Spain has not helped what the coalition plans to do, deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın anno-

unced Monday afternoon that it was "not necessary to evaluate the strengthening of local administrations as the model of this country or that."

What Çiller is counting on appears to be to increase the authority of local administrations, meaning territorial rule, but regulating the authority according to regional conditions. This is close to what the late President Turgut Özal had in mind before his death. When Özal first implied such a solution, however, the fact that it offered to lift bans on Kurdish cultural freedom and rights led to massive reaction. Even as president, he had to adopt a low profile and somewhat bury the debate.

Political observers now believe Çiller has raised a necessary debate but with great risks. There is a strong nationalist trend within the DYP, which she chairs, and there is bound to be strong reaction to any

mention of reforms.

According to the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), this was best seen when she came to power during the DYP's June convention with promises of language and ethnic cultural rights for all in Turkey. Several weeks later, she faced so great a reaction that she bluntly said such rights were concessions to the separatists and would divide the country stage-by-stage. Referring to the Kurds, she recalled a famous Turkish phrase "Once you give you hand, they will want your arm." Those supporting Çiller now argue that her proposal should not be taken as a step toward a federal state structure in Turkey and accept that there are differences between the Basque problem and the Kurdish question.

What they miss, however, is that Turkey's military leaders and its President refuse to accept that the country is faced with "a Kurdish prob-

lem" and insist the problem is of terrorist origin alone.

"Still," says DEP parliamentarians group spokesman Van Deputy Remzi Kartal, "We see this new approach as a positive one. Conditions to debate the problem are welcomed and it is a good step," he said. "Anything that can lead to a solution is welcome."

Earlier, Turkey's Chief of Staff commander Gen. Doğan Güreş announced that the PKK would be crushed by next spring, but his statement was far from convincing to the Turks. Local party leaders interviewed in Diyarbakır over the weekend argue that military solutions only exacerbate the problem and strengthen the PKK. All party officials there agree that the only way Turkey can solve the Kurdish problem is to restore human rights and freedom and find a democratic solution to the problem.

PKK ambushes bus, kills five demobilized soldiers

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) ambushed a bus carrying a group of demobilized soldiers near the Adaklı town of Bingöl, killing at least five of them, police officials said on Monday.

Another 24 demobilized soldiers were wounded when the PKK militants raked the bus with automatic weapons fire. The soldiers were returning home after having completed their military service.

According to the information from the Office of the Chief of General Staff, the soldiers were being protected by a military

escort.

Tension continues in Tunceli

The tension that began following the clash between the members of the Revolutionary Community Party of Turkey (TDKP) and the PKK militants continued in the eastern province of Tunceli.

Six members of the TDKP were killed in the clash on Saturday. Tradesmen in the towns of Hozat, Ovacık and Pülümür closed their shops to protest the incident. In Tunceli, primary and secondary school teachers did not attend classes on the grounds that they did not have security.

They said they would continue staying

away from school until the state protected them, noting that they may resign if the conditions necessitated.

According to the Kurdistan News Agency (Kurd-Ha), Tunceli Mayor Mehmet Kocademir is at the heart of the conflict between the two organizations. In its leaflets, the PKK announced that it would punish Kocademir with the death penalty on the grounds that he was a member of the counter-guerrillas.

On the other hand, the TDKP opposed the PKK's leaflets. Kurd-Ha also reported that the PKK has taken two other TDKP members as hostages.

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Eco.-int.

CEE-Irak: Aide humanitaire de 3,8 millions USD pour les populations kurdes

BRUXELLES (CEE8, 13 oct (AFP) - La Commission européenne a accordé mercredi une aide humanitaire d'urgence de 3,25 millions d'écus (3,8 millions de dollars) en faveur des populations kurdes au nord de l'Irak, a annoncé un de ses porte-parole.

Les fonds doivent permettre la fourniture de 12 millions de litres de kerosène à des fins ménagères en vue de l'hiver.

Le nord de l'Irak connaît une sérieuse pénurie alimentaire, en médicaments et en combustibles. L'opération, de nature humanitaire, fait l'objet d'une dérogation à l'embargo économique décidé contre l'Irak, a précisé le porte-parole.

L'an dernier, la Commission européenne avait déjà débloqué des fonds pour l'achat de 25 millions de litres de kerosène destinés aux populations du nord de l'Irak. Le combustible avait été acheté en Turquie et revendu au prix officiel ayant cours dans le reste du pays.

csg/cv

AFP 131304 OCT 93

Sud Ouest — 12 octobre 1993

FRANCE-TURQUIE

Les Kurdes contre les hélicoptères français

Protestant contre la vente d'hélicoptères Cougar à la Turquie, un porte-parole du mouvement kurde à Paris a été reçu au ministère de la défense

La vente de vingt hélicoptères Cougar à l'armée turque a jeté un certain émoi dans la communauté kurde de Turquie résidant en France. Le comité du Kurdistan à Paris vient d'adresser une lettre à François Léotard, ministre de la défense, dans laquelle il précise : « Quant aux hélicoptères de combat, vous ne pouvez ignorer que la Turquie, sous prétexte de combattre la guérilla kurde, s'en sert contre la population civile ». Selon Azad G. Dere, porte-parole du comité qui est lié avec les organisations kurdes interdites en Turquie, dont le PKK animateur de la guérilla dans l'est du pays : « En 1993, plus de 600 villages ont été bombardés par les forces aériennes de l'armée turque. Chaque jour, plus de 30 personnes perdent leur vie dans cette sale guerre ».

A sa demande, Azad G. Dere a été longuement reçu au ministère de la défense. Une attention qui démontre que l'on y suit de près l'évolution des rapports des Kurdes de chaque pays avec leurs gouvernements respectifs. Mais, lui a-t-on précisé, si la France reconnaît l'existence du peuple kurde en général et son droit d'exiger le respect de ses droits « nationaux » en particulier, elle entretient aussi de bonnes relations avec Ankara. Le représentant du ministère de la défense, Pierre Canesa, souligne pour sa part qu'il a demandé à Azad G. Dere « de faire part au PKK des protestations fermes de la France contre sa politique d'enlèvement des touristes en visite en Turquie et d'attentats contre les hôtels des stations balnéaires turques. Il s'étonne également que

le comité du Kurdistan ne représente en fait que les Kurdes de Turquie, proches du PKK.

Selon Azad G. Dere, le gouvernement français semble plus sensible aux problèmes des Kurdes en Irak ou en Iran, qu'en Turquie. Il précise que son organisation s'adresse actuellement aux organisations « démocratiques et humanitaires » ainsi qu'à diverses personnalités afin que « la vente d'armes par la France à la Turquie s'arrête et que le gouvernement français cherche la voie d'une solution politique et démocratique.

■ Selon le ministre turc de l'intérieur, cinquante rebelles kurdes ont été tués au cours des dernières quarante-huit heures dans le nord de l'Irak. La Turquie a envoyé vendredi quelque 2 000 commandos, appuyés par des chasseurs et des hélicoptères de l'armée de l'air dans le nord irakien.

Par ailleurs, cinq soldats ont été tués et vingt-trois autres blessés, dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi, au cours d'une embuscade tendue par la résistance kurde

LE COURIER — 12 octobre 1993

IRAK. Au moins 50 rebelles kurdes tués

● Les troupes turques ont tué au moins 50 combattants kurdes au cours d'opérations menées dans le nord de l'Irak mais le bilan des morts pourrait être plus élevé, a annoncé hier le ministre turc de l'Intérieur Mehmet Gazioglu cité par l'agence Anatolie. Les soldats, soutenus par des hélicoptères armés, ont traversé vendredi la frontière au point de convergence de la Turquie, de l'Iran et de l'Irak. Les combattants kurdes qui ont engagé une lutte armée en 1984 pour obtenir l'autonomie du sud-est et de l'est de la Turquie se réfugient fréquemment en Irak, en Iran et en Syrie.

AP

turkish daily news

Wednesday, October 13, 1993

Iraq could make nuclear weapons if the United Nations lifts sanctions

■ IISS says suspicions have also hardened that neighboring Iran is developing nuclear weapons because it was buying aircraft and missiles capable of delivering nuclear munitions

Reuters

LONDON- Iraq could once again be in a position to make nuclear weapons if the United Nations lifted sanctions, a leading British research institute said on Tuesday.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) said that, despite lingering doubts as to whether Iraq has disclosed all its nuclear material, it almost certainly does not have the ability currently to make nuclear weapons.

But it added: "This situation could change once UN sanctions are lifted, although those countries whose industrial companies are suspected of having contributed in any way to Iraq's nuclear program will be extra vigilant in monitoring exports." The warning is contained in

The Military Balance, an authoritative annual snapshot of global arms developments. U.N. inspectors who scoured Iraq after it was driven out of Kuwait in February 1991 found President Saddam Hussein had come within two or three years of being able to make a crude bomb.

The U.N. ordered Iraq to dismantle arms factories linked to its nuclear program, but the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) felt unable in its latest report to the U.N. to state categorically that Baghdad had complied with the demand.

The London-based IISS said suspicions had also hardened that neighboring Iran was developing nuclear weapons because it was buying aircraft and missiles capable of delivering nuclear munitions.

The think-tank also noted numerous press reports that Iran had recruited nuclear scientists and engineers from the former Soviet Union.

There have even been claims that it may have obtained a number of warheads from former Soviet republics.

But if Tehran does have a nuclear program, it is still in its early stages.

"In all probability Iran cannot hope to produce its own nuclear weapons before the year 2000 at the earliest," the IISS said.

There are strong suspicions that North Korea — which like Iran has not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty — has also embarked on a nuclear weapons program. Although no evidence has been found, the institute asked why North Korea refused to let the IAEA inspect certain sites.

"The simplest, but not necessarily the correct, reason is that the government has something to hide and is perhaps, despite U.S. warnings, far closer to producing a

THE FINANCIAL TIMES / October 13, 19934

Tehran's vendetta hits the Kurds hard

The war with the guerrillas is worsening, writes Gareth Smyth, recently in Baneh region, western Iran

ASHAD Rashidi is 23, newly married and frightened. A shell recently exploded across the isolated, rocky valley in western Iran where he and his five brothers farm. The boom of artillery fire echoes almost daily around the area. "I know of more than 20 people who have been killed," he says.

Within the mud-baked walls of his house hang pictures of President Hashemi Rafsanjani as well as Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran's spiritual leader, and the late Ayatollah Khomeini. "When the *pasdaran* [revolutionary guards] see these pictures, they will not harm us," Mr Rashidi explains.

The shelling is one sign of the intensifying conflict between Tehran's Islamic guerrillas and the *peshtmerga* Democratic party of Iran (KDPI). Yet a news blackout operated by Iran ensures the trouble goes largely unreported in the outside world.

It is a bitter, large-scale conflict. Iran is said to have stationed around 200,000 troops, mainly *pasdaran*, in its Kurd-

ish region since Ayatollah Khomeini declared a *fiyah* (holy war) against the mainly Sunni Kurds in 1980.

The *peshtmerga* claim the *pasdaran* have lost the will to fight. "They used to hang pictures of the Ayatollah on their chests and wear headbands as a symbol of [the seventh century Shia martyr] Hussein, but only a few do that now," said Mr Sa'ed Brayhim, KDPI commander for the Baneh region.

Rather than engage in hand-to-hand fighting, the *pasdaran*, who have bases in all the local towns and many villages, resort to the imprecise use of artillery and mortars against *peshtmerga* who move largely at night and receive food and moral support from Kurdish villagers.

The hamlet of Bagy Kazy, some 20 miles south-west of Baneh, was abandoned by residents terrified of shelling, KDPI *peshtmerga* claim. Recent signs of habitation (hay in cattle pens, abandoned pots) were testimony to the villagers' rapid departure.

In escalating its campaign, the KDPI draws strength from

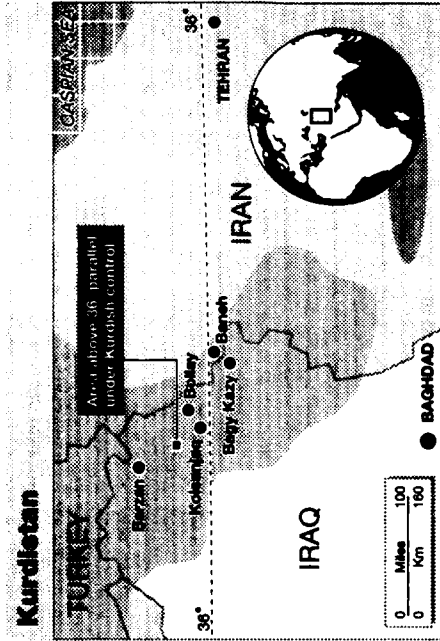
bases across the border in northern Iraq made possible since the emergence in late 1991 on Iraqi soil of a "free Kurdistan" with *de facto* independence from Baghdad.

The government of 3m Iraqi Kurds, who elected their own unofficial "parliament" last year, has fanned the nationalist aspirations of the estimated 5m-8m Iranian Kurds denied any autonomy and compelled to use the Farsi language on formal occasions, including in education.

Relations between Tehran and the Iraqi Kurdish authorities have worsened throughout the year, and threaten a new twist to the complex politics of the region.

Iran issues frequent warnings about the "godless and morally corrupt situation" in Iraqi Kurdistan, and its troops held a security zone inside Kurdish Iraq between April and August, prompting protests from Baghdad.

Among the Iranian bugbears is the Kurdish radio and TV now beamed into Iran from Iraqi Kurdistan and offering a mixture of news, views and



Mr Ali Azizi, a *peshtmerga* commander. The KDPI moved its headquarters in August from Boleh to Koisanjaq, some 45 miles from the border and beyond the range of Iranian artillery.

Casualty figures are hard to come by. Tehran says nothing. The KDPI is anxious to play down the importance of its bases inside Iraqi Kurdistan and insists its primary work in Iran is organisational rather than military.

Mr Mustapha Hijri, KDPI general secretary, says "more than 50" *pasdaran* have been killed since April, but a cursory listen to KDPI radio and conversations with *peshtmerga* suggests the real figure is higher.

Mr Hijri is convinced the struggle is tilting in the Kurds' favour. "We will carry out more attacks. I believe we will win". His fear is that the Iraqi Kurds, beleaguered by President Saddam Hussein and desperate for friends in the region, will yield to Tehran's pressure and insist the KDPI leave. "I have not thought where we would go then," he says.

devaluation of the rial in March, has hit the Kurdish regions hard, compounding the sense of discrimination in one of the poorest parts of Iran.

The KDPI has a long-established policy of eschewing terrorism which has survived the assassination of its past two leaders, Mr Abdolrahman Qasemlou in Vienna in 1989 and Mr Sadiq Sherefkindi in Berlin last year. "I want to talk to people with my tongue, not with my Kalashnikov," says

music. One aged villager near Baneh, whose son was recently arrested for grazing his sheep too close to an Iranian military position, tunes in to the station: "I don't like Tehran radio, I want a programme in my own language," he says.

Ordinary Kurds in the Baneh region say life is worse than under the Shah, overthrown by the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

The poor state of the Iranian economy, with high inflation and unemployment after the

nuclear weapon than had been supposed," the Military Balance said.

On a more optimistic note, the IISS said the treaty to reduce Conventional Forces in Europe, signed by members of NATO and the former Warsaw Pact, had got off to a good start. Sixteen months after the treaty came into force, most countries were on course to meet interim targets for scrapping surplus weapons and its inspections process had been a success. "After some initial suspicion, both inspectors and inspected have discovered that inspections are an important confidence-building measure that have led to a much improved understanding of each other's problems and military philosophy," the think-tank said.

A new UN register of conventional arms, which aims to record the transfer of arms between countries, had also made a promising start during its first year of operation, it said.

Terrifying claim:

Troops torch DEP deputy's villages

■ *MP claims villagers disappear after taken to woods at gunpoint*

■ *Democracy Party fears massacre, appeals for end to military solution*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Government troops armed with heavy weapons and transported in armored vehicles Monday night raided two villages in the southeastern province of Mus and set them aflame on Tuesday morning, provincial Democracy Party (DEP) Deputy Sırrı Sakık said.

Sakık, in a telephone interview with the TDN from Muş, said witnesses had seen all of the villagers, including women and children, forced into a nearby forest at gunpoint.

"Almost 100 houses have been burned down. We have no news from the villagers who are all relatives of mine, and we fear for their lives," Sakık said Tuesday afternoon.

DEP Van deputy and the party's parliamentary spokesman Remzi Kartal expressed fear that the incidents could turn into a massacre.

Monday night, a parliamentarian from the junior coalition partner Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) said on a popular television news program that Turkish troops were burning down and evacuating Kurdish villages in the Southeast. SHP Hakkari Deputy Esat Canan, also a member of the Parliament investigative commission on the Southeast, told the 32. Gün (32nd Day) in a live interview that the situation in the

Crisis deepens

region was desperate and most village raids were conducted by security forces. Sakık told the TDN that his own village, Zengok and a nearby village where his relatives lived, Keran, were completely burned down. Turkey had earlier changed Zengok's name to Yürelık and Keran to Yamaç as part of a major drive to force Turkish names on the Kurdish-populated region.

Witnesses said that in the early hours of Monday night, they had seen tens of armored vehicles moving in from the Diyarbakır road toward the area where Zengok and Keran are situated. Sakık, an MP for the DEP, which lost another parliamentari-

ating attacks on mass settlements" and cited alleged troop attacks on Yüksekova (Hakkari), Altınova (Mus), Doğubeyazıt and Fizan (Bitlis) as proof to this. It called on everyone to show common sense against a provocation and said that military solutions applied to the Kurdish problem were backfiring.

Sakık's brother Faruk told the TDN in Ankara that for some time there was pressure on the family and that a month ago, their hotel in Muş, named after their village, had been closed down by local authorities without any apparent reason.

Former People's Labor Party (HEP) chairman and DEP deputy, Ahmet Türk, said about 60 ex-

an to assassination last month, said he was scheduled to be at Zengok when the military raid took place. "I had made plans and told friends over the telephone that I would spend the night at the village. All of our telephones are tapped," Sakık said. He added that he believed the raid targeted him and his family. The DEP deputy said that at the last moment, he had decided not to travel by night after also spotting "about 200 armored vehicles approaching the area on the Bingöl and Diyarbakır roads."

He said, "The [Muş] governor told us that the raid had not been conducted by security forces from his province. We are inclined to believe him." The convoy of vehicles, he noted, included armored personnel carriers and military Reo trucks. On Tuesday, several Muş residents were detained by troops while approaching Zengok. Sakık said they had returned to the city and were willing to testify they had seen a heavy blanket of smoke rising from the flames. One villager claimed he had seen the soldiers torching the houses earlier.

The MP explained there were about 60 houses in Zengok and 40 more in Keran. "Troops are not allowing me to go there. I am here and they are listening to my telephones. I know saying this is dangerous but I am openly saying this. What lies behind this incident is not only a village being burned down but an attack on my whole family," Sakık said.

Kartal said in Ankara, meanwhile, that the DEP was concerned a massacre could take place. The statement said the party had "noted signs of upco-

cutives of their pro-Kurdish party, which insists on a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem, had been killed over the past two years.

Deputy Mehmet Sincar was assassinated last month while another parliamentarian, Nizamettin Toguç, was wounded. DEP Diyarbakır Deputy Leyla Zana, who was threatened with death by a local military officer last year, was nearly killed in a bomb attack. "Their aim is to force us off the legal platform and underground," Türk said.

Until Tuesday evening, the TDN could get no official statement related to the village raids but contacted Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu in Parliament to bring the incident to his attention.

Gazioglu said this was the first time he had heard of the incident but promised to look into the claim as soon as possible.

Another senior ministry official immediately blamed the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) for "disguising itself as soldiers and conducting the raid."

One of Sakık's brothers, Şemdin Sakık, is a local commander of PKK forces in the region. The ministry official failed to explain how armored vehicles had been used in the attack -- if it was conducted by the PKK.

Turkey's human rights activists say more than 750 villages have been burned down by troops in the troubled region. In August, Turkish Daily News editors submitted two reports on the issue to President Süleyman Demirel, warning that the practice was recruiting villagers for the guerillas.

in the Southeast

He promised then to raise the issue with Chief of General Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş but denied that state forces "could do anything like this." The TDN also published, last month, a full page report on village raids and evacuations, quoting authoritative sources saying this campaign -- now becoming systematic in the region -- only strengthened the PKK.

Çiller denies turn to Spanish model

■ *PM says she is 'stunned' by press reports and debate* ■ *Repeats Turkey will not make any concession to terror*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A day after Turkey's civilian leaders held a secret summit meeting on security along with Chief of General Staff Commander Gen. Doğan Güreş, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller denied reports that she had suggested a "Spanish style" formula to end Turkey's Kurdish problem and said she was stunned by recent press coverage of the issue.

"I must say I am also stunned by her statement," said Ertuğrul Özkök, editor-in-chief of the daily *Hürriyet*, who was among the four most senior columnists who raised the issue last week. "She talked to us very openly and mentioned the Spanish model in quotes," he said.

Çiller told her parliamentary group meeting Tuesday morning that she knew nothing of the so-called Basque model, which solved Spain's own separatist problem. "I don't know anything about the Basque model and I have talked to no one on this issue," she claimed.

All of the columnists who broke the news that the prime minister was considering the Basque model in Turkey by strengthening local authorities, were shocked by her

sudden U-turn. "She told us," explained Özkök, "that she had held a meeting with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales and he had given her detailed information on the Spanish model. What else is the Spanish model but a Basque model," he asked. Çiller had talked privately with Özkök, Güneri Civaoglu, Zafer Mutlu and Yalçın Doğan while on the plane returning from Vienna last week.

She said Tuesday that during her meeting with Gonzales, she had discussed the issue of struggling against terrorism and listened to him. "I did not bring up the issue to even the closest peop-

le to me," she said -- treating her meeting on the plane with the four prominent Turkish columnists as if it had never taken place.

Çiller also said she had no intention of bringing up the issue of introducing a Spanish-style solution to the Parliament and added, "I am observing with great surprise the news on this issue, putting words into my mouth. I am recalling what our former chairman said and telling you, don't believe what you hear from me."

She emphasized that the government would not give any concessions to terror at all and said it would continue to move against terrorism as always. "No one and nothing can change this determination," she said.

Observers believe her retreat from suggested reforms is the result of reaction to moderate policies from within the country's security forces and her True Path Party. Çiller and President Süleyman Demirel on Monday fell at odds with each other over suggested solutions for the country's age-old Kurdish problem, with the president closing all doors on any alternative to the military policies currently underway.

"There is no second solution but the form of struggle put into practice today," Demirel told a Turkish newspaper, clearly referring to the ongoing military campaign in the troubled southeast and eastern regions.

Following his statement, Çiller met with Demirel and other ministers as well as Gen. Güreş to discuss the security problem and denied the reports -- three days after it was published in the press.

Çiller last week is said to have told the four columnists while returning from Vienna that she was in favor of debating administrative changes resembling what the Spanish did when faced with Basque terrorism.

Gonzales had reportedly explained Spain's threefold campaign on the Basque issue, which, for Turkey, was summarized as agreeing with neighboring Syria, Iran, Iraq and Armenia to prevent the PKK from using their territory (as Spain had done with France), reaching a consensus between all parties in Parliament to take joint and concrete action against terrorism, and to give more authority to local administrations -- if need be differing between regions.

To put such a plan into practice, Turkey would not only have to secure full and sincere cooperation with its neighbors, but also take simultaneous steps to restore Kurdish rights and freedom. This means lifting all bans on Kurdish culture, allowing them to learn in their own language, have radio and television rights, and be acknowledged as a separate culture. Demirel said, however, that the situation in Turkey was completely different from the situation in Spain. "To approach the issue according to a Basque model is a waste of time and would only mean dampening the struggle. There is no other way but to take the gun out of the hands of armed men in the mountains," Demirel said. He emphasized that a solution against separatist activities lay only in the success of the country's security forces.

One of the strongest oppositions to Çiller came from the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which branded the prime minister's recent proposal as "bargaining," and said Turkey could not bargain "with bandits who have blood on their hands." Despite her retreat, observers believe that reports of the past three days have opened a new debate in Turkey and the Basque solution is bound to find an ear in many places.

(EU) EC/HUMANITARIAN AID: ASSISTANCE GRANTS TO IRAQI KURDS, INDIA AND BOUGAINVILLE
(PAPUA NEW GUINEA)

BRUSSELS 13/10/1993 (AGENCE EUROPE) - The European Commission has just approved three new humanitarian aid packages. These are:

i) 3.25 million ECUs for Kurds in northern Iraq where there is a critical lack of food, medicines and fuel (paraffin is 250 times more expensive than in the rest of the country due to the difficulties in supplying this mountainous region). The assistance is intended for the purchasing and distribution - via the NGO Care International - of 12 million litres of paraffin for household use. The operation has been granted exemption from the economic embargo on Iraq, and the funds granted by the Commission will go through a United Nations guaranteed frozen account (Escrow Account). The Commission previously financed a similar operation (25 million litres of paraffin) for the 1992/1993 winter season.

ii) 360 000 ecus for earthquake victims in India (following a first 500 000 ecu grant approved on 4 October). The aid will be channelled through Médecins du Monde-France and the Secours Populaire Français: 200 000 ecus will be spent on emergency medical aid; 160 000 ecus will be spent on the purchase and distribution essential goods.

iii) 56 560 ecus for the inhabitants of the island of Bougainville (Papua New Guinea) following the island's opening up to humanitarian aid, and with a view to supporting the regional peace process. This aid package will be administered by the Red Cross and Red Crescent, and it to be used for the local purchase and distribution of the basic goods needed by the island's 150 000 inhabitants (of whom 50 000 are displaced).

turkish daily news

Thursday, October 14, 1993

Sakık says villagers released after their villages were burned by troops

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Hundreds of villagers detained by troops after their villages were torched on Tuesday have been released and are safe, a parliamentarian disclosed on Wednesday.

Democracy Party (DEP) Deputy Sırrı Sakık told the TDN in a telephone interview from Muş that two of his villages had been completely destroyed, "burned to the ground," along with all the tobacco crop, which is their main source of income. He quoted villagers as saying that as soon as the troops arrived on Monday night they asked for him. "I believe the attack was staged against me and my family," he said. After the troops set fire to the villages on Tuesday, the villagers were taken at gunpoint to a forest nearby. Only two or three people seem to be missing. "Some have turned up and others have migrated to Muş and other towns," Sakık said.

The parliamentarian added that paramilitary village guards had accompanied gendarmier soldiers in the raid and that all animals had been placed in military trucks and taken away. "We don't know what's happened to them," he said.

According to the DEP, the raids on the Zengok and Keran villages -- which have been renamed in Turkish, Yurelik and Yamak -- started on Monday.

On Monday night, troops in military Reo trucks and armored personnel carriers entered the village from the Diyarkabir road. The first question they allegedly asked was, "Where is Sırrı Sakık?" In the morning they set fire to the houses and the crops. They escorted the villagers away and then set a curfew on the area, which remains closed to civilians.

"They probably knew I was going to be there on Monday night," said Sakık, noting that his telephone was tapped and that he had told relatives of his plans to spend the night at Zengok. "But, after seeing the armored troops heading that way, I thought an operation was underway and thought it was not wise to go there," he explained.

Remzi Kartal, DEP's spokesman for the party's 17 deputies in Parliament, warned in a statement that activities such as these were pushing Turkey to the point of ethnic division day by day. He added that the only way to prevent further violence was to "win the people" but said traditionally aggressive methods were making this impossible. "The gap between the state and the people is growing day by day," he said, accusing "those running the country" of treachery.

Investigation:

Meanwhile, a total of 13 DEP deputies on Wednesday asked for a parliamentary investigation to be launched with regard to a recent security operation conducted in the Altinova village of Muş, during which nine people were allegedly killed. The deputies, referring to the Oct. 2 incident, said in a statement that "following a clash between PKK militants and security forces in which one officer was killed, security forces armed with heavy weapons and escorted by armoured vehicles opened fire on houses and workshops. During the incident, three houses were totally burned and nine residents inside were killed." The 13 deputies underlined that the office of the Emergency Law governor had portrayed the attack as a PKK raid. Emphasizing that one of the three houses belonged to deputy Mayor, Ibrahim Sayılğan, from the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP), they said he and his children were nearly killed. The DEP deputies also claimed troops had machine-gunned all of the animals.

Mayor Shot

In another development on Wednesday, deputy mayor of Mardin's Nusaybin township, Yusuf Dündar from DEP was gunned down by unidentified gunmen. Dündar was hospitalized in critical condition while his brother and uncle died on the spot. Abdullah Kaya, mayor of Kozluk in Batman province, was arrested on the same day on charges of conducting separatist propaganda.

Kaya, from the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP), is to be tried for an interview published in the Özgür Gündem newspaper.

Kurdish protesters block Iraq-Turkey highway

Reuters

BAGHDAD- A dispute over the supply of electricity to the northern Kurdish city of Dahouk has stranded hundreds of Turkish and U.N. trucks in the Kurdish rebel-held areas, a senior U.N. official said on Wednesday.

Mohamed Zejjari, U.N. coordinator in Iraq, told Reuters that Kurdish demonstrators from Dahouk, protesting against the sudden cut in their power supply two months ago, were preventing food and aid trucks from reaching Mosul and other parts of Iraq. "They are protesting against the lack of electricity in that city, and the

population of Dahouk has been blocking the road to Mosul since Sept. 28," Zejjari said.

Zejjari said the U.N. humanitarian assistance to Iraq and the Kurdish population in Irbil and Sulaimaniya had been affected by the action. "We are very concerned about this situation and my delegate in Dahouk is in continual contact with the protesters and local authorities to find a solution," he said. He said that he had failed in his repeated attempts to persuade the protesters to let the trucks pass. He also said that his continued contacts with the Iraqis, to re-connect power supplies to the Kurds, had

so far led to nothing.

"Our trucks must pass. We're trying to get them through, but so far have not succeeded," he said.

Zejjari said electricity had not been supplied to Dahouk since August 5.

"They (the Kurds) are very much disturbed by the lack of electricity. I have been in contact with the Iraqi government for the past few weeks on this," he said.

Dahouk is linked to the national grid through Mosul. Mosul residents, contacted by telephone, told Reuters they themselves now suffer many hours of power cuts every day.

THE WALL STREET —October 14, 1993

Turkey Pushes for an End To U.N.'s Embargo of Iraq

By JAMES M. DORSEY

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL EUROPE

ISTANBUL — Turkey, one of the West's staunchest allies in the Persian Gulf war against Iraq, is advocating lifting the United Nations embargo against its Middle Eastern neighbor.

In a move that could drive a wedge between Turkey and its Western allies, Turkish leaders argue that aside from Iraq, their country has been hardest hit by the sanctions and that it can no longer tolerate the losses incurred by the U.N. embargo.

On her first visit to the U.S. since becoming prime minister in July, Tansu Ciller hopes this week to convince President Bill Clinton that Turkey at the very least deserves to be compensated for an estimated \$5 billion in losses since the war.

During talks with President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow last month, Mrs. Ciller and the Russian leader declared that they would coordinate efforts to achieve a lifting of the U.N. embargo against Iraq.

Mrs. Ciller's efforts appear to have been boosted by a recent Iraqi decision to disclose details of its now-banned weapons programs, including the names of companies that contributed to the programs prior to the U.N. embargo. The U.N. demanded these disclosures as a key condition for lifting the ban on Iraqi oil exports.

Message for Saddam Hussein

The Iraqi moves follow a visit to Baghdad last week by former Turkish Interior Minister Ismet Sezgin, who conveyed a message from Turkish President Suleyman Demirel to Iraqi leader Saddam

Hussein urging him to accept U.N. conditions for a lifting of the oil embargo, according to Turkish officials.

Earlier this year, Turkey broke ranks with the West by reopening its embassy in Baghdad, which had been closed in the wake of the August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Egypt, another ally of the West in the war against Iraq, made a similar move at the time.

"We are hoping that the embargo on Iraq will be lifted, because we do not want the Iraqi people to suffer any longer. We want Iraq to reintegrate with the family of nations," said Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin.

Mr. Cetin estimates that the closure of the 985-kilometer pipeline from Iraq to a Turkish oil terminal on the Mediterranean coast is costing Turkey \$750,000 a day. Moreover, before its invasion of Kuwait, Iraq was one of Turkey's most important trading partners, with Turkish contractors involved in a large number of Iraqi projects.

Stuck in the Pipeline

"If 100 million barrels of oil flows through the pipeline, our earnings from this would be \$1 billion. We also have to take into consideration our trade and our contractors with projects there," Mr. Demirel said in a recent interview.

At the very least, Mrs. Ciller hopes to get U.S. technical support to pump out 7.2 million barrels of oil, valued at as much as \$1.5 billion, that has been stuck in the pipeline for the past three years, threatening it with corrosion. About half of that oil is

Turkish property, and the other half is owned by Iraq, according to Turkish officials and analysts.

In addition, Mr. Cetin says Turkey has sought guarantees from Iraq that it will in the future export its oil through Turkey rather than through alternative pipelines in the Gulf in exchange for Turkey's efforts to get the oil embargo lifted.

But Turkish efforts to gain favor with Iraq aren't motivated merely by economics. Concerned that hard-line policies by Iraq toward its three million Kurds could push the Kurdish enclave in the northern part of the country closer to independence, Turkish officials are advising Saddam Hussein that they could assist him in building bridges to the Kurds.

Fears of Escalation

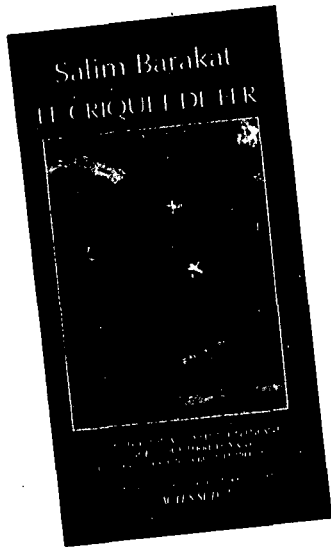
Iraqi Kurdish political groups controlling the enclave, which is protected by the Western allies, are dependent on Turkey for transit of goods and people. Turkey fears that the emergence of an independent Kurdish state in northern Iraq will only fuel the nine-year-old Kurdish guerrilla war in southeastern Turkey that has already cost more than 7,200 lives.

"Terrorist activity in southeastern Turkey has gained momentum because of the lack of authority in northern Iraq. The time has come for the United States and the West to review its policy. Turkey can no longer tolerate this unjust policy," said Ecmel Barutcu, a former Turkish ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Kurdistan. *Un écrivain raconte son enfance volée par la guerre.*

La mort des « petits héros ».

BERNARD MAGNIER



Le Criquet de fer, par Salim Barakat, traduit de l'arabe (Syrie) par François Zabbal. Editions Actes Sud, 47, rue Fanton, « Le Méjean », 13200 Arles, France, 104 p., 75 FF.

Avec *Le Criquet de fer* de Salim Barakat, écrivain kurde né en Syrie et résidant à Chypre après avoir vécu à Beyrouth, nous sommes loin des enfances radieuses, innocentes et bucoliques que nous contentent tant d'écrivains de par le monde. Ici, chaque instant semble guidé par la nécessité de survivre. Les petits héros qui hantent les pages de ce livre semblent hors la loi du monde. Ils vivent dans un village kurde de la campagne syrienne, séparé de la Turquie voisine par un « maquis touffu » et par une ligne continue de barbelés. Ils n'ont pas eu le temps d'être naïfs et insoucians. La vie et les folies adultes leur ont façonné un destin tragique.

Et pour ces « enfants voués au pillage », le vol, la contrebande (entre la Syrie et la Turquie) et le dépeçage des bêtes dans un charnier offrent les meilleurs gages de survie. L'humiliation d'un voisin ou les sévices

administrés aux animaux sont parmi les meilleurs de leurs jeux. Comme d'autres jouent au football, aux billes ou à la marelle, « ces enfants qui n'ont pas d'enfance » s'en vont voler la canne d'un aveugle, plumer vivant un coq, exciter les dindons ou les bœufs et s'amuser de leurs combats, arroser de kérosène un chat et mettre le feu à sa queue, ou bien encore capturer les taupes ou les gerboises, inventer des sacrifices sadiques et se divertir de leurs souffrances jusqu'à leur mort... Leurs jeux sont à la démesure de cette enfance vieillie dans les incendies, la neige et les ruines. Quant à la mort, elle est une invitée permanente, une compagne, presque une complice.

Ainsi, Salim Barakat choisit d'absoudre le mal par le lyrisme subtil d'une évocation psalmodiée dont on peut, à chaque instant, mesurer la part de retenue. Nul doute que ce livre — outre la richesse de son témoignage — ne soit aussi, pour son auteur, un exorcisme salutaire. ●

Turks Seek Relief On Iraq Sanctions

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

ANKARA — Turkey's prime minister, Tansu Ciller, has gone to Washington to ask President Bill Clinton a question that has come to preoccupy many political and economic leaders here and elsewhere: How long can the Western embargo of Iraq continue without visible political result?

The question is particularly pertinent to Turkey, which says it is losing about \$3 billion a year in trade and income from Iraq's pipeline across Turkey, an artery that has been closed since the beginning of the Gulf crisis.

Officials here say Mrs. Ciller's primary aim when she meets Mr. Clinton on Friday will be to press for relief from the cost of Turkey's pivotal role in applying the sanctions against Iraq. Accordingly, she is expected to seek Mr. Clinton's assessment of Iraqi progress in meeting the terms of United Nations resolutions on the sanctions.

A Western diplomat said Mrs. Ciller will probably launch "an appeal to the U.S. to take a leadership role in helping Turkey solve its problems." But the United States,

he said, will "find itself short on resources to respond to an appeal."

The questions go to the heart of Turkey's problem as a remote Western ally lodged among unruly and hostile neighbors in the East: While it pursues a Western identity, it is also a player and a trader in a rough region.

After Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Turkey, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, was among the first to support the coalition assembled by the Bush administration. Ankara severed trade ties with Baghdad and, most important to the West, closed down the pipeline that carried oil from northern Iraq to world markets. The shutdown is denying Baghdad the chance of selling oil to rebuild further, but it also is denying Turkey income and oil supplies.

"Without any hesitation, Turkey supported the coalition," Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said. But he added: "Who is suffering from the embargo? Turkey and the Iraqi people, not the leaders, not those who created this problem."

Mr. Cetin also said that since the Gulf War, Baghdad's authority no longer extended to Kurdish-con-

trolled northern Iraq, giving a base to Kurdish guerrillas seeking a separate state in southeastern Turkey.

"The north of Iraq is like a no-man's-land," he said. "The territorial integrity and unity of Iraq is very important for the whole region, and for us."

"The problem is, how long will this continue?" he asked. "Saddam is there, sanctions are there and no one knows how this will continue to the end. We want to find a solution."

For some Turks, an issue of equal importance is their government's worry that the Russian military, strengthened by its alliance with President Boris N. Yeltsin in crushing the revolt by parliament last week, will feel emboldened to exercise its power in such former Soviet republics as Georgia and Azerbaijan, both of which are just to the east of Turkey.

Officials said that Mrs. Ciller is also likely to register sharp differences with the Clinton administration over developments in Russia, which are seen in Ankara not so much as a free-market democracy striving for life as a potential regional threat pursuing what one official termed "a grand Russian design, a hidden hand in the Caucasus" on Turkey's borders.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1993

JEUNE AFRIQUE N° 1710 - DU 14 AU 20 OCTOBRE 1993

Friday, October 15, 1993

Impressions of Iğdır:

Another city crushed by terrorism

- Locals demand urgent measures against terrorist activity
- Declaration of surrounding mountains as 'forbidden zones' and resettlement of people living there a probable solution

By Emel Aktuğ

Turkish Daily News

IĞDIR- Life is difficult in Iğdır, an eastern Turkish province on the Armenian border. The locals eke out a precarious existence, living, as it were, under the banner of a state of terror.

The Turkish state hardly exists here. It is as if militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) have taken over the administration.

Curiously enough, they resemble the Klu Klux Klan members in the United States. During the day, they wile away their time at coffeehouses, playing cards with other locals. At night, their search for targets begins.

It seems that the locals know the identity of the PKK members in their midst. Yet afraid of reprisal, they choose to remain silent.

Just on the eve of my arrival there, terrorists attacked the local daily, Yeşil Iğdır, hurling Molotov cocktails at its offices in the city center. Fortunately, the fire was put out, without serious damage to the building.

The paper's reporters know who attacked their office. Yet they cannot reveal the perpetrators' identities, for fear of murderous reprisals. They cannot report incidents occurring under their very noses, either. They can only wait for a bulletin to be issued by the office of the emergency regional governor. If there are many casualties, the incident appears in the bulletin. Only then can reporters use the story in the daily.

Iğdır, the hometown of Mahmut Alınak, Democracy Party (DEP) Şırnak deputy, is trapped dead in the middle of the triangle formed by Kars, Ardahan, and Iğdır.

The mayor of Iğdır is a True Path Party (DYP) member. Yet in the last general elections, not one single vote was cast for the

has at least five wives and 20 children, which means that in a few years time, Kurds will form the majority group in the area. That is why the provincial convention was annulled. Yet, this story repeats itself again and again.

An Azeri has a private TV station in Iğdır. The channel broadcasts every evening for two to two and a half hours. The broadcast urge the locals to arm themselves against the PKK if need be. Yet the local population is already armed to the teeth. Yet another sad truth is that all Iğdır natives feel compelled to hurry back home every evening when the clock strikes 4:30 p.m. After 5 p.m., the streets are all deserted. Coupled with frequent blackouts at night, the fear of death leaves the locals with no other alternative but to rush back to the safety of their homes when evening falls. Two months ago, the PKK blew up the TL 75 billion substation supplying the province with electricity.

No commercial activity is now possible for the local populations of Kars, Iğdır, and Ardahan. The only ones able to cross the border are penniless Azerbaijanis and PKK militants. Trade along the border is strictly under PKK control. Watchtowers on the border were dismantled on the pretext that the "Communist threat" had been eliminated. There are only a few soldiers on guard duty from early morning till dusk, on highways close to the border. Alas, these kids are easily gunned down by PKK snipers.

Proposals by local authorities

Local authorities propose the following, in order to wipe out PKK terrorist activity in the region:

1. That the Armenian and Iranian borders be mined and controlled by radar. They say watchtowers must be erected and border stations established again. Patrols must be increased in order to prevent PKK militants from trickling onto Turkish soil from neighboring countries and to put an end to smuggling, they say.

2. That Mount Ağı be declared a "forbidden zone" and villagers living in the mountains — such as Tendürek, Cudi, and Gabar — be resettled in secure areas with the state compensating them for their financial losses. Such measures, they say, will prevent logistical support reaching PKK cadres in the mountains, and will break communication lines with their sympathizers and militiamen down in the settlement areas. This will ultimately bring the downfall of the PKK, they add.

3. That search operations be conducted continually in villages known for sympathizing with the PKK.

4. That local tradesmen who close shops, in compliance with PKK orders, be subjected to criminal investigation and higher taxes. Those that ignore such orders must be rewarded with tax exemptions, they say.

5. That public servants sympathetic to the PKK be denied access to crucial information.

6. That soldiers deployed in the region be not of Kurdish origin. Security forces must comprise young, dynamic, and patriotic people. They add that an increase in the number of special crack forces will also help greatly.

Strategic area

The declaration of Iğdır province as a strategically important area makes more sense, considering the above mentioned facts. The proximity of Armenia is the most important factor accounting for the close relations between Armenia and the PKK. The Yerevan agreement of 1935, between the Armenians and the Kurds, attempting to snatch the region away from Turkey, is still valid.

Iğdır, recently declared a province, enjoys a mild climate. The soil is fertile, like that of Çukurova. Spring, in Iğdır, lasts for nine months. Yet this province is badly in need of urgent state assistance to solve its problems, arising from terrorist activity and a lack of sound economic planning.

Çiller meets Clinton in White House

■ Officials say wide range of issues stretching from bilateral ties to Somalia discussed

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON-Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller met with US President Bill Clinton on Friday on the second day of her official visit to this country.

Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin, who accompanied Çiller during her meeting with Clinton, came together with US Secretary of State Warren Christopher prior to the meeting at the White House.

Çiller's meeting with Clinton, lasted for two hours and included discussions over lunch. Sources close to the meeting said high on the agenda of the talks was the situation in Somalia, Iraq, Middle East, Bosnia Herzegovina and the other republics of the former Yugoslavia.

On the bilateral level subjects concentrated on were the need to enhance the political relations between the two countries, increase bilateral trade and expand the cooperation in the defence field.

After lunching with Clinton, Çiller held meetings with the Chairman of the World Bank Lewis, Preston, Deputy US Treasurer Roger Altman, US Secretary of Defense Les Aspin and the acting Chairman of the International Money Foundation Richard Erb respectively.

On Thursday Çiller had met with members of the environment that both Turkey and the United States find themselves in Çiller told reporters in the plane bringing her to Washington that one of the main purposes of her visit was for the two countries to understand each others' place in this environment and to open new doors to cooperation in this context.

Çiller said that whether the U.S. wanted to be very involved in international affairs or not, what was clear was that settlements to major international problems could not be achieved without Washington's contribution.

Çiller also answered questions for reporters in the plane on controversial current developments.

Asked if she was going to bring up the issue of a lifting of the U.N. embargo on Iraq -- she has said in the past that her government wanted to see this embargo lifted -- Çiller indicated that her previous statements on this issue had been misunderstood.

She said that she had not said the embargo should be lifted but that the adverse effects of this embargo on Turkey should be lifted.

"But the issue of what can be jointly done (with the U.S) for this action of Turkey's (of complying with the U.N. sanctions) not to turn into a punishment for the people of Turkey can be discussed" Çiller said.

This appeared a step back on her previous and openly expressed position on this question; a position which is said to have chagrined officials in Washington.

Another question that Çiller answered related to the so called "Basque model" controversy in Turkey started after a recent meeting between herself and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez in Vienna.

After that meeting papers had quoted Çiller as saying that Gonzales had explained the way Spain had managed to combat Basque terrorism and to address some of the Basque aspirations, and had recommended a similar model for Turkey.

After heated debates in the press and parliament Çiller had come out and denied that she had said any such thing to any journalist or that she had discussed the Basque model with Gonzales.

Çiller told the reporters on the plane this time that Gonzales had merely invited her to Spain and had suggested that a team of experts from Turkey travel to Spain before the visit to study matters relating to the European Community as well as to question of how Spain coped with the problem of terrorism. Prime Minister Çiller added that the Chief of Staff's Office in Turkey had in the past studied the Basque model in Spain and had prepared reports on it. She also refuted recent press reports and said that when she had met President Suleyman Demirel on her return from Vienna the President had not reprimanded her for starting the "Basque debate."

Responding to a question about Washington's request from Turkey for more soldiers to be sent to the U.N. operation in Somalia, Çiller said that one of the requests by the United Nations from Turkey was for more Turkish troops to be sent for this operation. "We have studied this matter extensively.

Our Chief of Staff's office has studied the matter. There does not appear to be an urgent situation at the present time. But if there is a need, the comment that has arisen has been such that there could be an increase in the forces there. But the details have not been worked out yet" Çiller said.

Answering a question about the recent request by Russia about its forces in the Caucasus -- a request which amounts to asking for permission to breach the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty -- Çiller conceded curiously that the limits allowed to Russia by the treaty in terms of the number of conventional arms it could hold in the Caucasus seemed low.

But she said that what was involved was an international treaty which could not be violated in any way. She said that if it was going to be violated, then this would mean that the treaty would have to be renegotiated as a whole.

Çiller also suggested that she would be discussing the growing Russian presence in the Caucasus during her official talks in Washington.

The specially chartered Turkish Airlines plane carrying Çiller and her crowded delegation to Washington arrived at Andrews Airforce base at 8.15 am local time.

Çiller was met at the base by U.S. Assistant Secretary for State Steve Oxman and Protocol Chief Molly Raiser according to the standard U.S. procedure on such visits.

Also ready at the arrival was Turkey's ambassador to the United States Nüzhet Kandemir. Çiller's Thursday program included a visit to the Arlington National Cemetery for a wreath laying at the tomb of the unknown soldier and meeting with members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, including a meeting with members of the Armed Forces and Allocations Committee. Thursday's program also included a dinner hosted by Prime Minister Çiller at Blair house to well known U.S. columnists.

Çiller, who is expected to meet with U.S. President Bill Clinton today at the White House in Washington, is accompanied by Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin, Labour and Social Security Minister Mehmet Moğultay, other high level bureaucrats, her husband businessman Özer Çiller, 40 journalists and 25 Turkish businessmen and industrialists.

PKK declares all-out war on

Communist rival TDKP

- *With three PKK members dead, conflict between outlawed organizations for prominence in Tunceli province may intensify*
- *Pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem and leftist Aydınlık enter the fray*

By Ruhican Tul
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- With three more Kurdish separatists found dead Wednesday, the bloody conflict for prominence between two organizations, the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP), in the Southeastern province of Tunceli is surging on.

The PKK's self-styled "Dersim State Military Command" said last Saturday that Tunceli (Dersim) Mayor Mehmet Kocademir was responsible for the Sept. 28 killing of three PKK militants. "He is a state agent and must immediately be gunned down," a PKK statement ran.

The PKK later lashed out at the TDKP as well for issuing a statement backing the Tunceli mayor, following which on Oct. 30 PKK militants shot to death Kamer Özkan, a member of the break-away PKK faction Tekoshin, on the grounds that he was "an agent provocateur" in the service of the National Intelligence Organization (MIT).

Another statement by the PKK demanded the immediate closure of all schools in Tunceli province, saying that those failing to comply with its orders "shall be punished most severely." Later, in two separate raids on schools in the province, PKK militants gunned down six teachers, some of whom were reportedly leftists.

On Oct. 10, the PKK killed six TDKP militants in a lightning raid in Tunceli's Hozat town. They injured four others. The TDKP militants were reportedly on their way to a meeting with a PKK group.

A news bulletin by KURD-HA news agency claimed that the PKK unit "was forced to defend itself because it had been attacked by the TDKP."

Following the killings, small business owners in Tunceli's Pulumur, Hozat, and Ovacık towns closed shop in protest of the incident. A group of 750 to 800 peo-

ple staged a demonstration in the town of Ovacık.

In another statement, the PKK Dersim state military command warned that those who had participated in protest action against the killings would be punished most severely.

Three more people were found murdered in the Sutface district of Tunceli Wednesday. They are reported to be PKK militants, abducted some time ago.

The most recent killings belie two similar statements issued by the PKK's popular front (ERNK) and the TDKP.

"The PKK does not follow any 'special' policies relating to revolutionary forces," an ERNK announcement said Wednesday. As for the TDKP, it has disclosed that it "does not consider retaliation."

"This may lead to a split between the Kurdish and Turkish peoples that could prove impossible to heal," a statement jointly issued by the TDKP central committee and the organization's Kurdistan committee read.

Aydınlık conflict:

The bloody campaign for prominence between two rival organizations has turned the leftist daily Aydınlık and pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem into parties to the conflict as well. An Oct. 12 article bylined Ali Firat — thought to be the pen name of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan — in Özgür Gündem claimed that Aydınlık was a mere "propaganda tool" for the Army's "Special Warfare Department."

"The Turkish chief of staff has given himself until March 1994 to wipe out the PKK... Certain press organizations strive to shower praise on that kind of policy. Some do so on behalf of the right. And some double-dealing, hypocritical papers do that under the pretext of serving the leftist cause.

Aydınlık has been such a paper. Its recent attacks on us show it to be a paper

devoted to its state as a propaganda tool of the Special Warfare Department," he wrote.

Aydınlık hit back on Oct. 13, maintaining it was the paper that unearthed that particular department.

"Ali Firat learns whatever he learns on special warfare and the Special Warfare Department from Aydınlık... We have always maintained our belief that our paper is only responsible to the people. We always tell the truth. That's why the National Security Council (MGK) prevents its sale in 45 provinces. Just because we highlighted the PKK attacks on the people and the leftist cause, its sales are prevented in Tunceli," Aydınlık said.

Hasan Yalçın, an Aydınlık columnist, on Thursday attacked both the PKK and Özgür Gündem, saying that the killing of six TDKP members was "outright murder."

"What kind of salvation are you aiming at when you kill revolutionaries? Killing revolutionaries has nothing to do with the idea of being a revolutionary," he said.

"The PKK has reached a stage where it has started shedding Marxist blood. Previously, they killed villagers just because they happened to be Turks, too," he went on to say. Yalçın added that another sign of the PKK's alienation from the working class was the PKK's praise of the United States and NATO, coupled with its attempts to find common ground with the Grand Transformation (BDP) and Grand Unity (BBP) parties, two rightist parties headed by Aydın Menderes and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu respectively.

He also referred to an Özgür Gündem article by Zeki Tombak, who, he said, mistakenly claimed that Aydınlık served state interests.

"He encouraged the new PKK policy of killing revolutionaries," he said.

Analysis

PKK actions spark debate in human rights circles

■ *Amnesty International's Yokohama declaration is at the focus of the debate*

By Murat Yetkin

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The actions of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) sparked a debate within the human rights activists in Turkey. The PKK targets civilians and those who are not directly related to the hot conflict between the organization and the Turkish security forces.

Human rights activists in Turkey who have been organized to take a stand against the violations of human and civil rights by the state security forces, now argue with each other on how to react to this relatively new situation. The debate sparked when the Ankara-based Human Rights Association (IHD) protested the killing of more than 30 unarmed soldiers and five civilians by the PKK near Bingöl in eastern Turkey on May 24.

PKK militants had first kidnapped them and then killed them in a rural area after the security forces started a follow-up operation.

When the IHD headquarters in Ankara made protested the killing of unarmed people, some activists within the IHD, especially those sympathizing with the PKK, outlawed fringe left organizations like Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left), and the Turkish Revolutionary Communist Party (TDKP) became upset with this new position.

The reaction within the IHD was openly voiced when the organization made another statement protesting the massacring of 28 villagers in Basbaglar village of another eastern province, Erzincan, on July 6.

The Yokohama criterion

At the focus of the debate there is the Yokohama declaration of the international human rights watch group Amnesty International (AI) issued in 1991 after a meeting there.

In that declaration AI said that the organization would raise its voice against the violations of human rights by armed political opposition groups, with the emphasis still being on violations by government security forces. The AI listed those violations as arbitrary killings, torture and kidnappings. In that context, the organization had named the countries having such groups as the "Philippines, Sri Lanka, Peru, Turkey and some Middle East countries."

Supporting the Yokohama declaration, the secretary general of IHD, Hüsnü Öndül, expands the context of "arbitrary killing" by the factors listed in the 1949 convention on the law of war, as the killing of: those who are not a party in the war; those defenseless and without any means of protection; those who laid down their arms and those who surrendered; women and children; those who are left out of the war with reasons like illness, being wounded, imprisonment, and so forth.

Criticizing the violations of those principles by the armed organizations, Öndül say the IHD and human rights activists should support the idea of superiority of "the humanitarian law."

Öndül is supported by Ercan Kanar, the head of Istanbul branch of the IHD, another influential figure.

Support for the idea grows because the PKK killed school teachers in the east and southeast, claiming they were among the "revolutionary targets" of the organization unless they resigned and left the region by Oct. 1. The teachers' "crime" according to the PKK was to work as the "paid agents" of the Turkish government.

There are letters sent by the IHD organizations from eastern towns asking headquarters to take a tougher stand

against the murders of teachers and villagers.

But Özcan Sapan, for example, in his article in the August-September issue of the "Human Rights Bulletin," published by the IHD, wrote that human rights should be considered from a "class" point of view.

Sapan says violations by state forces and by opposition groups — which he claims are using their legitimate right to resist — are not comparable and the IHD should focus on violations by the state, as being the representative of the capitalist class. Sapan criticizes the AI as trying to impose itself as an "institute of humanitarian behavior".

Sapan is not alone. Two lawyers, Levent Tuzal and Sedat Aslantaş, support the same "class approach" — in favor of the working class — in their articles in the same bulletin. Sources close to the situation predict an escalation in the debate with the recent conflict between the PKK and the TDKP in the eastern province of Tunceli.

But an increasing tendency among human rights activists in Turkey is to say that their job of obstructing the legitimization of the use of violence by state forces cannot ignore the use of violence by other groups just because they say they are opposition groups.

UK seeks explanation from Bonn about Iran contacts

Reuters

LONDON- British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has asked Germany's ambassador for clarification of a reported meeting between his country's intelligence officials and an Iranian secret agent last week.

Hurd was said to be angry about the meetings, which appeared to flout a European Community decision on relations towards Iran following its death sentence against British author Salman Rushdie.

A German news magazine and an Iranian opposition group said Iranian Internal Security Minister Ali Fallahian met officials last week from the German internal and external intelli-

gence services at Bonn's invitation.

The Iranian group said the meetings were intended to help Iran expand its activities against opposition groups.

British Foreign Office officials said that "eyebrows were certainly raised" about the meetings and Hurd wanted to seek clarification from Germany's ambassador.

The officials said the subject was raised during a regular meeting with ambassador Peter Hartmann. Hartmann had not been summoned, they said.

Britain's concern over contacts with Iran were reinforced by the wo-

unding in a gun attack on Monday of the Norwegian publisher of Rushdie's novel "The Satanic Verses," which the Iranian authorities consider blasphemous to Islam.

An EC declaration at the December 1992 Edinburgh summit said a dialogue should be maintained with Iran.

But it should reflect "concern about Iranian behavior, and calls for improvement in a number of areas particularly human rights, the death sentence pronounced by a fatwa of Ayatollah Khomeini against the author Salman Rushdie which is contrary to international law, and terrorism."

Iraqi power cutoff puts Kurdish lives at risk

By Aliza Marcus

Reuters

DAHUK, Northern Iraq—Health conditions in this northern Iraqi province have worsened rapidly since Baghdad cut off power two months ago to punish rebel Kurds, aid workers say. Clean drinking water is in short supply. Hospitals perform only emergency operations and can no longer properly store blood supplies and medicines requiring constant refrigeration. As winter approaches, relief workers and doctors are worried about a possible increase in deaths from pneumonia and other respiratory ailments among the 600,000 Kurds in Dahuk province. "All basic services here are electrically driven and people have never had to consider how to provide things like water and heating without electricity," said Don McLean, head of the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) sub-office in Dahuk city.

Angry Kurds protesting the power cuts have blocked the Iraq-Turkey highway since September 28, stranding dozens of Turkish truck drivers until they ended the action on Thursday. A senior United Nations official announced the end of the blockade, which choked fuel supplies, forcing up prices and affecting the ability of international aid agencies to move materials to other parts of northern Iraq via Mosul. Iraq blames the lack of power in the Mosul area, linked to Dahuk on the national grid, on an allied raid on anti-aircraft positions in August which it said destroyed several pylons. The blackout affecting Dahuk, one of three Kurdish-held provinces protected by U.S.-led coalition forces, has aggravated an already precarious situation since it began on August

5. Aid workers say many essential medical supplies are lacking due to restrictions associated with the three-year-old U.N. trade sanctions imposed on Iraq for its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. "We just don't have the medicines to treat many of the diseases which will appear when it gets cold if people have no way to heat their homes," said McLean.

Ghazi Abdullah Fandi, director of the city's main Azadi Hospital, said hospitals were short of everything from syringes to solutions to treat kidney failure in children — an increasing problem because of impure water. "Since 1991, we have been living off old supplies and the materials we get from aid agencies. Now our stores are depleted and we don't get enough from aid agencies," said Fandi. "It's very frustrating to work here, knowing you can treat people, yet having to watch them die because you are lacking simple medicines, supplies and now electricity," he added. Generators cannot meet the shortfall in power, forcing some people to rely on murky streams for drinking water. "We know this is dangerous, but we get water only every four or five days so we have no choice except to rely on this dirty water for all our needs," said an old woman standing barefoot in a stream in the border town of Zakho, washing dishes. Statistics from the Azadi Hospital show what aid workers and doctors called an alarming increase in certain illnesses. Typhoid cases in Dahuk city rose to 188 in September, from 41 in the same month last year. Diarrhoea cases just about doubled to more than 900 in September.

In August there were 26 cases of hepatitis, more than twice the number in August 1992.

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USA-Turquie

Bill Clinton confirme qu'un Américain a été pris en otage par les Kurdes

WASHINGTON, 15 oct (AFP) — Le président Bill Clinton a confirmé vendredi qu'un ressortissant américain était retenu en otage par les rebelles kurdes de Turquie, à l'issue d'un entretien à la Maison Blanche avec le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller.

Interrogé au cours d'une conférence de presse commune sur la coopération entre Washington et Ankara en matière de lutte anti-terroriste, M. Clinton a répondu que cette question "était devenue plus importante et plus immédiate au cours des dernières vingt quatre heures lorsqu'un citoyen américain a été pris en otage par le PKK".

Selon un communiqué de l'agence de presse kurde Kurd-ha, proche des rebelles kurdes de Turquie, deux touristes, un Américain, Konir Patrick, et un Néo-zélandais, Ernis Dougar, ont été placés "en garde à vue" par des "guerilleros de l'Armée populaire de Libération du Kurdistan" (ARGK). L'ARGK est la branche militaire du PKK, le parti séparatiste des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, qui est en rébellion contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara.

M. Clinton a affirmé que les Etats-Unis "ne négociaient pas avec des terroristes" et "avaient l'intention de travailler avec la Turquie". "Nous avons discuté de quelques moyens de renforcer notre coopération", a ajouté le président américain.

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Russie-Kurdes

95 Kurdes interpellés dans le centre de Moscou

MOSCOU, 15 oct (AFP) - Quatre-vingt-quinze Kurdes d'Irak et de républiques caucasiennes de l'ex-URSS, qui manifestaient sur la place Pouchkine à Moscou pour obtenir l'asile politique, ont été interpellés vendredi par les forces de l'ordre qui ont tiré en l'air à plusieurs reprises pour les disperser, a-t-on appris de sources concordantes.

Des membres des OMON (forces spéciales du ministère de l'Intérieur) et des miliciens (policiers) ont mené cette opération devant l'entrée de la maison d'édition des Izvestia.

Selon une source au département chargé du maintien de l'ordre à la mairie de Moscou interrogée par l'AFP, les interpellations de Kurdes s'inscrivent dans le cadre de l'état d'urgence (en vigueur jusqu'au 18 octobre) qui permettent d'expulser de la capitale les étrangers dépourvus de permis de résidence.

Cela fait déjà un an que des Kurdes manifestent régulièrement dans le centre de Moscou. L'obtention de l'asile politique, notamment pour les Kurdes d'Irak qui ne souhaitent pas rentrer dans leur pays, est une de leurs revendications.

Des milliers de Caucasiens, de ressortissants d'Asie centrale et d'autres ex-républiques soviétiques ont déjà été expulsés de la ville en vertu des mesures d'exception (état d'urgence et couvre-feu) entrées en vigueur les 3 et 4 octobre.

bs/chm

AFP 151610 OCT 93

FRA0128 4 I 0254 TUR /AFP-GZ69

Turquie-Kurdes

Les Kurdes affirment détenir deux touristes, un Américain et un Néo-zélandais

ANKARA, 15 oct (AFP) - Les rebelles kurdes de Turquie ont affirmé vendredi "avoir placé en garde à vue" deux touristes étrangers, un Américain et un Néo-zélandais, lors d'une opération de "contrôle d'identité" la semaine dernière dans l'est de la Turquie.

Aucune confirmation n'avait pu être obtenue vendredi matin en Turquie de source turque ou américaine.

Selon un communiqué de l'agence de presse kurde Kurd-Ha, proche des rebelles kurdes de Turquie, ces touristes, l'Américain Konir Patrick et le Néo-zélandais Ernis Dougar, ont été "placés en garde à vue" lors d'une opération de "contrôle d'identité" le 9 octobre sur la route de Erzincan à Erzurum (est) par des "guérilleros de l'Armée populaire de Libération du Kurdistan" (ARGK).

L'ARGK est la branche militaire du Parti séparatiste des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) qui mène une rébellion armée depuis août 1984 dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara.

Les deux touristes ont été retenus pour "être entrés au Kurdistan sans les autorisations nécessaires", selon le communiqué diffusé par Kurd-Ha, reçu à Ankara et envoyé de Dusseldorf (Allemagne).

Au total, 13 touristes occidentaux --4 Français, 2 Suisses, 2 Italiens, 2 Allemands, un Néo-zélandais, un Britannique et une Australienne-- avaient été kidnappés et relâchés en juillet et août dans l'est de la Turquie par les militants armés du PKK.

CE/PT/br

AFP 151000 OCT 93



Turkish army blocks moves to Kurdish reform

DIVISIONS are deepening in Turkey over a solution to the country's ever-bloodier Kurdish revolt as proponents of purely military suppression try to crush any talk of political reform. Heavy pressure from the Turkish armed forces and President Suleyman Demirel this week blocked hesitant steps by the Prime Minister, Tansu Ciller, to debate a plan for local autonomy and cultural rights that helped defuse Basque separatism in Spain.

"Twice she has had to take back her promises. They just don't want the Kurdish problem to be even discussed," said Remzi Kartal, spokesman for the group of 17 Kurdish na-

tionalist deputies in the 450-seat Turkish parliament. "Left to herself, Ciller might want to do something. But she doesn't have the strength."

Mrs Ciller's attempt to reopen the debate on the Kurds reflects a small but persistent body of Turkish and foreign opinion in the Turkish capital, Ankara, that Turkey's Kurdish policy is heading into a bloody dead end. Nearly 2,000 people have been killed since the last golden opportunity for peace, a two-month ceasefire that collapsed amid mutual re-

criminations in May.

"We must not block this discussion [of political alternatives]. Let's not do to Ciller what was done to [Turgut] Ozal," wrote *Hurriyet* editor Ertugrul Ozkok, recalling all the obstacles that were thrown into the path of the late Turkish president's attempts at reform, including the right for Kurds to speak their own language, granted in April 1991.

Turkish officials insist there is no discrimination against the country's 12 million Kurds, about one in five of the population, of whom about half live in the mainly Kurdish south-east of the country.

Officials now speak of Turkey as an ethnic mosaic, economic programmes for Kurdish areas and decentralisation. But their response has always lagged behind events. Even setting aside unanswered questions about 60 members of the main Kurdish nationalist party murdered in the past two years, moderate Kurdish leaders now demand at least the right to Kurdish broadcasting,

education and the full recognition of a Kurdish identity equal to the Turkish majority.

"It is a lie that Kurds are first-class citizens. Only if Kurds deny their origin can they do what they want," said Melik Firat, a Kurdish parliamentarian from the ruling True Path Party, referring to senior officials of Kurdish origin, including the Foreign Minister, Hikmet Cetin.

Mr Firat — the grandson of Sheikh Said, hanged in 1925 for leading one of many Kurdish rebellions — spoke bitterly of a spurned attempt to propose some 70 Kurdish members of the Turkish parliament as a forum for discussion. "It's like talking to a wall," he said.

Hardline Turks and the army, which sees itself as the guardian of a unitary Turkish state set up by Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s, reject any dilution of the nation's Turkish ethnic identity. Fanned by much-publicised Kurdish rebel atrocities, the bulk of Turkish opinion is also hardening against Kurdish demands.

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Turquie-Irak-Kurdes

Le PKK accuse les Kurdes irakiens du PDK de collaborer avec l'armée turque

BONN, 16 oct (AFP) — Le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK, Irak) de Massoud Barzani s'est de nouveau associé à l'armée turque pour combattre les maquisards du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, Turquie) réfugiés dans le nord de l'Irak, affirme le Comité du Kurdistan, proche du PKK, dans un communiqué reçu samedi soir à Bonn.

L'armée turque mène depuis le 1er octobre des opérations contre l'ARCK, la branche armée du PKK (séparatiste), avec l'appui de combattants du PDK, reproduisant le même scénario qu'en octobre 1992, indique le communiqué.

Cinq commandants et 19 combattants du PDK ont trouvé la mort dans ces opérations, ainsi que neuf membres de l'ARCK, précise le Comité du Kurdistan.

L'armée turque a engagé plusieurs milliers de soldats, appuyés par des hélicoptères, des avions et des chars, dans les régions de Haftanin, Zap, Bicella, Goste, Govende et Are, avec pour objectif d'anéantir les unités de l'ARCK (Armée nationale de libération du Kurdistan) qui y ont pris position, poursuit le communiqué.

Les militants armés du PKK utilisent la région irakienne montagneuse frontalière du Kurdistan turc comme base arrière pour leurs opérations. Ankara a reconnu avoir lancé plusieurs opérations au début octobre dans le Kurdistan irakien.

En octobre-novembre 1992, l'armée turque avait entrepris une opération sans précédent contre les positions du PKK en Irak du Nord, qui avait fait 2.500 morts parmi les maquisards, selon Ankara.

v1/fbc/mfo

AFP 162341 OCT 93

Saturday, October 16, 1993

Iraqi Kurds announce crackdown on PKK

Reuter

ANKARA- Iraqi Kurdish authorities have cracked down on Turkish rebel Kurds to force them to quit mountains bordering Turkey, a spokesman said on Friday.

"They must vacate the area. If they don't, stronger measures will be taken," Safeen Dizayee, Ankara representative of the Iraqi Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), told Reuters. He said the security arm of the Kurdish regional government had closed all offices run by or on behalf of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in northern Iraq after issuing a statement on Thursday which accused the group of breaking agreements. Iraqi Kurdish guerrillas launched an offensive to drive the separatist PKK from its border bases a year ago and Turkish forces crossed the frontier to complete the operation. The Iraqi Kurdish statement said the PKK had violated agreements signed by its leader Abdullah Öcalan after his forces were defeated last year, and renewed

in April this year. It listed a series of incidents from July in which PKK units attacked or kidnapped Iraqi Kurdish peshmerga guerrillas, prevented Iraqi Kurds from resettling border villages and provoked Turkish air raids this month which killed nine Iraqi Kurdish civilians and forced the evacuation of 30 villages. "We are determined not to allow anyone to interfere in the security and stability of our citizens and jeopardise our democratic experiment," the statement said.

"We ask the PKK leadership to rethink its position in a peaceful and positive way and abide by its agreements with the regional government of Kurdistan."

The statement said the PKK had increased its presence in the border mountains, rather than moving away from them, and contacts with the PKK had failed to resolve the problem. Dizayee, estimating the number of PKK fighters in the border region at up to 1,000, said he expected fighting, but not as much as last

year, when thousands of guerrillas were mobilised. "It will probably be localised, with our peshmerga surrounding the PKK wherever they find them. But the PKK will resist and there will be bloodshed," he said. He said he had told the Turkish authorities about the latest moves against the PKK and urged Ankara not to get involved. "We have asked Turkey to cease its operations in northern Iraq. We are more eager than they are to secure our territory." Iraqi Kurds cannot afford to antagonise Turkey, their main supply line and the base for Western aircraft protecting their territory from Iraqi government forces.

Turkish generals have repeatedly sent troops and aircraft across the border to harry the PKK in northern Iraq. Seeking an independent Kurdish state carved out of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, the PKK has been waging an armed campaign since 1984 in which nearly 7,500 people were killed in east and south-east Turkey so far.

Iran to step up security in Kurdish province

Reuter

NICOSIA- Iran, facing increasing guerrilla attacks by Kurdish rebels, says it will set up a strike force to deal with security problems in its Kordestan province.

"We will do our best to establish security throughout the country and especially in Kordestan province," Tehran Radio, monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation, quoted Interior Minister Ali Mohammad Besharati as saying. Speaking in Kordestan's capital Sanandaj on Thursday, Besharati said a special "strike force" would be

set up for security in the province.

"God willing, we will see positive results because of this decision in the near future," he said.

Autonomy-seeking Kurdish rebels have launched a series of attacks on Revolutionary Guards and government buildings in Kordestan and other Kurdish-populated provinces along Iran's western border with Iraq and Turkey.

Iranian newspapers occasionally report the clashes, but the Tehran Radio report made no mention of any particular incident.

In its latest statement the

Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, one of the rebel groups fighting Tehran, reported two attacks in Kordestan's neighbouring provinces.

The party said its guerrillas ambushed a government car and killed seven intelligence agents outside Salmas, 660 km (410 miles) northwest of Tehran near Turkey's border, on October 2. A day earlier and some 450 km (280 miles) to the south, rebels raided a state agricultural station near Sar-e Pol-e Zahab and destroyed tanker trucks and other vehicles, it said.

PKK claims kidnap of American, New Zealander

Reuters

ANKARA- The outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) said on Friday they had kidnapped an American and a New Zealander in eastern Turkey, where at least 16 tourists have been abducted this year.

The German-based Kurd-Ha news agency quoted a PKK statement as saying that PKK fighters had seized the two men at a roadblock on the main road between the eastern cities of Erzincan and Erzurum on October 9. It said the American, named as Patrick Connor, and the New Zealander, identified as Ernis Dougar, were being held until their governments officially contacted the PKK.

The U.S. and New Zealand embassies in Ankara could not immediately confirm that their nationals had been kidnapped.

"Their safety is in danger in the region where Turkish bombings and operations are going on," the PKK statement said.

"Therefore they will be the guests of our guerrillas until their governments intervene because their lives would be in danger if they are left to wander in the area by themselves."

The PKK has repeatedly warned foreign tourists to stay out of eastern and southeastern Turkey, where its nine-year-old independence war has cost more than 7,500 lives.

Its latest statement said the

American and New Zealander had been kidnapped for "defying the PKK prohibition on unauthorised entry into Kurdistan".

It said the Turkish state would be responsible for any harm which might come to the hostages.

The PKK has released all 16 Western tourists kidnapped in July and August, after holding some of them for several weeks.

Western governments have refused to negotiate with the Marxist PKK, which they regard as a terrorist organisation, for the freedom of their hostages. However, there have been independent contacts in the past between western deputies and the PKK.

turkish daily news

Southeast crisis:

Yılmaz: No to political solution

■ *'We must use force to repress the rebellion'*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yılmaz said on Friday that Turkey had to use military force against neighboring countries that were supporting terrorism, if peaceful deterrent measures failed in the future.

Yılmaz, referring to separatist violence, which has claimed more than 7,300 lives since 1984, said he was against a "political solution" to Turkey's Kurdish problem and argued that the state had to show its strength to crush the separatists. His statement coincided with a written demand by two ANAP deputies for an "interim regime" in Turkey and to shelve all existing political priorities to create a "national government alliance."

In letters sent to senior state officials and members of Parliament, Deputies Sadi Pehlivanoglu and Hüseyin Özalp called on everyone to help establish an interim regime and use all methods — including martial law — in the battle against terrorism.

The deputies said this had to be done in order to prevent another military coup in Turkey.

Yılmaz, addressing a meeting of the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association in Ankara, said that what was happening in the country's East and Southeastern regions was "a rebellion" and the only measure for countering a rebellion was "for the state to use its force against it."

He bluntly turned down suggestions that the security forces were battling terrorism without success and thus cre-



Mesut Yılmaz

ating the need for a political solution.

"I believe that the state is not involved in this struggle in the way it should be, by mobilizing all its forces in the best possible way," Yılmaz said.

The ANAP chairman noted that the state had its own trained forces to overcome rebellions. "The state has only one course of action against those rising up against it. That is to use the force of the state against that uprising," he said. Yılmaz also criticized the current condition of the security forces, saying they did not have the required equipment, coordination and intelligence. He also said Turkey needed special forces to fight guerrillas and such a campaign could not be achieved with regular forces trained to fight conventional armies.

Noting that Turkey's main aim should not be to wage war with 200,000 security forces against 10,000 people, but to win the support of those

as yet undecided. "This war," he said, "is a psychological war... A war in which differentiation should be made between innocent people and terrorists."

Yılmaz said neighboring countries were harboring and supporting terrorism and noted that Turkey had "various weapons" to use against them. In an apparent reference to Syria and Iran, Yılmaz added: "We can use water as a weapon against one of them and the transit issue as a weapon against the other. We also have other instruments of pressure that we can use. But, the will to use these is lacking." Yılmaz said: "These instruments should be used. We have gained nothing from goodwill gestures until now. Unfortunately, our neighbors continue to keep this threat hanging over us and to support it."

The ANAP chairman stressed that Turkey had to take measures which would force these countries to change their attitude. "But if there is no measure to be used, if Turkey is to be divided, then military force should be used against them. In other words, why should Turkey refrain from using military force, especially when nothing is more important than its lands and its borders. This should be realized as a last measure." Yılmaz said Turkey's main problem in the Southeast was to restore state control in that region and to fulfill its original duties to the people there. "Using force, we must repress this uprising," he said, arguing that debating Kurdish cultural, education or language rights were things that only "confused the mind."

ÇİLLER: *With Clinton in the White House*

Foreign Relations Committee of the US House of Representatives and members of the US Congress.

Following the meetings, Çiller told reporters that the contacts were "very useful" and will contribute to the further improvement of the Turkish-US relations.

"We examined together how can we form new fields of cooperation under the changing political circumstances around the world," Çiller said. Çiller said that questions were asked to her on the state of human rights in

Turkey, but the "dose" of these questions was not as intense as she had expected.

Çiller's Chief Advisor Volkan Vural who held a press conference after the talks in Congress, said that many issues, including the situation in Russia, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Central Asia, the situation in Turkey's southeast and matters relating to terrorism, bilateral economic relations, Turkish-EC relations, the protection of intellectual property in Turkey were also discussed during the meeting with the Congressmen.

Russie : Moscou expulse ses Caucasiens

La lutte contre la criminalité prend une orientation de plus en plus « ethnique »

MOSCOU

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« On a pourtant tous fait la guerre ensemble ! » Il ne comprend pas, Rufat, marchand de fleurs sur le marché central de Moscou, « pourquoi ils ne nous aiment pas et nous traitent comme des animaux ». Mercredi matin, une quinzaine d'OMON, troupes spéciales du ministère de l'intérieur, matraque à la main, le visage recouvert de passe-montagne noirs, ont débarqué, comme ils le font régulièrement depuis l'instauration de l'état d'urgence en Russie, sur le marché. « Ils nous ont frappés, raconte Rufat en montrant son dos couvert d'ecchymoses. Ils nous ont demandé nos papiers, et quand ils ont vu que nous étions en règle, ils les ont déchirés. Ils ont emmené dix d'entre nous à la gare et les ont mis dans le train pour Bakou. » A 11 heures du soir, la routine, les OMON sont revenus, ont de nouveau distribué des coups de matraque : « Ça vous apprendra à parler aux journalistes ! » Rufat a décidé de partir. « Pourtant, j'habitais ici depuis quinze ans. »

Cette chasse aux *tchorny* (les « culs noirs »), ou aux *tchourki* (les « bûches ») – comme on désigne vulgairement ici les habitants du Caucase ou des pays d'Asie centrale – a commencé aussitôt assurée la « victoire » de Boris Eltsine sur les rebelles de la « Maison Blanche ». Profitant de la loi sur l'état d'urgence et de l'instauration du couvre-feu dans la capitale, la mairie « démocrate », après avoir fait la chasse aux derniers « fascistes » retranchés dans les immeubles autour du siège du Parlement, décide de se lancer dans un « nettoyage » de la ville de tous ses éléments « criminels ». Très vite, cette opération tourne purement et simplement à la chasse aux Caucasiens, qui « tiennent » la plupart des marchés de fruits et de légumes de la capitale. On les bat, on leur vole leurs marchandises, leur argent, jusqu'à leur balance ou leur étal. S'ils ne sont pas en règle, c'est-à-dire s'ils ne peuvent pas montrer leur *propiska*, ou permis de résidence, on les met dans le premier train pour Bakou, Tbilissi ou Erevan. Et peu importe si nombre d'entre eux étaient des réfugiés, venant notamment de l'Abkhazie en guerre, qui, enregistrés à ce titre par les autorités locales, n'avaient pas besoin de ce permis de résidence à Moscou.

Cette *propiska* a toute une histoire. Instaurée par Staline en 1932 pour empêcher les paysans, ruinés et affamés par la réforme

agraire, de venir se réfugier dans les grandes villes, il fallut attendre 1991, et la première conférence de la CSCE organisée en URSS, pour que Mikhaïl Gorbatchev annonce sa prochaine suppression, conformément à la législation internationale sur la liberté de mouvements. Cet été, le Soviet suprême de la Fédération de Russie, celui-là même qui a été dissous par Boris Eltsine, adopte enfin une loi concrétisant cette promesse. Loi contre laquelle la mairie de Moscou fait immédiatement appel. Aujourd'hui, pour justifier le maintien de cette autorisation de résidence, délivrée par la police, les autorités arguent du fait que Boris Eltsine n'avait pas signé la loi votée par les parlementaires.

Selon la police, 4 805 personnes, dont 90 % de Caucasiens, auraient ainsi été expulsées, faute de *propiska* en règle. Chiffre sûrement en dessous de la réalité, compte tenu de tous ceux qui sont partis, ou veulent le faire « de leur propre gré », pour fuir une situation intenable. Les ambassades des pays concernés, l'Azerbaïdjan et l'Arménie notamment, ont fait part de leurs inquiétudes auprès du ministère russe des affaires étrangères. « Compte tenu de l'état d'urgence, il est difficile de recueillir des témoignages, des certificats médicaux prouvant les agressions dont sont victimes nos compatriotes », confiait un diplomate azerbaïdjanais, qui ajoutait, amer (ou naïf) : « Nous ne pensions pas que la victoire de la Russie démocratique se traduirait comme cela, nous pensions que c'était le Parlement qui était nationaliste. » Des mouvements russes de défense des droits de l'homme, comme Mémoial ou Amnesty International, ont écrit à Boris Eltsine pour lui signaler, témoignages à l'appui, un certain nombre d'exactions, et lui demandant d'intervenir.

Pour le moment, les autorités n'ont pas réagi. Le général Alexandre Kulikov, en charge de l'état d'urgence, a ainsi nié, lundi, au cours d'une conférence de presse, que la lutte contre la criminalité ait pu prendre une telle orientation « ethnique ».

« Un criminel est un criminel, quelle que soit sa nationalité », a déclaré le général. Des informations parues dans la presse russe semblent toutefois montrer qu'un plan aurait été mis au point. Cette opération, du nom de code « signal périphérique », ne concernerait pas seulement Moscou mais la plupart des grandes villes de l'ouest de la Russie, là où précisément vivent de nombreux

Caucasiens, pour obliger ces derniers à s'en aller. Le maire de Moscou caresserait aussi l'idée d'instaurer un visa pour toute personne voulant s'installer dans la capitale.

Chasse au faciès

Un des conseillers de Boris Eltsine, Iouri Batourine, cité par le journal les *Izvestia*, révèle qu'un projet circulerait dans l'entourage présidentiel visant à instaurer, après l'état d'urgence, une nouvelle période d'exception destinée à garantir l'ordre public. Les autorités pourraient établir un régime spécial d'entrée et de sortie des transports, définir un ordre spécial d'enregistrement des citoyens dans leur lieu de résidence, octroyer aux services de l'intérieur et de la sécurité des droits supplémentaires de perquisition, porter le délai de garde à vue à un mois et même, dans certains cas, à quatre mois, voire un an.

On aurait tort de penser que les Moscovites s'indignent de cette chasse au faciès qui se déroule dans leur ville et souvent sous leurs yeux. La plupart d'entre eux sont même plutôt satisfaits de ce « nettoyage ». Dans ce pays où l'imagerie populaire accuse les « noirs » de tous les méfaits possibles et imaginables, ce genre d'opération musclée est largement approuvée. « Maintenant que les responsables de notre pays se sont débarrassés du Parlement et des partis d'opposition, ils ont besoin de nouveaux adversaires, estime un journaliste moscovite. Peu importe si ceux-ci sont les marchands de fruits du marché central de Moscou ou les responsables d'un soviet régional. »

Il suffit de lire, dans les *Izvestia*, un journal pourtant considéré comme indépendant, le compte-rendu d'une « descente », effectuée la veille par les OMON sur la place Pouchkine, pour se rendre compte de ce climat. « Hier, peut-on lire dans le quotidien, les OMON ont mené une opération de nettoyage des Kurdes de la place Pouchkine. L'opération a été menée avec succès. Les Kurdes se sont rendus sans résistance (...) Les OMON ont manifesté leur héroïsme habituel en tirant en l'air. » Mis dans des autobus, les Kurdes ont été, selon un des responsables des miliciens, « ramenés chez eux ».

JOSÉ-ALAIN FRALON

CENTRE PRESSE - 16 OCTOBRE 1993

ECHO DU CENTRE - 15 OCTOBRE 1993

L'HUMANITÉ - 15 OCTOBRE 1993

Un Américain otage des Kurdes

WASHINGTON. - Le président Bill Clinton a confirmé hier qu'un ressortissant américain était retenu en otage par les rebelles kurdes de Turquie. Selon l'agence de presse kurde Kurd-Ha, proche des rebelles kurdes de Turquie, deux touristes, un Américain, Konir Patrick, et un Néo-zélandais, Ernis Dougar, ont été placés « en garde à vue » par des « guerilleros de l'Armée populaire de Libération du Kurdistan » (ARGK). L'ARGK est la branche militaire du PKK, le parti séparatiste des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, qui est en rébellion contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara.

Turquie

Des enfants et adolescents kurdes qui vendaient le journal « Ozgür Gundem » ont été tués par des soldats turcs. La police turque pourchasse régulièrement les vendeurs de ce journal, bien que sa diffusion soit officiellement autorisée par les autorités turques.

TURQUIE. Des enfants et adolescents kurdes qui vendaient le journal « Ozgür Gundem » ont été tués par des soldats turcs. La police turque pourchasse régulièrement les vendeurs de ce journal, bien que sa diffusion soit officiellement autorisée par les autorités turques.

ECHOS MONDE

ALLEMAGNE. Selon les services de lutte anti-criminelle, plusieurs mafias se partagent l'Allemagne. Les mafias turque ou kurde dirigent le marché de l'héroïne. La mafia vietnamienne contrôle le marché de la cigarette de contrebande. La mafia russe règne sur le marché du matériel volé à l'ex-armée soviétique : boîtes de conserve, tentes, armes lourdes et légères. La mafia polonaise gère le marché des voitures volées pour l'Europe centrale. Les mafias géorgienne et tchéchène dominent le marché des voitures volées pour l'Europe de l'Est.

V.S.D. - 15 OCTOBRE 1993

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, OCTOBER 16, 1993

Turkish Kurds Report Kidnappings

ANKARA (Reuters) — Turkey's separatist Kurdish guerrillas said Friday they had kidnapped an American and a New Zealander in eastern Turkey on Oct. 9.

The German-based Kurd-Ha news agency quoted the Kurdistan Workers Party as saying guerrillas had seized the men at a roadblock between the eastern cities of Erzincan and Erzurum. It said the American, identified as Patrick Connor, and the New Zealander, identified as Ernis Dougar, were being held until their governments contacted the party.

The party has repeatedly warned foreign tourists to stay out of eastern and southeastern Turkey, where its nine-year war for independence has cost more than 7,500 lives.

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Turquie-Kurdes-Presse

La presse internationale également concernée par la menace du PKK

ANKARA, 18 oct (AFP) - La mise en garde du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) dirigée contre la presse turque dans le sud-est anatolien, "concerne également la presse internationale", affirme un communiqué du PKK parvenu lundi à l'AFP.

"Notre mise en garde pour la fermeture des bureaux de la presse turque dans la région concerne également la presse étrangère", déclare un communiqué de l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche du PKK, citant le commandement de l'ARGK (Armée pour la Libération du Peuple du Kurdistan, aile militaire du PKK) et daté de Dusseldorf et Botan (région de Diyarbakir en kurde).

Dans une conférence de presse vendredi près de Diyarbakir (sud-est), le PKK avait menacé les représentants (pour la région) de la presse locale leur demandant "l'arrêt à compter de mardi de la vente de leur journaux et la fermeture de leur bureaux" sans indiquer cependant les représailles possibles en cas d'un éventuel refus à cette demande.

"Le silence de la presse sur les massacres de journalistes démocrates et l'attitude pro-gouvernementale qu'a adoptée la presse, y compris la presse étrangère, dans la sale guerre dans la région sont les principales raisons de cette décision" affirme l'ARGK cité par Kurd-Ha.

Les représentations des principaux quotidiens turcs à Diyarbakir tel Cumhuriyet (centre-gauche, 65.000 exemplaires), Milliyet (centre-droite, 900.000 ex), Hurriyet (centre 700.000) et Sabah (populaire, 800.000 ex), ainsi que l'agence semi-officielle Anatolie avaient fermé leur bureau lundi, a-t-on appris auprès des directions de ces médias.

YM/mnv/mfo

AFP 181518 OCT 93

L'ALSACE - 15 OCTOBRE 1993

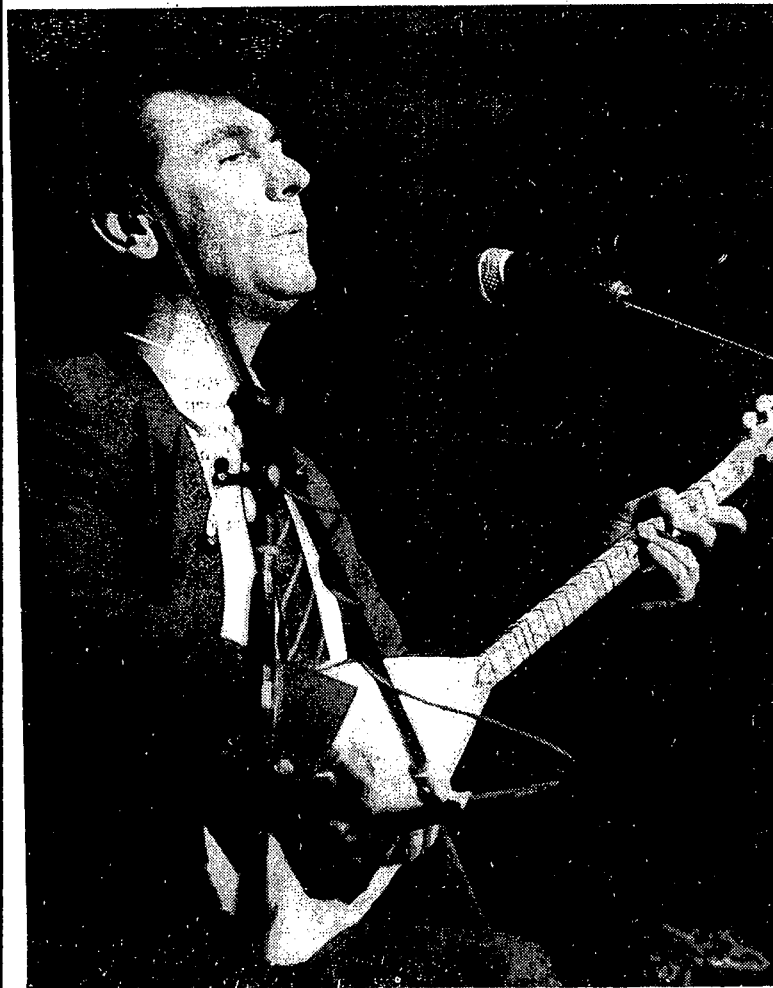
Les voix de l'âme kurde

La musique est l'âme d'un peuple. Par leurs chants d'amour ou de douleur, de révolte et d'espoir, Ozan Firat et Shaala Alam perpétuent une tradition musicale ancienne transmise de génération en génération et symbolisant liberté et espoir. Mardi soir, au théâtre Granit, en première partie de spectacle, Ozan Firat a su conquérir le public par

sa maîtrise évidente de la technique vocale et instrumentale comme par une exploration systématique des ornements, des timbres et des nuances.

Car Ozan est avant tout un chanteur. Sa technique d'accompagnement est très fine et toute au service de sa voix ; une courte introduction instrumentale

annonce la mélodie. Le rythme est frappé avec le majeur de la main sur la table de l'instrument. Dans cette dimension féérique, la voix de milliers de femmes kurdes s'élevait au travers de celle de Shaala Alam exprimant tantôt l'amour impossible, tantôt la douleur de tout un peuple déchiré, opprimé, tantôt la douceur, la tendresse et l'espoir



JOUQUEVIEL

Apprendre à danser kurde



Un stage de danses kurdes est organisé ce week-end à Jouqueviel. On peut encore s'inscrire.

(Photo P. S.)

LA MANCHE LIBRE

17 OCTOBRE 1993

soirée kurde

Un stage de danses kurdes est organisé ce week-end, à Jouqueviel, par l'association du Haut-Bosc. Le stage se déroulera du samedi, à 14 heures, au dimanche, à 17 heures. Il sera animé par Haybar Torgursol, un danseur professionnel kurde de Turquie. Pour se met-

tre en forme, les stagiaires commenceront par un repas traditionnel kurde.

Le prix du stage complet est fixé à 350 francs (avec hébergement). Le stage de danse simple, 190 F. Contact : 63.76.97.58.

L'association d'aide aux agriculteurs du Kurdistan d'Irak poursuit son action. Après un voyage au mois de juillet, elle présentera ses projets au cours d'une soirée kurde samedi 6 novembre au foyer des jeunes travailleurs, rue Michel-Brodon.

A partir de 20 h, animation avec le groupe folklorique Koma Zozan, présentation des projets, projection de diapositives, buffet froid avec spécialités kurdes.

Réservation soit par téléphone (33.50.74.27 ou 33.90.42.07) ou par fax (33.51.93.10). Prix, 40 F.

Çiller says local elections will be held in Southeast

- *Says all measures to be taken to provide safety of journalists in the region*
- *Reports "radical economic measures" to be taken to halt downward slide*

By Ilnur Çevik
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller said early Sunday that the government will take all necessary measures to hold safe local elections in the troubled southeastern Anatolian cities and townships in March 1994.

The prime minister said the government will not be intimidated by the threats of the clandestine Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in southeastern Turkey and would not postpone the local elections.

Çiller, speaking at a press conference for Turkish journalists accompanying her on the U.S. visit, said the local elections will definitely be held on schedule and stressed there is no need for the proclamation of martial law in the troubled region.

She said Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioğlu and State Minister Necmettin Cevheri, an expert on the Southeast, are already working on a series of measures for safe elections in the troubled region. She said these steps will be made public after she returns to Turkey.

There have been speculation recently that because of lack of security in the region, local elections could be delayed or scrapped.

There is also talk that the PKK could have its own supporters elected for mayoral seats in the polls and the authorities would like to prevent this by cancelling the elections.

The prime minister also said the state will take all measures to protect the representatives of newspapers in southeastern Turkey who have been asked to resign or face "punishment" by the PKK.

The PKK recently issued an ultimatum to the representatives of all Turkish newspapers and periodicals in the provinces of eastern and southeastern Turkey asking

them to resign from their publications and close down their offices.

The prime minister said the PKK is regarded as an international terrorist organization and thus has to be eradicated. However, she stressed this can only be done through a national consensus to deal with the PKK. "All sections of the society have to agree on a common fight against the PKK," she said.

Asked by the Turkish Daily News if this meant she was seeking the approval of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) on ways to combat the PKK and if she was planning to meet DEP executives, Çiller said she wanted the backing of all sections of the society but added she did not plan a meeting with the DEP people.

Economic steps

Çiller, referring to the growing budget deficit as well as the foreign trade deficit, told reporters that the government feels obliged to take urgent radical steps to halt the downward slide of the economy.

She said the measures were discussed during a series of high level economic planning meetings before she flew off to the U.S. "We will be announcing some radical measures after we return home," she said.

She said these "measures" should be applied for one or two years to revive the economy and set it on safer ground. Çiller said her meetings with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank officials in Washington revealed that they too are aware of the pressing problems of the Turkish economy and they diagnose similar problems as the Turkish government. Çiller stressed that neither the IMF nor the World Bank wanted to impose bitter remedies on Turkey and added that on the contrary, they both wanted to help Turkey overcome its current difficulties. However, she stressed that Turkey does not need any prescriptions like structural adjustment of the economy.

"They (the IMF and the World Bank) are aware of our determination to overcome our economic problems and that we will do whatever is necessary to remedy the situation." Çiller, also said there was a general economic crisis in the world and pointed out to the economic stagnation in Europe. She said that in relative terms Turkey was better off and had a bright future ahead of it.

KDP refutes PKK claims on assistance from Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Kurdistan Democrat Party (KDP) of Iraq categorically rejected on Sunday claims put forward by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) that it received money from Turkey to fight the PKK.

Safeen Dezayee, the Ankara representative of the KDP, told TDN that the accusation was "totally without foundation." "The agreement for the \$13.5 million of humanitarian aid to Kurdistan (Kurdish controlled northern Iraq) was signed between the Kurdish leadership and the Turkish government last April," he said. "The assistance continues in the form of medicine, food and educational material."

Dezayee added that the assistance was not given to any party in northern Iraq but to the parliament formed by elections last year for the benefit of all people living in the region.

The director of security of the Iraqi Kurdish leadership had issued a warning to the PKK last week saying that the PKK should stop violating an agreement between them, or "face the consequences."

The Director has also closed down all PKK-related offices in northern Iraq, as a political stand against the PKK activities there.

Iraqi Kurds accuse the PKK of violating a security agreement between them, by increasing military presence in areas close to the Turkish border.

This "triggers Turkish air raids into northern Iraq," in which nine civilians were reportedly killed recently.

They also say that the PKK militants in border areas ambush and kill Iraqi Kurdish security teams, raid stations and steal sheep from villages in the area.

Following a conflict between the Iraqi Kurds and the PKK in the summer of 1992, when the PKK imposed an embargo on international humanitarian assistance reaching Iraqi Kurds through Turkey, by sabotaging lorries carrying aid supplies, Turkish armed forces carried out a major operation against PKK bases in northern Iraq in the autumn of 1992.

PKK bans Turkish press:

Diyarbakır news offices to close on Tuesday

- **Militants say closure to last until second notice, demand journalists also resign**
- **Governor offers guns to newsmen, Minister insists Turkey will protect them**
- **Journalists say PKK retaliating to pressure on Özgür Gündem and one-sided reporting**

Turkish Daily News

DIYARBAKIR/ANKARA- At least nine news organizations including Turkey's mass circulation dailies are expected to close their offices in the southeastern provincial capital of Diyarbakır on Tuesday, acting under a new order issued by the leadership of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

Ertuğrul Piriñçiođlu, representative of the daily Milliyet for the region, said a joint decision had been taken to close the offices during a Saturday night meeting at which Regional Governor Ünal Erkan also

participated. The PKK warning was made on Friday.

The PKK relayed its instructions to representatives of nine news organizations at a meeting on Friday reportedly held at a guerilla camp close to the city.

"They were polite and they treated us well," Piriñçiođlu said. "But my attempts to change their decision failed. They said the orders had come directly from the party leadership (an expression normally used to describe PKK Secretary General Abdullah Öcalan)."

A PKK representative identified only as Cekdar charged the journalists with remaining silent with regard to "oppression targeting the socialist press" and said their organizati-

ons were reporting regional developments in a one-sided way, bending the truth.

"This is true," a local journalist who spoke on condition of anonymity, said. "Those in Istanbul almost always change what we file and we are not free to report on realities. We have really been single-sided."

The PKK's ban on the Turkish press follows a ruthless clandestine campaign against Kurdish journalists in the region which has left 14 newsmen assassinated. Recently, local security forces were engulfed in attempts to ban the distribution and sales of the pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem.

"I believe they (the PKK) will soften their approach if the pressure on Özgür Gündem is lightened," Piriñçiođlu said. Cumhuriyet's Diyarbakır bureau chief Ziya Aksoy said they had been treated well but had been threatened harshly. "I believe they are sincere in what they say," Aksoy said.

According to the newsmen they were first invited to meet with two PKK fighters at the Diyarbakır Journalists Association in the heart of the city. The armed men later escorted them to a minibus which, after passing the district of Silvan, let them off before the Malabadi bridge. From there, they only needed to walk for a little over an hour to reach the main PKK camp. "I tried very much to influence them to make this ban one of a temporary nature. We explained that despite everything, journalists were a channel for news out of the region. But they said nothing could be done," Piriñçiođlu said.

He added, however, that the PKK had originally decided on Monday for the deadline but agreed to add another 24 hours, allowing time for the newspapers to pull out and the journalists to resign.

The PKK ban, which starts Tuesday, also applies to the semiofficial Anatolia news agency but it was not clear on Sunday whether this organization would abide with the joint decision taken by other representatives.

"It is impossible for us to continue to work under such circumstances," the Milliyet representative said. He added that even if they wanted to stay on, neighbors in the same apartments with newspaper bureaus had requested them to leave. "They fear assassinations and bombings," he said.

According to regional sources, the PKK will place all reporters remaining in the region other than those working for the pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem among its targets.

Cekdar reportedly told the newsmen during their meeting that "the bourgeois press and its pens have become the spokesman of the dirty war which the state has launched in the region... We are in favour of the press reporting in an objective way. But the newspapers have until now... prevented the public opinion from their right of receiving news."

Reactions:

On Saturday night, Erkan met with the news representatives in Diyarbakır, at the same association where the PKK fighters had come, and told them the state was in control of developments.

He offered to give the journalists bodyguards and gun licences to protect themselves. "But we explained to him that in such a region, one cannot work with guards anyway," a senior journalist at the meeting said.

He added that Erkan was disappointed he was not informed of the meeting beforehand.

Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu said, meanwhile, that the journalists "had accepted the invitation of a terrorist organization" and should have told the police instead. Gazioglu said necessary security measures were to be taken and promised to protect the journalists who would continue to work.

Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, in America, repeated that the state was strong and terrorism would be crushed, saying she

was constantly being informed of the developments related to the PKK threat. "These happen from time to time and it is unfortunate... The state will always be several steps ahead of terrorism," Çiller said.

The strongest reaction to the PKK came on Sunday from the Contemporary Journalists Association (CGD) headquarters in Ankara.

CGD chairman Mustafa Ekmekçi said in a written statement that the freedom of the press could not be prevented and warned all parties that they could reach no ends by threatening the press. Ekmekçi said the PKK ban had added a new development to the pressures on the journalists' right to collect news. He recalled, however, that a number of journalists had been killed in the region over the past 18 months and that five newspaper distributors had also been assassinated. Noting that the assassins had still not been caught, Ekmekçi said this was opening the way for attacks on the press.

Turkish interior minister is in Iran for security talks

■ **Iranian President Rafsanjani asks Turkish and Iranian interior ministers to talk on political matters as well**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu started his three-day official visit to Iran on Sunday, following an invitation from his Iranian counterpart Ali Mohammed Besareti. On the first day of his visit, Gazioglu was received by the Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who asked the two ministers not to limit their talks to "only security matters or bilateral relations", as reported by Anatolia news agency. Rafsanjani asked Gazioglu and Besareti to talk on international and regional developments and bilateral economic and commercial relations and also asked them to find a solution to the problem between the two countries over transit land transportation.

Iran had asked its trade partners not to use Turkish ports and imposed limitations on Turkish lorries carrying goods to other countries in Asia through Iran.

This was followed by a dispute last year over a Cypriot ship carrying undeclared cargo to Iran which was withheld in Istanbul port for some time, before being released by a court ruling in 1993.

Rafsanjani reportedly invited Turkish President Süleyman Demirel to Iran.

Gazioglu told Anatolia that he had received a very warm welcome from Rafsanjani and this indicated to him that his visit to Tehran would bring



Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu

positive and important results. Gazioglu added that security matters would dominate his visit to Tehran. He said that in the first round of talks held on Sunday, the two countries reiterated their will not to permit subversive and terrorist activities against each other from their own territories.

Turkish official sources frequently complain that secessionist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants use their military bases in Iran to carry out attacks against their targets in Turkey. Another matter of complaint concerns the alleged support given by Iranians to Islamic fundamentalist networks in Turkey, which have been held responsible of a number of assassinations and bombings.

Iran on the other hand complains that Turkey permits the members of People's Mujahedeen — an armed organization aiming to overthrow the Islamic Government of Iran — to use Turkey as a bridge between their networks in Iran and Europe.

Westerners become pawns in Turkey's ethnic war

By Raşit Gürdilek

Associated Press Writer

ANKARA- Kurdish militants fighting government forces for self-rule in eastern Turkey are increasingly turning to a new target: foreigners who travel off the beaten track. The area bordering Iran, Iraq and Syria has a rugged beauty. Some of the mountains hold relics of ancient civilizations. Mount Ararat on the Iranian border attracts seekers of the mythical Noah's Ark.

But it is also potentially dangerous. Clashes between the government and Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) have claimed about 8,000 lives since 1984 and the fighting has recently intensified. The rebels have warned foreigners to stay away from the region and have abducted some who have not heeded the warnings: The latest captives are a U.S. citizen, Patrick Connor, and Ernice Dougar, a New Zealander, whom the rebels said had been picked at a roadblock on Oct. 9.

Before them, rebels had abducted 13 other Westerners since summer. All were released after several weeks.

The demanded ransom is not money, but tacit recognition by foreign governments who appeal for the release of their citizens. The rebels demand that government representatives come to eastern Turkey to supervise the releases. Turkey allows such contacts grudgingly.

Last month, a Turkish governor charged that abductions were staged and hostages were couriers or propagandists for the guerrillas.

The abduction of the American coincided with Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's visit to Washington. She and President Clinton were to discuss the Kurdish question.

Turkey seeks more Cobra helicopters and 50 A-10 attack aircraft promised earlier but held up in Congress. U.S.-based human rights groups issued protests to reported excesses against the Kurds as Çiller was making her visit.

The position of Turkey's 12 million Kurds --who comprise a fifth of the population-- is complex.

Half are assimilated in the urban centers in the west, and Kurds crowd the list of Turkey's wealthiest people. Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin is a Kurd and the late President Turgut Ozal advertised his Kurdish ancestry.

It is a different story for the other half living in the underdeveloped southeast, dispersed in 5,000-odd settlements.

Poverty, insufficient schools and isolation exist in a rural culture. Many feel resentment.

The secessionist war was launched in 1984 by PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan from his base in Syria.

Pledging to "finish-off the PKK by next spring,"

the Turkish military has committed 140,000 elite troops and police commandos, backed by 40,000 paid Kurdish village guards.

They say the rebel strength has been depleted to 4,000 guerrillas in Turkey and a similar number across its borders.

Öcalan says his guerrillas could still spread their control and expand their numbers to 15,000.

Beside guerrilla tactics, the rebel leadership is also pursuing a campaign.

It aims to capture 200 mayoralties in the southeast in local elections next March through a small but legal Democracy Party set up by Kurdish deputies in the Turkish parliament. Çiller said she is "open to a political solution." But she has backed off from proposals of limited self-rule for Kurds similar to the one granted to Spain's Basques, Kurdish schools or Kurdish-controlled television stations because of stiff opposition from President Süleyman Demirel and military hard-liners.

Turkish police reshuffle signals right wing turn

■ Former torture suspect becomes Ankara security chief

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A major reshuffle within Turkey's police force has named Kemal Yazıcıoğlu, a police officer who stood trial on torture claims, as the head of the Ankara security force. Yazıcıoğlu was a former chief superintendent in the country's Indepth Investigation Laboratories (DAL) group which had exclusive torture chambers for left wing suspects.

Observers say Yazıcıoğlu is only part of a major reshuffle which is now bringing key right wing figures to the top echelons of Turkey's security apparatus.

The left wing *Aydınlık* newspaper claimed on Sunday the appointments were a leg of a master plan arranged by the Turkish-Islamic flank within the state. It recalled that recently, appointments had been made to shift Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) supported nationalist governors to the Southeast region.

According to a decree signed and approved by President Süleyman Demirel late on Friday, a total of six police chiefs from Manisa, Antalya, Gaziantep, Elazığ, Rize and Ordu have been called back to the headquarters. Police Chief-Inspector Hüseyin Çapkın has been appointed as

Gaziantep's new security chief, Adana police chief and former director of Turkey's counter-terrorism department Mete Altan has been appointed to Antalya and Diyarbakır security chief Ramazan Er has been appointed to Adana. Van security chief Ertuğrul Çakır has been appointed as head of the Hatay police force, Samsun police chief Hasan Özdemir is to head the İçel police force and İçel police chief Halil İbrahim Özkan is to head the Kırkkale police.

Meanwhile, Sabit Çınarbaşı has been appointed as police chief of Elazığ, Fevzi Ergun as the chief of the Çanakkale police, Mardin security chief Affan Kececi as the police chief of Muğla and Rıdvan Güler as the chief of the Diyarbakır police. Yazıcıoğlu is the most controversial of those listed in the appointments decree and news of his upcoming promotion recently appeared in *Aydınlık* in the form of a warning.

Aydınlık said then that Interior Ministry Undersecretary Bekir Atasoy, known for his sympathy for the MHP, was trying to place Yazıcıoğlu in charge of Ankara where he had been accused earlier of killing Yaşar Gündoğdu under torture on April 19, 1980. Despite a trial launched against him for Gündoğdu's death and hundreds of claims from suspects that he

had personally attended the torture sessions, Yazıcıoğlu maintained his place in DAL after the 1980 military coup.

DAL, which in Ankara worked out of a special chamber in the basement of the Ankara police directorate and a special interrogation barrack at the Mamak military prison, was responsible for torturing numerous suspects. DAL tortures included electric shocks to the genital organs, using pressurized water, placing suspects in cages, beating on the feet (*falaka*) and male-female rape with instruments. Yazıcıoğlu, as a chief superintendent of DAL, is known by many prominent journalists today as their torturer.

Aydınlık stressed on Sunday that Bekir Aksoy was brought to his current position in the Interior Ministry by Necmettin Cevheri, a State Minister and close advisor of Prime Minister Tansu Çiller.

The newspaper identified Ankara deputy Baki Tuğ, Erzurum deputy İsmail Köse and Gaziantep MP Ayvaz Gökdemir as "unseen members" of a clandestine group which appears to be seeking ultranationalist control over the security apparatus. Tuğ was the prosecutor of the Martial Law tribunal which executed in the early 1970s popular left wing leaders Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan and Yusuf Aslan. He was also the prosecutor of outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan when he spent seven months in prison after a student boycott in the 1970s.

Monday, October 18, 1993

turkish daily news

Eight-month trade gap at \$9.29 bn.

- Exports stand at \$9.45 billion while imports reach \$18.75 billion in the January-August period of 1993
- Export-import ratio down to 50.4 percent

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey's foreign trade deficit widened by 83.9 percent to a record high \$9.29 billion in the first eight months of the year compared to the same period of last year, official figures revealed on Friday.

The deficit, already on a sharp rise since early this year, climbed radically from \$5.56 billion last year in the January-August period to \$9.29 billion in the corresponding period this year, according to the State Institute of Statistics (DIE).

Turkish exports in the first eight

months rose, slightly to \$9.45 billion compared to last year's \$9.27 billion, a very small increase of 1.9 percent. On the other hand, Turkish imports went up from \$14.33 billion last year to \$18.75 billion, representing a considerable jump of 30.9 percent. The economy's export-import ratio declined from 64.7 percent last year to 50.4 percent this year in the January-August period.

The DIE also revealed that Turkish foreign trade volume in the same period rose to \$28.2 billion from \$23.6 billion of 1992.

In addition, Turkish exports in

August declined by 7 percent while imports rose by a high of 39.1 percent compared to the same month of last year. Exports in August dropped from last year's \$1.2 billion to \$1.12 billion this year, while August imports went up from \$1.86 billion last year to \$2.59 billion. The trade deficit in this month widened by a high of 123.5 percent and reached \$1.47 billion when compared to last August's trade deficit of \$660 million.

DIE figures disclosed that exports grew in the industrial sectors while they decreased in the agricultural sectors. Industrial exports rose by 2.9 percent in this period compared to last year's corresponding period, while agricultural exports dropped

by 1.8 percent. The largest share in Turkish exports in the January-August period again belonged to the industrial sectors with \$7.78 billion, which represents 84.7 percent of the total Turkish exports.

However, agricultural exports, which rank second in whole exports by 13.7 percent, decreased from last year's \$1.31 billion to \$1.29 billion this year, a decrease of 1.8 percent. Besides, mining and quarrying sectors exports dropped from last year's \$174.7 million to \$151.5 million this year, producing a larger decrease of 13.3 percent. Mining and quarrying exports represented 1.6 percent of the total exports in the first eight months of 1993, according to DIE reports.

As the situation gets out of hand...

WASHINGTON

The clandestine Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) seems to be clearly dominating the domestic agenda in more than one way as it continues to terrorize everyone in eastern and southeastern Turkey with special emphasis on Diyarbakır, the provincial capital of the region.

Very recently the PKK had threatened all the local provincial chairmen of Turkish political parties and demanded their resignations. Later, the PKK banned the distribution of all mass circulation Turkish newspapers in the area and was so successful that in the end, newspaper vendors were completely intimidated and in many places no one dared to sell any publication... The latest PKK publicity stunt again concerns Turkish publications. The PKK has demanded the resignation of all the representatives of Turkish newspapers and periodicals in the region and the closing down of the bureaus.

It is of course one thing making a threat and another thing actually carrying out that threat. Yet, we saw from the example of the halting of the distribution of newspapers in the area that the PKK intimidation campaign in southeastern Turkey is very successful.

Of course all these examples immediately bring to mind the crucial question: What has happened to the effectiveness of the State in this region?

The State, unfortunately, has lost the confidence of the people in southeastern and eastern Turkey. The masses no longer believe in the ability of the State forces to protect them against the militants so no one dares adopt a defiant mood against the PKK...

If the PKK can make a threat and carry it out, then the effectiveness of the State will of course be questioned. If Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, as the chief executive of our country, and President Süleyman Demirel as well as Chief of Staff General Doğan Güreş really want to overcome the PKK problem in Turkey, they have to come to terms with the realities and realize that the first priority has to be to restore confidence of the masses: That the State can and will protect them and that certain evil forces outside the PKK will not work under various disguises like the counter-guerrilla



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

or special crack teams, to harass the people...

Let us make no mistake that the problem is in our country and the remedies have to be found there. Creating alibis like "outside interference" can only buy time but will never stick. Çiller told us at a press conference here early Sunday that her men are now working on measures to hold safe local elections in the Southeast in March 1994... Yet, she seems to forget that if the State cannot even create the conditions for the safe distribution of newspapers in a region, how can it talk about the security of elections and fair play?

We feel the prime minister and for that matter the president should be better informed about the true picture in southeastern Turkey and the rapidly deteriorating situation. Or else, day dreaming will get us no where.

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

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USA-TURQUIE**Fin des entretiens à Washington du Premier ministre turc**

WASHINGTON, 18 oct (AFP) - Le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, a achevé lundi ses entretiens à Washington, entamés jeudi dernier et au cours desquels elle a notamment rencontré le président Bill Clinton vendredi.

Lors d'une conférence de presse au National Press Club, Mme Ciller a de nouveau abordé le problème de l'embargo contre l'Irak, sujet évoqué avec M. Clinton. "L'embargo a touché les peuples irakien et turc, mais je doute qu'il ait touché Saddam Hussein", a-t-elle déclaré.

Le Premier ministre a ajouté que l'appauvrissement des populations du sud-est anatolien, provoqué par l'embargo, pouvait favoriser le terrorisme. "La pauvreté économique pousse ces gens à abandonner leurs réticences contre le terrorisme", a-t-elle estimé.

M. Clinton avait confirmé vendredi, lors d'une conférence de presse commune, qu'un Américain était détenu en otage par les Kurdes. Lors de leur entretien, les deux dirigeants ont "senté pouvoir coopérer dans la lutte contre le PKK", (Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan), parti séparatiste en rébellion contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara, a indiqué lundi Mme Ciller.

Une poignée de manifestants devant le bâtiment du National Press Club scandaient à sa sortie des slogans hostiles au contrôle par la Turquie du nord de Chypre. "Nous sommes engagés pour une solution juste, j'espère que l'autre partie l'est aussi", avait peu auparavant déclaré Mme Ciller à la presse.

Le Premier ministre devait se rendre à New York dans l'après-midi pour rencontrer notamment la Fédération des Associations Turco-américaines. elle devait ensuite se rendre mardi à Boston (Massachusetts) pour un discours au club de la faculté d'Harvard, avant de se rendre au Mexique mercredi.

es/pl/hc t
AFP 182054 OCT 93**COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE****Prix Nouredine Zaza 1993
décerné à Chris Kutschera**

Le prix Nouredine Zaza 1993 est décerné au journaliste indépendant français Chris Kutschera. La remise du Prix aura lieu le jeudi 19 octobre à 18h30 à l'Institut Kurde de Paris en présence de Mme Zaza.

Créé en 1989 par la famille Nouredine Zaza, conjointement avec l'Institut Kurde de Paris, "afin d'encourager les journalistes à ne pas oublier ce peuple méconnu de l'histoire", ce prix est attribué chaque année à un journaliste de la presse francophone qui, par son talent et par sa persévérance, aura sensibilisé l'opinion publique à la cause kurde.

Il a aussi pour but de perpétuer la mémoire de Nouredine Zaza, écrivain, homme politique et co-fondateur de l'Institut Kurde de Paris. Après Antoine Boshard, du Journal de Genève, Bernard Langlois, de Politis, Marc Kravetz, de Libération, Jean Gueyras, du journal Le Monde et Jean-Claude Bühner de Coopération, le Prix Nouredine Zaza 1993 tient à honorer Chris Kutschera, auteur du "Mouvement national kurde" aux éditions Flammarion et de nombreux articles et reportages de radio et de télévision sur les Kurdes pour la fidélité et la constance avec lesquelles depuis 1971 il contribue à l'information du public occidental, en particulier francophone, sur les Kurdes, leur histoire et leur situation actuelle.

Au cours de la soirée de remise du Prix l'ouvrage auto-biographique de Nouredine Zaza, "Ma Vie de Kurde", qui vient d'être réédité aux éditions Labor et Fides (diffusé en France par les Editions du Cerf) sera également présenté à la presse.

INSTITUT KURDE DE PARIS
106 rue Lafayette 75010 Paris

gamk — 18-19 octobre 1993

PKK moves to consolidate hold on S. east

- Press in region to go silent as of today
- Sources report PKK ban on parties in Tunceli
- Major crackdown reported in six provinces

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey's outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) has taken a final step to consolidating its hold on the Southeast region, by banning all news organizations, including the foreign press, from operating there, and forcing the closure of political party offices in at least one province.

More than 7,500 people have died in nine years of fighting in the troubled region where the PKK has threatened to make targets out of journalists and politicians who refuse to obey to its orders.

Government troops this weekend launched a massive crackdown on PKK units in the Southeast as a result of Ankara's decision to counter the separatist campaign for supremacy and control, but the chances of reaching any immediate results are seen as nil.

Reliable sources said land and air operations were underway in rural areas of at least six provinces and that Regional Governor Ünal Erkan had said "for the first time, we have pressed the button for an operation on a grand scale." At least 5,000 people have been detained in urban settlements, the sources said.

On Monday, sources reported preparations in the eastern province of Tunceli to abide by recent orders issued by the PKK for all political party offices to lower their nameplates and close shop. Those who refuse, a PKK communique said, "will be regarded as revolutionary targets."

Today, at least nine news organizations in the Diyarbakir province will close their bureaus, meeting a deadline imposed by the PKK for the domestic "bourgeois" press to move out of the region.

Sources in Diyarbakir told the TDN on Monday that the city's 50 plus newspaper kiosks sold no papers on the first day of the week, again acting according to a recent PKK order. In other parts of the region, newspapers were transported by military he-

licopters to kiosks based in some areas and in well-protected government offices.

Cemil Bayık, commander of the PKK's Military Council, told the Germany-based Kurd Ha agency that the ban was valid for foreign news organizations as well. In a statement issued on Monday, Bayık was quoted as lashing out at the foreign media for reporting only on statements issued by the Emergency Law governors' office. "Because of this and other reasons, the foreign press is also included in our decision," he said. On Friday, PKK fighters took representatives of major Turkish newspapers and agencies from Diyarbakir center to a nearby guerilla camp and gave them until this morning to close their offices and resign. They warned that those who failed to abide with the decision would be placed among the organization's targets.

In Washington on an official visit, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller said she was willing to cut her trip short and return to Turkey due to the crisis. The state will protect the journalists, she said.

A PKK spokesman said, however, the decision had been taken as a result of recent pressures on the pro-Kurdish daily Özgür Gündem and the single-sided reporting of the Turkish press. A total of 14 journalists reporting on the Kurdish issue have been killed in the past 18 months along with five newspaper distributors who insisted on selling Özgür Gündem despite warnings from security forces.

"We have decided to abide with this demand and we will close the office on Tuesday," Milliyet newspaper's local representative Ertuğrul Pirinçioğlu sa-

id. Namık Durukan, a journalist for the same paper, said other publications had taken a similar decision.

Pirinçioğlu and other representatives met with Regional Governor Ünal Erkan on Saturday to discuss the situation but turned down his proposal to issue them gun licenses and give them special protection. "If we have protection, we cannot work here," Pirinçioğlu explained. "Journalists do not trust the state," the Özgür Gündem banner headline read on its front page story on the issue.

Monday evening State Minister and Government Spokesman Yıldırım Aktuna was scheduled to meet with executives of Istanbul newspapers to debate the situation and brief them on current security measures.

In the past two months, the PKK has escalated its attacks on locals cooperating with security forces and has killed more than 60 Kurdish villagers. What has been more concerning for Ankara, however, are steps taken by the organization to impose its control on daily life in the region.

In reaction to unauthorized local police bans on the sale and distributions of Özgür Gündem, the PKK imposed first a ban on the sales of Istanbul newspapers. Later, it banned alcohol sales and consumption in various cities. This was followed by a ban on schools in the Tunceli province and a warning to teachers. Four teachers were killed as if to emphasize the PKK's warning. Last week, the PKK in Tunceli province banned local Kurds from watching any Turkish television stations and ordered the population to pull down their television antennas.

Iran tells Turkey it does not back the PKK

Compiled from wire dispatches by TDN staff

ANKARA- Iran has told Turkey that the secessionist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) has no bases in its territory, the Iranian news agency IRNA reported on Monday.

Interior Minister Ali Mohammad Basharati, quoted by IRNA, told his Turkish counterpart Mehmet Gazioglu in Tehran on Sunday that Iran did not support opposition groups in any country. Gazioglu, who is paying an official visit to Iran, had called for cooperation between the two neighbors to fight "terrorism" and drug traffic.

Anatolia news agency reported from Tehran that the Iranian media gave a good coverage to Gazioglu's visit to that country. The agency quoted a Tehran Times commentary which said that it was essential for Turkey and Iran to cooperate in order to eliminate "alien designs" to strain relations

between the two countries.

Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani had received Gazioglu on Sunday and asked both him and Basharati not to limit the content of their talks with security matters.

Gazioglu was also the first Turkish minister in the last four years invited to visit the Iranian Parliament, as an indication of a warm welcome.

Turkish officials have in the past accused Tehran of letting PKK militants attack southeast Turkey from bases in Iran. Tehran, for its part, has demanded that Ankara curb activities of Iranian dissident groups in Turkey. "Unfortunately...Turkey has become the centre of anti-Iranian activities, but it is hoped that this situation will end soon," the Tehran Times said on Monday.

"We call on everyone to watch on others and inform the local committee if these orders are violated," a local communique said.

"The state is strong and in control of the region," Çiller announced from Washington this weekend not referring to the most recent order by the PKK, for political parties to close their offices in Tunceli.

"The occupiers who cannot withstand the blows of the guerillas are step by step withdrawing from rural areas. We say welcome to the 'stage of balances,'" a recent report in the organizations underground publication *Berxwedan* said. Earlier, PKK leaders had been quoted saying that the movement had overcome the tactical guerilla stage of its "strategic defense," or active resistance, and was now in the stage of "strategic balances" -- forcing troops also to go into defensive positions.

"We will crush the PKK by next Spring at the latest," Turkey's Chief of General Staff Gen. Dogğan

Güreş announced last month.

During the weekend, Erkan said preparations had been completed to launch a major "winter operation" on the PKK and added that troops had already been moved to necessary strategic centers.

Sources reported that land and air operations were underway in the provinces of Diyarbakır, Bingöl, Muş, Bitlis, Şırnak and Hakkari. The operations concentrated on rural areas but sources said some 5,000 people had been detained in city centers. There was also unconfirmed speculation in the region that hundreds of villages had been evacuated.

Observers in Ankara believe the government has decided to implement a major military plan to crush the PKK during this winter, and that this will begin after Çiller returns to Turkey on Wednesday. The current operations, they say, aim at harassing PKK mountain units and their supporters. The military is then expected to crack down on them en masse.

PKK threatens to halt Azeri pipeline project

■ *"Neither the currently closed Kirkuk-Ceyhan oil pipeline, nor the planned Baku-Ceyhan pipeline can be successful without bringing an end to the war in Kurdistan (meaning parts of eastern and southeastern Turkey)"*

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The secessionist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has threatened a group of international companies with blocking the Azerbaijan-Turkey oil pipeline project if they do not get the organization's approval.

Quoted by the pro-Kurdish daily *Ozgür Gundem* on Monday, Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the PKK said that it would "not be possible" to operate the pipeline, "even if constructed," by excluding the PKK's presence in eastern and southeastern Turkey. "Neither the currently closed Kirkuk-Ceyhan oil pipeline, nor the planned Baku-Ceyhan pipeline can be successful without bringing an end to the war in Kurdistan (meaning parts of eastern and southeastern Turkey)," Öcalan said. "It's not possible for any foreign company to invest in a project in Kurdistan without our approval."

He said complaints by the Western partners of the project and by Russia about the insecure situation in the region were "quite right."

The PKK has hinted by its attacks in the region since May 1993 that it was trying to block the project and make it a bargaining chip for its becoming a partner in international forums. See-

king an independent Kurdish state carved out of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, the PKK has been waging an armed campaign since

1984 in which some 7,500 people have been killed in eastern and southeastern Turkey so far.

Ocalan added that had Turkey chosen a political solution to the Kurdish problem, it could have saved the Azerbaijan pipeline, but Ankara's preference for a military solution had worked to Turkey's disadvantage, more than it had been thought. Turkish government officials cannot say anything more detailed on the development than, "State forces are strong enough to take the necessary measures and secure the route."

The Azeri-Turkish pipeline was planned to carry Azeri crude oil from Baku to Turkey's Mediterranean port of Ceyhan. Ceyhan is the terminal of the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline that was closed down by the Turkish government in August 1990 because of the United Nations embargo following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The idea was to connect the pipeline from Baku to the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline either at Midyat or Viranşehir, both located in southeastern Turkey.

Midyat was thought of as the connection point for a possible route passing either through Iran or Armenia before crossing into Nakhichevan and Turkey, whereas the Viranşehir connection offered the option for a route passing through Georgia before crossing into Turkey. The cost of the pipeline has been estimated between \$1.4 and 1.6 billion, depending on the route.

The transportation of 25 million tons of Azeri crude oil to world markets is part of a bigger project to explore for and produce oil in three major fields in Azerbaijan. The British Petroleum-Norwegian Statoil alliance, the American companies of AMOCO,

Pennzoil, Ramco, and Unocal, and the Turkish national oil company TPAO are partners in this project.

Azerbaijan's national oil company SOCAR is expected to have a 30 percent share in the project, estimated to be worth \$9 billion, when a final deal is reached between the Azeri government and the partner companies. BP, AMOCO, SOCAR, Pennzoil and Turkey's pipeline transportation company BOTAS are partners in other projects for transporting the oil, once it is produced. Other alternatives have been under discussion for more than a year, for the transportation of Azeri crude oil to world markets. One of them, to carry Azeri oil together with Russian and Kazakh oil, using tanker ships through the Turkish straits, was put back by a campaign of the Turkish Foreign Ministry that said it would pose a big threat to the 10 million inhabitants of Istanbul and would also block foreign trade for the Black Sea countries - excluding oil.

Sources in the energy sector say that considering the intense conflicts in the Caucasus and the tension in southeastern Turkey, Western companies think that to carry Azeri oil to Russia's Novorossiysk port at the Black Sea coast via a pipeline, then to carry it to another port on Turkey's west Black Sea coast by tanker ship and transport it to the Turkish Aegean coast via another pipeline may be a better and safer solution. In spite of the fact that the Baku-Ceyhan route has been marked out by two protocols -- the Ankara protocol of March 9, 1993 between Azerbaijan and Turkey, and the London protocol of Oct. 2, 1993 between relevant companies -- as the cheapest way of carrying Azeri oil to world markets, sources say investors may choose the more expensive but relatively more secure way.

REACTION

Ankara says threat unmasks terrorism

■ Press activists condemn decision

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Recent threats directed at news organizations and journalists by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) have unmasked the terrorist face of this outlawed organization, a senior government official said on Monday.

Yıldırım Aktuna, state minister and government spokesman, told the foreign press in a press conference that Turkey had no ethnic disputes, and they should disregard news reports reaching them from a single source. Aktuna repeated the government's view that the Kurds in Turkey were first-class citizens and said people of Kurdish origin could achieve any position they wanted. Referring to the PKK ban on news organizations, Aktuna said this violated the local people's right to have access to information. He said this showed the PKK was not sincere in its criticism of human rights violations.

Aktuna announced that 15,000 special crack troops were being trained to fight the PKK and that these commandos would soon be going to the region. "Democracy has settled down in Turkey and we see no threat of a coup," he

added, emphasizing Ankara's wish to solve the problem under a civilian administration. The spokesman also lashed out at the murdered journalists -- 15 in all over 18 months -- and implied they were "people involved in terrorism," who were later hired by newspapers. The state, defended Aktuna, has nothing to do with the killings. Aktuna also told the journalists that everyone was free in Turkey to express their views on any issue, including the Kurdish question, as long as they did not put those views into practice. He did not refer to the dozens of journalists and writers sentenced to prison terms merely for writing their opinions, nor did he mention Democracy Party leader Yasar Kaya who is still in prison because of a speech he made while abroad two months ago. The minister

avoided going into sensitive issues.

Meanwhile, Turkey's Journalists Association and the London-based Article 19 International Press Organization condemned on Monday a decision by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) banning journalists and news organizations from working in the Southeast.

Journalists Association Chairman Necmi Tanyolaç said in a statement from Istanbul that the press would not give in to pressures placed upon it and called on relevant authorities to take measures to ensure the safety of journalists working in the troubled region.

Article 19, meanwhile, severely condemned the PKK's decision banning news organizations.

Helen Derbyshire, spokeswoman for Article 19, said in a press conference in London on Monday that "any action against the free circulation of information is unpraiseworthy. The press is an essential pillar of democracy, particularly in areas where there are clashes and where human rights are violable," Derbyshire said. "Members of the press who report events in these areas are merely the representatives and protectors of the citizens."

Responding to a question about the status of reporters in the area, she stated that they must protest the PKK decision. "We are ready to give full support to their cause. The Turkish government must take all precautions to maintain their security in the region."

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Turquie-Kurdes

Environ 2.000 rebelles kurdes tués en 9 mois et demi selon Ankara

ANKARA, 20 oct (AFP) — Environ 2.000 rebelles kurdes de Turquie ont été tués et quelque 3.000 autres jugés et écroués depuis le 1er janvier dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a annoncé mercredi le super-gouverneur de Diyarbakir, Unal Erkan, responsable de toute cette région, rapporte l'agence semi-officielle turque Anatolie.

Le super-gouverneur, qui a assisté à Siirt (sud-est) à la réunion des préfets de la région sous son contrôle, a également fait état de 879 civils (dont 107 femmes et 104 enfants) tués par les rebelles kurdes lors d'attaques contre des villages et des villes.

M. Erkan n'a cependant donné aucune précision sur le nombre de victimes dans les rangs des forces de l'ordre pour la même période.

Plus de 7.600 personnes (civils, membres des forces de l'ordre et rebelles) ont perdu la vie depuis août 1984, début de la lutte armée du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) dans cette région, sous état d'urgence depuis 1987 après treize ans et demi d'état de siège, d'après une compilation établie à partir de chiffres officiels.

YM/hc/mfo

AFP 201644 OCT 93

Turkey-EC Relations Enter a Difficult Period

Nobody in Ankara wants to speak about it openly, but Turkey's relations with the European Community (EC) is entering a difficult period. The Community's term presidency will pass on to Greece for the first half of 1994.

Aware of the possible problems during that period, the Turkish foreign ministry has accelerated efforts to push for Turkey's membership in the Community.

Prime Minister Çiller's visit to Germany on September 20-22 was important for Ankara in this respect because the German foreign minister will be the term president of the Community in the second half of 1994.

During the visit both Çiller and Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin highlighted the need for releasing suspended EC funds to Turkey. They said this was necessary in order to alleviate the extra burden that will be imposed on Turkey as it enters into a customs union with the Community in 1995 -- the first country to do so before being accepted as a full member.

Turkey says that in addition to the estimated \$3 billion it is owed by the EC because of the suspended fourth, fifth and sixth financial protocols, the country will lose another \$3 billion from the customs union.

Government officials in Ankara recall that around \$20 billion each in EC assistance had been extended to Spain, Portugal and Greece, before they became full members of the community. The Fourth protocol which was prepared in 1980 was suspended by the Community following the military coup in Turkey that year, because of the appalling state of human rights in the country.

The suspension continued after Turkey's return to democracy following the general election in 1983. The Fifth protocol which was to be put in effect in 1985 and the Sixth one in 1990 were also suspended because of Greek opposition.

Greece cited the state of human rights in Turkey and the situation in Cyprus as the reason for its opposition. The subject of the financial protocols was one of the main topics that Çetin highlighted during the Turkey-EC Joint Parliamentary Commission meeting held in Brussels on October 11-12.

Emphasizing Turkey's commitment to a customs union with the EC, Çetin said in his address to JPC members that both parties had certain obligations to fulfill.

"The implementation of the protocols would alleviate the possible negative effects of the customs union on Turkey, and would assist the Turkish economy's integration with the rest of the community," Çetin said.

The Foreign Minister said that Turkish workers were determined to benefit from the right to free circulation in Europe as spelled out in agreements

signed between Turkey and the EC. "We are aware of the difficulties this freedom of movement would present in the current situation. At this stage we are only asking for these rights to be granted to our citizens who are part of the legal employment market of EC member states," Çetin said.

Greece, Turkey's neighbour and ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and, at the same time, its historical rival, poses the biggest obstacle for Turkey's full membership to the Community.

As an associate member of the Community's, following the signing of the 1963 Ankara agreement, Turkey applied to become a full member in April 1987.

An important detail about Greece's upcoming term presidency is that PASOK leader Andreas Papandreou is now back in power in that country. He is known with his rather hawkish policies regarding Turkey.

Papandreou's position regarding Turkey and Cyprus is expected to be clarified during the vote of confidence debate in the Greek Parliament this week, and also during the Turkey-EC Association Council meeting due to be held in Brussels on November 7-8.

Greece says that unless the Turkish military presence in Cyprus is brought to an end it will continue to veto Ankara's membership.

On the question of Cyprus, the Turkish foreign minister told the JPC last week that a fair and permanent solution to the issue would be found "without artificial outside intervention." A green light to Cyprus (and Malta) earlier this month for their full membership in the community has made the situation even more difficult for the Turkish government.

Çetin says, if Brussels insists on recognizing the Greek Cypriot government as the government of the Turkish community on the island as well, that will only make the division of the island permanent.

He said unbiased support for negotiations brokered by U.N. Secretary General Boutros Ghali were crucial, and he criticized the EC Council of Minister's recent decision on Cyprus' membership in the Community.

Despite the apparent difficulties, diplomatic sources from EC countries -- other than Greece -- think it is not possible for Greece to impose its national policy over that of the EC, even when its the term President.

On the contrary, they say, Greece's exaggerated insistence on not recognizing the former republic of Macedonia; its linking almost every issue related to the EC with Cyprus; and its digging into EC funds without contributing much to the Community's budget may turn the picture upside down for Athens during its term presidency. ■

...and Washington backs Tansu Çiller

İlnur Çevik

P rime Minister Tansu Çiller's trip to Washington has been marked by a series of declarations by the Clinton administration supporting her "as the new generation of leader who is capable of finding solutions to the problems of Turkey."

President Bill Clinton was quite open about his support for Çiller on the eve of the True Path Party (DYP) convention when he declared in a statement from the White House: "The prime minister (Çiller) represents a new generation of leadership in Turkish politics at a time when the world needs new leadership for a new era. At a point when our relationship with Turkey is evolving into a new enhanced partnership, it is reassuring to me to know that someone is at the helm in Turkey who understands the needs of the ordinary citizens of that country -- their hopes, their aspirations -- and is pursuing policies that will give them a chance to fulfill their dreams."

These remarks seemed to signal to people in Ankara that the White House believes "Çiller is our man (or woman)" and that the U.S. will back her "all the way." Both Clinton and Vice President Al Gore were apparently very impressed with Çiller's performance at the White House -- so much so that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, while addressing a meeting over the weekend on Middle Eastern issues, publicly praised Çiller "as a very impressive person" and said the U.S. believes "we will hear much of her in the international arena in the years to come." Çiller was accorded a similar warm welcome on Capitol Hill where several leading congressmen and senators turned out to meet her, and most of those who in the past were rather outspoken about Turkey seemed to go out of their way to be kind to her.

Lee Hamilton, the powerful Foreign Relations Committee chairman of the House of Representatives, who last week presented a motion to the Clinton administration asking whether Turkey was using American-supplied arms against Kurds in southeastern Anatolia, seemed to forget his concerns as he welcomed Çiller. Other congressmen and senators also followed suit, none of them posing any critical questions, especially on Turkey's human rights record and the Kurdish issue. The prominent guests of the White House usually stay at Blair House, the guest house, for two nights and then depart. Çiller was scheduled to leave Blair House and move to the nearby Willard Hotel after the official portion of her visit to Washington was completed on Friday; however, in an unprecedented gesture, Clinton asked her to stay on at the Blair House until she left the capital.

So it seems there was a concerted effort in the American capital to make Çiller feel at home and send a message back to Ankara about the political

preferences of the U.S. in Turkey. Whether the True Path Party convention in November agrees with Washington or not remains to be seen.

THE IRAQI ISSUE- More than a month ago when Prime Minister Çiller publicly said she wanted the international economic sanctions lifted on Iraq, she had everyone in the West up in arms with charges that she was disrupting the international coalition forged against Saddam Hussein. The Americans were clearly extremely unhappy.

At that point there were even claims that Çiller called Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin to her office and said she would test his success as minister on the basis of his ability to convince the Americans to scrap the embargo.

Then Çiller visited Moscow and surprised everyone, including her own Foreign Ministry crowd, when she declared at a press conference that she had agreed with President Boris Yeltsin to work together to convince the Americans to lift the sanctions. So Ankara was buzzing with speculation that Çiller was now trying to make amends with Saddam.

The Americans apparently asked Ankara for clarification on Çiller's statements. Then when Çiller was flying to Washington, she finally decided to correct herself, saying she did not really mean the sanctions should be lifted but that Turkey had suffered and was still suffering heavy losses because of the sanctions on Iraq and wants to be properly compensated. Just as Çiller was flying to the U.S., one mass-circulation newspaper said that Turkey's losses up till now because of the sanctions were to the tune of \$16 billion. Even Turkish experts said this was a clear exaggeration.

However, it was true that Turkey was still losing several hundred millions of dollars because it could not receive transit fees from the twin pipeline pumping Iraqi crude to the Mediterranean, and that the economy of southeastern Turkey that was heavily dependent on trade with Iraq was also still suffering badly.

Clinton, in his White House address, acknowledged this as he declared: "Turkey was a steadfast member of the worldwide coalition that drove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait and instituted international sanctions against Iraq. And for that, the United States remains grateful. We've all had to pay a price for enforcing the will of the international community, and Turkey in that regard has certainly done more than its share. And we are grateful for its contribution."

When asked what the U.S. would do to compensate Turkey for its losses because of the continuing sanctions on Iraq, Clinton replied: "I guess I should say for the benefit of the American press something

the press knows, but the American public should be reminded of: We could not have conducted the successful operation in the Gulf War, and certainly we could not have conducted Operation Provide Comfort to save the Kurds in northern Iraq, had it not been for the indispensable support of Turkey, not only for Operation Provide Comfort, but for the embargo on Iraq. They have paid a significant economic price. We discussed some ideas for helping Turkey in that regard, some of which did not involve the direct outlay of tax dollars or the transfer from one government to another. We agreed there would be further discussions between our people. And I think if we reach an understanding, I should let the prime minister announce that at the appropriate time, if we can work it out. But we're going to have a very serious dialogue about that in an attempt to recognize the significant price that Turkey has paid for supporting not only the U.S. but the world's policies in this regard."

On Saturday the U.S. took an unprecedented step by issuing a joint statement with Turkey acknowledging Turkish losses because of the sanctions. The two countries declared that measures were being discussed on how to remedy the losses, and the U.S. gave the green light to international financial organizations to provide soft loans to Turkey.

Discussions are also reportedly going on for more arms to Turkey on grants as a form of compensation.

On the issue of northern Iraq, the U.S., like other Western European allies, believes Ankara is the key to the safety of the Kurds, and thus believes Ankara should not be antagonized especially on human rights issues and even on the treatment of Kurds in Turkey.

Iraqi Kurds in Washington say the American administration is always urging them to cooperate with Turkey and do nothing behind Ankara's back.

RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM- Asked to comment on remarks by Prime Minister Tansu Çiller regarding Russian advances in the Caucasus and that this could lead to a trend of new Russian expansionism, Clinton said: "I think Russia is like most other large countries with several million people: There are different currents and different views there. But let me say this: I believe that President Yeltsin does not want an imperialist Russia. I think President Yeltsin wants a Russia that can rebuild itself from within, economically."

"I think that -- as you know -- in the conflicts in Georgia over the last year, there were all sorts of ambivalence and mixed signals from the Russian Army stationed there, notwithstanding the position of President Yeltsin at times when the span of control seemed in question."

"In terms of Azerbaijan, I think the prime minister has made a very important point -- that the Russians should of course be involved in the resolution

of that crisis, but that for the people to feel good about it within the country and Nagorno-Karabakh and beyond, they can't do it alone. Someone else should be involved in some form or fashion. That is why the U.S. has strongly supported the so-called Minsk process, in the hope that we won't have an exclusive solution by anyone, but that there can be a shared sense of responsibility there." So it seems clear that the American administration will stick out its neck for Yeltsin as it will for Çiller and does not agree that the Russians have expansionist or imperialist designs.

However, they do agree with Çiller that the Russians should not try to enter the Caucasus in a unilateral initiative in the name of "peacemaking" and that Russia and Turkey, with some U.S. backing, should try to find joint remedies.

ENHANCED PARTNERSHIP- Now that the Cold War is over, both the U.S. and Turkey believe they

must set their relations on a new footing where the emphasis is more on economic cooperation and less on security assistance.

Clinton says security ties between Turkey and the U.S. must remain strong "and our friendship and mutual commitment as allies unswerving. But the focus of our relationship can now shift from a Cold War emphasis on military assistance to an emphasis on shared values and greater political and economic cooperation, responsive to the needs of our own people and changing world. Next month the U.S.-Turkish Joint Economic Commission will convene to work on revitalizing our economic relationship. The commission will guide a process in which private enterprise will increasingly become the dynamic focus of our enhanced partnership. As an economist, the prime minister is ideally suited to lead this endeavor."

Çiller met a long list of American businessmen and said work is underway on an array of projects that will be announced after the commission meeting in November.

Çiller met a long list of American businessmen and said work is underway on an array of projects that will be announced after the commission meeting in November.

THE CYPRUS QUESTION- Clinton had much praise for Çiller on her handling of the Cyprus issue. Clinton said: "The prime minister (Çiller) expressed her strong support for having the elections in Northern Cyprus by the end of November and for resuming a dialogue on confidence-building measures, and she expressed her hope that she would have a constructive relationship with the new government in Greece. And I think from a Turkish prime minister, that's all I could ask for now. I was very impressed with what she said, and I look forward to our common efforts to try to resolve this in the near future."

Now the ball is in the Turkish Cypriot court, where Turkey is trying to secure fair elections. ■



Prime Minister Tansu Çiller

For Turkey and Kurds, 'Total Warfare'

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

DIYARBAKIR, Turkey — One year after Turkish generals said they had broken the spine of a Kurdish separatist insurgency in these wild and remote uplands, the war has become more violent and more intractable than ever.

Since the breakdown in May of a cease-fire declared by the rebel movement, the avowedly Marxist Kurdish Workers Party, more than 1,600 people, many of them civilians, have died, the government says. That toll amounts to the worst wave of killing in a nine-year war that has claimed more than 7,400 lives and raised fundamental questions about the stability of an area central to U.S. policy in the region.

The fighting in the hidden war is murky, depicted in the mutually exclusive versions of both sides as either a liberation struggle championing Kurdish rights or outright terrorism. Death tolls, battles and guerrilla attacks in the remote southeastern region are difficult to verify, particularly because of glaring discrepancies in the reports of the combatants.

Nonetheless, the accounts of Turkish government officials, Kurdish nationalists and diplomats in Ankara suggest that the antagonists are locked in an accelerating spiral of violence. The ferocity of the attacks has left the United States and other Western allies of Turkey wondering whether the war can ever be ended without political concessions and a major shift from what the Turkish government calls "total warfare."

"The U.S. point is that this is an approach that can be predicted to fail if you look at it in exclusively military terms," said a Western

diplomat in Ankara. Of the rebellion, the diplomat added, "This is now a popular insurgency."

But Western governments do not press that argument with the Turks, who are armed by the United States, in part because they agree with Ankara's depiction of the rebels as terrorists.

Equally important, Turkey is a North Atlantic Treaty Organization member and plays a crucial role in Western efforts to keep up economic and military pressure on President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. That is a higher priority for the United States than the Kurdish insurgency.

The rebel movement touches an extremely raw nerve for the Turkish government, which sees the war as an outright challenge to the very cornerstone of the state — the model of linguistic, cultural and political unity championed by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish republic.

From 10 million to 12 million people, or about a fifth of Turkey's population, are Kurds. While Turkish leaders permit the publication of Kurdish-language newspapers and "judge what they term a "Kurdish reality," the government does not allow the Kurds to use their own language in schools or in broadcasting or acknowledge a separate Kurdish national identity. Kurds, who are largely Sunni Muslims, enjoy the same political rights as other Turks but may not express them in a Kurdish linguistic, political or regional context.

For many people in southeastern Turkey, such restrictions are part of the basic grievance of Kurdish nationalists: While many Kurds probably do not wish to secede from Turkey, as the insurgents do, their identity as a people is denied. The war, though, has brought them neither progress nor hope.

"The people have had enough," said Fathi Gumus, a Kurdish lawyer and chairman of the bar association in Diyarbakir. "The war is bloodier than ever. Both sides are getting rougher and rougher. The picture is very bleak."

The Turkish government has long believed that if its forces could sever the ties between the rebels and Turkey's hostile neighbors, the battle would be all but won.

A year ago, therefore, Turkey enlisted the tacit support of Kurds in northern Iraq, who have depended on Turkey for their survival since the Gulf War, in a campaign of air strikes and infantry advances against Turkish Kurds who were operating in part from bases just across the border. The Turkish military declared that it had dealt the rebels a lethal blow. When a Syrian-based guerrilla leader, Abdullah Ocalan, offered to stop fighting in March, the move seemed to reinforce Turkey's view.

Since the rebels called off the cease-fire in May with an attack in which 33 Turkish soldiers were killed, they have kidnapped and released 26 foreign tourists; dented Turkey's tourism industry with low-level violence in Mediterranean resorts and in Istanbul, and organized demonstrations outside Turkish offices in Europe.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1993

Herald Tribune
INTERNATIONAL
Published 1948 The New York Times and The Washington Post

PROCHE-ORIENT

IRAK

Tarek Aziz à Paris pour « raisons médicales »

Le vice-premier ministre irakien, Tarek Aziz, se trouve « en France pour des raisons médicales », ont annoncé dimanche 17 octobre les autorités françaises, qui entourent de la plus grande discrétion ce séjour.

« Il n'y a pas lieu d'en faire un événement politique. La ligne politique de la France vis-à-vis de l'Irak est toujours la même », a commenté Alain Juppé, ministre des affaires étrangères, qui participait au sommet de la francophonie à l'île Maurice. « Les autorités de l'Etat ont toutes été consultées lorsque cette demande a été présentée. Elles ont donné leur accord », a-t-il ajouté, parlant de « geste humanitaire » et précisant que l'autorisation de séjour a été donnée « pour la durée des soins ». De son côté, le porte-parole de l'Elysée, Jean Musitelli, a souligné que « ce n'est pas une nouvelle affaire Habache, et tout le monde était au courant ». Le

Quai d'Orsay insiste sur le fait que ce séjour « ne changera rien à la politique de la France » ni aux « obligations de l'Irak vis-à-vis de la communauté internationale ».

Selon des sources bien informées, M. Aziz, qui souffrirait de problèmes cardiaques, se trouverait en France depuis jeudi dernier et pour une huitaine de jours.

Un mouvement de l'opposition irakienne jusqu'ici inconnu, Les Comités nationaux pour sauver l'Irak, a indiqué, dans un communiqué, que la visite de M. Aziz « se prépare depuis deux mois » et que l'ex-chef de la diplomatie irakienne « envisage de tenir des réunions à haut niveau avec des responsables français en vue d'accorder à la France et à des sociétés françaises des privilèges importants en Irak et une mainmise sur le pétrole et sur l'économie irakiennes ».

TURQUIE : le PKK menace la presse. — Vendredi 15 octobre, près de Diyarbakir, la ville la plus importante du Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde, un homme, accompagné d'un groupe armé, se présentant comme un responsable du Front national de libération du Kurdistan (ERNK), émanation du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), a mis en garde les correspondants locaux des principaux quotidiens turcs et de l'agence semi-officielle Anatolie contre « la vente de leur quotidien au Kurdistan » à partir de lundi. C'est la première fois qu'un tel avertissement est lancé à la presse par les séparatistes. — (AFP.)

Le Monde • Mardi 19 octobre 1993

EN TURQUIE DE L'EST

Il y a quand même un petit risque. Le PKK (Parti des travailleurs kurdes) lutte pour la création d'un Etat indépendant regroupant des populations dispersées sur les territoires de la Turquie, de la Syrie, de l'Irak et de l'Iran. Une future capitale a même été choisie : la merveilleuse Diyarbakir dont les murailles de basalte noir dominent une oasis étonnante de fertilité.

C'est le moment d'y aller. Comme en Egypte, au Pérou ou dans vingt autres pays instables du monde, en se disant qu'après tout il y a également quelques risques à circuler en période estivale sur les autoroutes du Midi de la France ! Fini le touris-

*Je reviens de
Turquie, celle de l'Est
où il n'est pas de bon
ton d'aller faire un
tour. Les Kurdes que
j'ai rencontrés
étaient de braves
gens affables aimant
guider l'étranger.
J'ai tenté d'oublier
camions incendiés et
convois militaires.*

me aseptisé, on redécouvre le voyage...

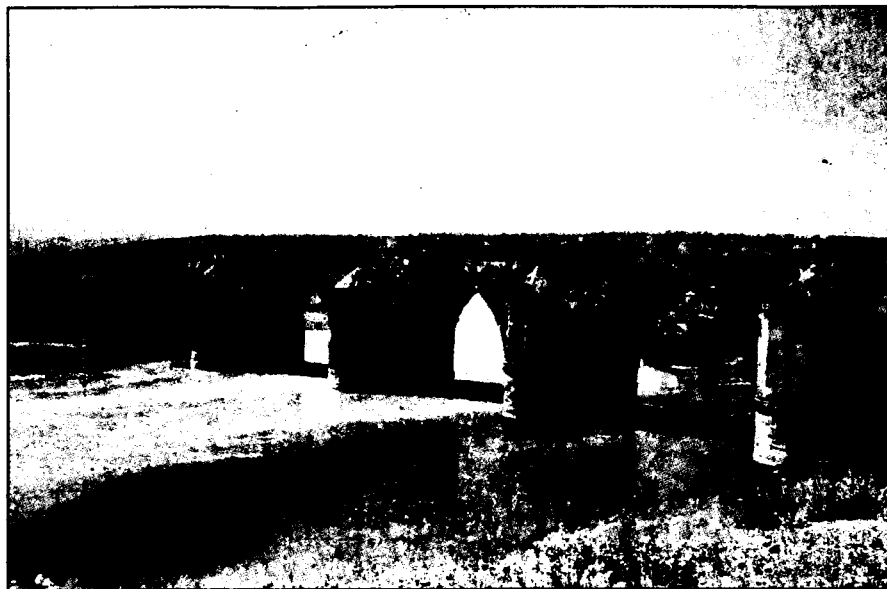
La Turquie attire les Français. C'est beau, c'est peu cher, c'est sympathique. Le féru d'archéologie, le navigateur ou l'amateur de délices balnéaires y sont comblés. Vers l'est, l'ambiance change. Les raffinements de l'industrie touristique laissent la place à une Turquie plus authentique et forcément plus pauvre, celle des films de Yilmaz Guney (cinéaste du *Troupeau* et de *Yol*). Un pays austère qui sert d'écrin à bien des splendeurs.

Dogubayazit est sans doute la cité la plus étrange qui soit. La ville est grise et poussiéreuse, l'intégrisme



L'église arménienne de Sainte-Croix (915), au bord du lac de Van.

C.P. REMY.



C.P. REMY

Un pont sur l'Araxe.

Une terre convoitée

Erzurum paraît plus florissante que sa voisine des hautes steppes. A 2 000 mètres, ce fut la principale cité caravanière de la branche turque de la Route de la soie. Elle a vu passer les Scythes, les Cimmériens, Alexandre, les Sumériens, puis les Seldjoukides du XI^e siècle qui ont laissé en ville leurs premiers monuments musulmans bâtis dans un empire byzantin déjà en déclin. La vieille mosquée est restée intacte depuis sa fondation en 1180, tout comme les minarets cannelés couverts de faïence de l'école de théologie d'Honat Hatun, fille d'Alâadin, et les « türbes », ces riches tombeaux en forme de tente nomade, la ciselure de la pierre des morts imitant le décor des tapis des vivants.

La liste des envahisseurs de l'Anatolie est longue. Sans doute vingt ou trente peuples en huit millénaires.

habille les femmes de voiles et d'informes imperméables sombres, les camionneurs déserts venus de l'Iran tout proche côtoient des paysans muets dans des maisons de thé où cliquent les pions du jacquet. Au sortir de la cité, c'est le vieil Orient pastoral que l'on retrouve, inchangé depuis les vagues des pasteurs turco-mongols, ceux des hordes du Mouton noir et du Mouton blanc. La steppe rase s'étend à l'infini, des bergers au visage crevasé de soleil y mènent de campement en campement d'immenses troupeaux de brebis.

menant à Dogubayazit fut Ishak Pacha qui fit construire à la fin du XVII^e siècle un palais étonnant, synthèse des styles perse, seldjoukide et ottoman. C'est, parfaitement conservé, le plus beau des palais d'une Turquie qui pourtant en regorge. A ses pieds, quelques maisons kurdes bâties de pisé, coiffées d'un toit plat de terre où sèchent les fruits et les fagots, rappellent que l'opulence a cédé le pas au dénuement, source de conflits.

De cette horizontalité parfaite surgit l'Ararat et son cône de neiges et glaces éternelles qui culmine à 5 165 mètres. Piège pour de rares nuages, accostage d'une arche dont Noé fut le timonier. Non loin de là, quelques passants furent séduits par les cimes. Hittites, rois du royaume d'Ourartou que l'on crut longtemps assyriens mais qui, nomades eux aussi, oublièrent leur Caucase natal pour adopter les manières, la langue et l'écriture cunéiforme du vaincu babylonien. Un des derniers à franchir les hautes passes



C.P. REMY

Bergers kurdes.

Et chacun a laissé son empreinte. On est étonné d'apprendre que les anciens royaumes arméniens s'étendaient jusqu'aux rivages proches de Chypre ! Ani fut une des capitales de ces royaumes successifs et ses remparts, ses dix églises, ses couvents, datent pour la plupart de l'an mille. Depuis la fin des tensions avec l'URSS le site est accessible sans trasseries militaires et le voyageur a enfin libre accès aux merveilles. Ceci pour souligner que certaines difficultés de circuler ne sont pas récentes. Rappelons, autre exemple, qu'il y a seulement une vingtaine d'années l'accès à Troie était très difficile pour cause de proximité des Dardanelles!

Pour en revenir aux Arméniens, la plus belle des églises est celle d'Akdamar, édifiée en 915 sur un îlot du lac de Van par Gagik Azdrouni, roi du patriarcat de Vaspourakan. D'une débauche de figures anima-

lières et de décorations florales émergent des centaines de personnages de la Bible, Jonas et la Baleine, David et Goliath, Abraham et Isaac y sont représentés, sans oublier Eve et un Adam curieusement affublé d'un impossible nombril.

La fontaine aux illusions

Les fleuves sont nombreux et célèbres. On franchit souvent l'Araxe, le Tigre ou l'Euphrate sur des ponts qui, parfois, furent dessinés par le grand architecte Sinan. D'autres sont encore plus anciens ; celui de Diyarbakir sur le Tigre a vu passer les caravanes depuis le X^e siècle. Il y aussi des lacs et celui de Van est le plus étendu de toute la Turquie. La ville du même nom, avant d'être rasée par les Russes en 1915, fut, depuis sa création il y a 3 300 ans par Sémiramis de Babylone, la capitale de bien des royaumes, celui d'Ourartou n'ayant pas

encore livré tous les secrets de sa civilisation qui fut brillante. Pour s'en persuader, il suffit de contempler le paysage depuis les murs énormes du palais de Cavustepe : les actuelles routes, les canaux d'irrigation, les barages, tout cela existait déjà au temps du roi Sardour... au VII^e siècle avant notre ère.

De Noé à Mustapha Kemal « Atatürk », bien des personnages ont fréquenté les immensités d'Anatolie. L'un d'entre eux est particulièrement vénéré. Il s'agit d'Abraham qui vécut plusieurs années à Harran, aujourd'hui étrange cité dont les maisons de pisé ont la forme de ruches ou de termitières. Nous voici tout près d'Urfa où vivent les carpes de la fontaine Callirhoé, autre escale d'Abraham. L'endroit est sacré, y boire un peu d'eau est, dit-on, l'assurance de franchir sans encombre toutes les embûches d'un long voyage.

Charles Pierre REMY

turkish daily news

Wednesday, October 20, 1993

Amnesty implicates Turkish security forces in extra-judicial killings, attacks

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA--Increasing evidence has come to light that since 1991 Turkey's security forces have engaged in a campaign of extrajudicial executions and killed a number of civilians by firing indiscriminately on demonstrators and residential areas, a report issued today by the London-based international human rights organization Amnesty International (A.I.) claimed.

The A.I. Manual for Action entitled "Turkey: Responses to an emerging pattern of extrajudicial killings," maintained that in some cases of assassinations, "the evidence has shown direct security force responsibility, while in others the collusion of government forces in the killings is strongly suggested by circumstantial evidence."

The report noted that extrajudicial killings in Turkey had centred on the 10 provinces under emergency rule in Southeast Anatolia.

"Unarmed civilians have been killed by security forces firing indiscriminately on demonstrations, in random firing on Kurdish residential areas in 'retaliation' for PKK attacks on troops, or in other recklessly excessive uses of lethal force," it said. A.I. also said that although the guerrillas' originally stated aim was to establish an independent Marxist Kurdish state, "recent statements by their leader, Abdullah Ocalan, have put forward modest aims, asking for a cease-fire and some form of limited autonomy within the Turkish state."

In a paper entitled, "Getting away with murder: The lives behind the lies," Amnesty also noted that the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey, like the Communist Party of Peru (Shining Path) and the Sudan People's Liberation Army had committed "gross atrocities and claimed thousands of lives."

Although the Amnesty reports were embargoed until this afternoon, the A.I. press office allowed the TDN to publish them in today's issue after the state-run Anatolia agency ran an early story quoting only Amnesty's criticism of the PKK, implying the report merely carried condemnation of that organization.

The Anatolian news report failed to mention the 12 page criticism on the

stance of the Turkish government and its security forces.

"Governments such as those of Iraq and Myanmar make no attempt to hide their brutality. Others, for example India or Turkey, pay lip-service to human rights on the one hand but kill on the other, relying on cover-ups or blatant lies," this report said.

In the 12 page action manual on Turkey, Amnesty noted that PKK activities in the Southeast were "matched by a high level of military activity" and that some killings in the region could have been carried out "by any of the security force units, such as plainclothes members of the Anti-Terror Branch, the Special Teams, the village guards, or a combination of elements from the three, acting on their own initiative but with passive or active collusion of other parts of the law and order system." Amnesty said investigations were not being conducted in the necessary way with regard to human rights violation claims and that lawyers themselves were under pressure — many receiving death threats.

"While the prosecution service appears to regard combatting separatism as its primary task," it added, "movement is slow on cases of mysterious deaths of alleged separatists." Another obstacle in investigations, said the report, was the personal risk for civil servants in the Southeast from the armed opposition. "Security considerations throw police and judiciary together in their social as well as their professional lives," the report said.

The Amnesty report, prepared before the recent PKK ban on the press, said the harassment and killing of journalists and Turkish Human Rights Association members threatened to result in a situation where human rights violations will increasingly go unreported.

It pointed out that journalists and local correspondents working for newspapers and magazines like the Kurdish-owned daily Özgür Gündem (Free Agenda) and its sister publication, the weekly Yeni Ülke (now closed), Gerçek (Fact) and 2000'e Doğru (Towards 2000) have been targets of prosecutions, police harassment, detention, ill-treatment, torture and death threats ever since their publications began.

Amnesty also said the declared policies of these publications was to investigate and publicize human rights violations by security forces.

Appeals:

In its report on extrajudicial killings, Amnesty said experience suggested that the practice of extrajudicial execution, once established, is hard to stamp out. "The Turkish authorities must act with great urgency to confront a situation which they have up till now blandly denied," it said. "The situation calls for the establishment of an independent expert commission of inquiry as laid down in the U.N. Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of

Extralegal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, adopted by the UN Economic and Social Council in 1989."

The report said, "to turn back the tide of killings, the Turkish government must ensure that all levels in the judiciary, local government and the military clearly understand that extrajudicial execution is illegal and must not be used as a tool in the conflict with the PKK."

Its two-page news letter on "the lives behind the lies" Amnesty said, meanwhile, that it is stepping up its call on the U.N. to appoint a High Commissioner for Human Rights with the authority to

take urgent action, for increased resources to the U.N. human rights program and for the establishment of an impartial, independent international court.

"The world must wake up to the continuing mass slaughter," said the organization. "Unless both individual governments and the international community take action soon to end political killings and 'disappearances,' the rising tide of carnage could overwhelm the institutions set up to protect international human rights after the horrors of the Second World War."

Cindoruk: Nothing can stop elections in the Southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- At a press conference on Tuesday, Turkish Parliament (TBMM) Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk said, "Nothing can obstruct elections in the Southeast; the March 1994 elections will be held in Turkey."

Cindoruk said, "There is a conflict between those who are for and those who are against democracy in the Southeast region. A secessionist, Marxist-Leninist organization wants to set up a dictatorship. However, the Kurdish people will not accept such a dictatorship."

It is against human rights. The people will overcome this threat. Like last year, they will bring to power the party of their choice."

Cindoruk answered the questions of approximately 30 foreign journalists from the European Media Association on various topics such as the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) to the activities of the Mafia, from human rights to the structure of the Parliament.

On the question of how the deputy members of the pro-kurd Democratic Party (DEP) were protected, Cindoruk told the press that unless they requested additional protection, they were protected in the same manner as all other deputies. Cindoruk also told members of press that the investigation of the murder of DEP Deputy Mehmet Sincar was continuing and that the commission for investigating unresolved political crimes that had been set up within Parliament was also still looking into the matter.

In answer to a Russian journalist's question about the role of the military in politics, Cindoruk said, "I know this is a very important issue in Russia."

I don't myself understand why at times the military intervenes in politics, claiming that they are trying to

set up a true democracy.' However, today's democracy is protected by the Turkish people, and the military is totally exempt from politics. There are no traces of militarism in Turkey today."

Questions on the Kurdish problem and the violations of human rights were asked over and over again. When, for a change, Cindoruk was asked what was on Parliament's agenda, he said that the Kurdish problem was by no means the only problem in Turkey, and that the issue of Turkey's development was a matter that needed priority.

Cindoruk said that changes in the Constitution have enabled the removal of state monopolies from television and radio, and that at present 85 television and more than 800 radio channels were broadcasting in Turkey. He added that a law to organize these broadcasts was on the agenda of the Parliament. In answer to an Italian journalist's question about the activities of the Mafia in Turkey, Cindoruk said that unlike Italy, Turkey had no political mafia, that the mafia had no influence over domestic politics, and that there was no widespread use of drugs in Turkey.

Gazioglu's press conference

At a press conference on Tuesday, Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu said that the 1994 local elections will be held in a free, just manner and that citizens would be able to safely cast their votes.

Gazioglu noted that the circumstances that necessitate the declaration of martial law had not yet arisen. He also said that members of the press had to live up to their responsibilities.

He added that precautions for their safety had already been taken, and that they would be increased should such a demand be made.

Papers express doubt over state authority in Southeast

■ Lash out at state officials for bungled policies

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- With Turkish dailies complying with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) demand to close their bureaus in what it calls "Kurdistan" (the Southeast) and with kiosks forced not to sell any papers, state officials have come under fire from the press for their bungled management of the affair. "Is there no state?" asked the high-circulation *Milliyet* in its banner headline Tuesday.

"The Southeast and East have become places where fear and uncertainty rule. Taking advantage of the power vacuum there, terrorist organizations do as they please. As terrorist activity and unsolved murders continue, now journalists are being threatened and dailies cannot be distributed or sold," *Milliyet* said.

"Despite the fact that terrorism is now targeting the press, those responsible for state affairs do nothing but utter empty words and stage shows," *Milliyet* protested.

"Newspaper offices in the Southeast have been forced to close by the PKK. Besides, the PKK has announced that it will force all reporting activity to cease in 22 to 23 provinces, including eastern Turkey. Alas, this in effect means that the sovereignty of the Turkish state in the region is blatantly ignored. The PKK is saying it is the sole power in the region," wrote Yalçın Doğan, a columnist for the paper.

Urging Turkish political leaders to reach a consensus on a solution to the issue, Doğan said the same kind of threat could be directed against political parties as well. "The PKK could soon declare it is suspending political party activity until further notice," he added.

In a front-page editorial Tuesday, *Cumhuriyet*, while qualifying the PKK's threat as "tragic," criticized government officials for their efforts to downplay the gravity of the situation and called on Parliament to convene to tackle the issue.

"To ensure the individual's right to life is the primary responsibility of a state. If this is not the case, the existence of the state in any country is questionable," *Cumhuriyet* argued.

"The time has come for state officials to ascribe a name to the events surging through the country. Some say an undeclared civil war is raging in the country." "The PKK forced press members to stop reporting in the region on the pretext that the press has

been serving as a mere lackey of the Southeast Emergency State Governorship. The curious thing is that Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu went as far as to accuse press members of 'not having informed police and going to the meeting,'" *Cumhuriyet* said.

"The coalition government must decide whether there is a war raging in Turkey. If an outlawed authority strong enough to force Turkish papers to close their offices in the Southeast has come into existence, then the Turkish government must clarify the issue and not try to sweep it under the rug. If the state is being eradicated in the eastern part of Turkey and the country is running the risk of division, attempts by the government to 'naturalize' the issue and downplay it are highly hazardous," *Cumhuriyet* maintained.

Hürriyet's Oktay Ekşi, also chairman of the Press Council, directed severe criticism against Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu for his statements concerning the PKK ban on Turkish dailies.

"Considering his previous conduct, no one could have expected a consistent statement from Gazioglu. Yet when he criticized the press members in Diyarbakir for failing to inform security forces of their meeting with the PKK and said they would have done whatever was necessary, no one thought he could be such a dreamer," Ekşi wrote in his column on Tuesday. "He says, 'Such threats by the PKK are common; we'll protect journalists.' As if journalists were kids of five. As if they would believe what he says.

If Gazioglu can, he must unearth those base killers who have been murdering so many of our fellow journalists," he wrote.

In a written statement on Monday, Ekşi again lashed out at government officials for failure to improve the condition of journalists based in the Southeast and for their frequent assault and battery of reporters. "Just as previous threats and pressures by security forces could not silence the press, so the PKK threat cannot manage to silence it," Ekşi said. Except for Ekşi's column and the abbreviated text of an announcement by the Brussels-based FIJ (International Federation of Journalists) denouncing the PKK's threat, *Hürriyet* chose not to highlight the issue at all.

Sabah, another mass-circulation paper, followed a similar policy of downplaying the incident — except that the paper's economic editor Necati Doğru warned that Turkey was on the road to becoming another

er Bosnia in the face of recent developments. "Anatolia will become another Bosnia if things go on like this," he wrote.

"Kurdish parents do not advise their offspring to lead brotherly lives with Turks. On the other hand, Turkish parents keep alive the seeds of thought that might lead to a comprehensive counter-cleansing operation," Doğru maintained. *Aydınlık*, a low-circulation, hard-line, leftist daily, said the whole incident was a "trap set by the state."

"From now on, reporting will be the job of the Emergency Rule Governorship, the military's Photography and Motion Pictures Center, TRT (state TV), and the (semiofficial) Anatolia news agency in the Kurdish-dominated provinces," *Aydınlık* said.

"The state has already prevented the distribution of *Aydınlık* in the region," the paper said in a front-page editorial. "Therefore, the PKK ban does not mean anything to us in effect. It is only the ratification of a practice by another power.

In fact, previous pressures on *Aydınlık* foretold an imminent (Nazi) SS regime. The Turkish Army knows that a military operation will claim an 'extraordinary number of lives.' It is only part of preparations for a military operation to create conditions that would allow only state-run media organizations to report the operation."

"The PKK has fallen into the trap set by the state. With the press leaving the region for good, the place will be one where neither the media nor the people will have a say," the daily went on to say.

Ertuğrul Kürkçü, a columnist with the pro-Kurdish *Özgür Gündem*, the only paper the PKK has not banned in the Southeast, criticized the mainstream Turkish press for their meek compliance with so many "ultimatums" by the Turkish Army. "Therefore, the selfsame Babiali (generic term to refer to the Turkish press en bloc) cannot stand up against the PKK ban in the name of the 'freedom of the press' without being guilty of using 'double standards,'" Kürkçü wrote.

"Those who bow down before the state's armed forces will have to bow down before the PKK's armed forces, too," he said. Kürkçü added, however, that the adoption of a critical stance toward the ban was necessary, considering the fact that force had been used against the press.

"Even if it were the case that that which uses force had moral and intellectual norms based on the loftiest press ethics, inequality would emerge," he said. "So it is now up to *Özgür Gündem* to adopt a stance where it can criticize the one with the power."

...when the state ceases to exist in a region



İlinur Çevik

EDITORIAL

NEW YORK

The clandestine Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) has successfully carried out its threat and effectively paralyzed not only the sales of Turkish newspapers in the troubled provincial capital of Diyarbakır in south-east Turkey but has also forced the closure of newspaper offices thus crippling the press.

The New York Times on Monday quoting a lawyer of Kurdish origin in Diyarbakır summed it up in the following quote: "The PKK's strength lies mostly in the fact that the state has ceased to be a state in the region."

We informed President Süleyman Demirel about this situation on numerous times in the past yet we faced a stone wall in recent times. Gone is that great statesman who transformed this country from a semi-democracy to a country where its people are vocal and can at least speak up for their rights.

We still believe that Demirel is the only person in this country with any kind of leadership quality to drag us out of the current mess. We have unfortunately closely observed Tansu Çiller's performance in the U.S. as a "leader" and a politician and we have to say neither the bright remarks for her at the White House nor her "charm" has convinced us that she has the ability or the desire to take on the Kurdish issue realistically and with determination. We realized during this trip that the prime minister had no idea whatsoever of what was going on in southeastern Turkey while the journalists accompanying her were much better informed on the deteriorating situation in Diyarbakır...

The PKK recently rounded up newspaper representatives in Diyarbakır in broad daylight and took them to a mountain hideout where they were told to close down the offices of their newspaper in the region. On Tuesday many of them complied, an act which was condemned by the government and other official circles. Besides all this, the PKK effectively halted the distribution of all Turkish newspapers in the region and we are told now that soldiers are being used to partially distribute the papers.

What does all this mean? It simply means the Turkish state has gone bankrupt in the region as the New York Times suggested...

We have been warning against all this for over a year. We had come under fire from official circles for our predictions, which had forced us to say we were fed up of having to say we have been proven right so many times in the past and that we just did not want to be right again on such an issue. But we were right again...

If a state cannot provide security for its journalists and cannot create the conditions for the free distribution of publications, and a terrorist organization plays havoc in a region of the country,

then the only thing left is for the government (not just the interior minister) to resign and make way for a new government that can restore the credibility of the state in southeastern Turkey.

The interior minister cannot complain about the press by saying that newspapers bowed to PKK threats. We would only blame the Turkish press for its unconditional support for a government that can not provide security, even for their offices in Diyarbakır...

So the rough tactics of the authorities, and the so-called "military solution" all seem to be going down the drain. Now is the time for Demirel to show leadership. He is our only hope.

Questions & Answers

■ Why and how did the PKK impose its press ban that went into effect on Tuesday?

According to the organization, the ban is in reaction to biased reporting from the region and recent pressure placed on pro-Kurdish publications and journalists by security forces. The PKK says it no longer needs the press to carry its message, that the journalists should resign, and that newspapers should close their offices in the region.

■ How long will the ban last?

The PKK has imposed the ban for an indefinite period, but local newspaper representatives believe it will last for only about a month, until the organization communicates its message. PKK sources say that during this period, there may be a softening of the ban, with the PKK making a distinction between reporters and publications. Currently, newspapers like Özgür Gündem and the Kurd-Ha agency are allowed to remain open and work, because they are regarded by the PKK as part of the "[Kurdish] national" press.

■ What was the status of press freedoms in southeast Turkey before the PKK ban?

In the past 18 months, a total of 14 journalists reporting on human rights and the Kurdish issue have been killed by unidentified assassins. Amnesty International and the local population believe that security forces were involved in the extra-judicial murders. There was a systematic campaign launched against newspapers such as Özgür Gündem and the weekly Yeni Ülke. Recently, five newspaper distribu-

tors were killed. Özgür Gündem was illegally banned by local officials and could only be sold by children hiding the paper in bags. Some of the children were also killed — or rather axed to death.

■ **What do local reporters of Istanbul papers say about the ban?**

The general feeling is that it is minimally different from the pressure imposed by Turkey and Turkish

forces in the region. They complain that their reports from the region are almost always rewritten at Istanbul news desks and that the truth is always bent in a pro-state style. They say, however, that despite editorial and official pressure, some of the truth did come out and that the PKK's reaction is a violation of press and human rights.

Wednesday, October 20, 1993

turkish daily news

Ankara confused over ban by PKK

■ **Turkey falters on how to challenge separatist hold on southeast**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A ban on national and foreign press activities in southeastern Turkey, imposed by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), has placed politicians in Ankara in a greater quandary on what to do with regard to the PKK and the Kurdish issue as a whole. It has also led to fresh talk about the chances of success of more radical and military based policies in trying to solve this problem.

A statement by President Süleyman Demirel on Tuesday that the problem is "above the government," and that he has "a personal responsibility in dealing with it," was followed throughout the day in Parliament with new and heated debates on the subject. In an interview with the daily *Hürriyet*, Demirel argued that the coordination of the fight against terrorism was his responsibility.

"There is a widespread insurgency raging throughout the Southeast. The coordination of the fight against terrorism is not the responsibility of the government, but of the state," Demirel said.

The press ban which went into affect on Tuesday morning with news organizations closing down their offices in the southeastern provincial capital of Diyarbakır, has turned into a political debate in Turkey on the future of the democratic regime. Analysts say the implementation of the ban has shown that control in the troubled region is gradually shifting to this organization, which is consolidating its hold, not just on remote roads, but also on the population.

Turkey, which has in effect ceased to exist, even on main roads, when the night falls in the region, is now faced with the prospect of losing its control over the region altogether.

Cevheri: send war correspondents to region

The blackout placed on the news media in the southeast by the PKK led to turmoil in the Turkish Parliament on Tuesday. Acting Prime Minister Necmettin Cevheri urged the dailies to oppose the PKK's threats and to send war correspondents to the region.

Analysts say through this statement Cevheri also inadvertently recognized that there is a fully fledged war going on in the region.

State Minister Mehmet Gölhan, for his part, said no country in the world had bowed to terrorism and added that terrorists would sooner or later face death.

Cevheri and Gölhan were speaking at the parliamentary group meeting of their True Path Party (DYP), the coalition government's senior partner.

Cevheri emphasized that despite all the warnings, requests and assurances of the state, the bureaus of newspapers in the southeast had closed down, and that newspaper distributors were not receiving papers.

"Everyone should shoulder their responsibilities. If there is a war there, newspapers should send their war correspondents," Cevheri said.

Cevheri added that journalists had not looked warmly on the proposal for the protecting newspaper bureaus and the houses of the journalists as well as the idea of issuing gun licenses to them.

He noted that since newspaper distributors were not receiving any papers, this distribution was being carried out by state officials. He said that the problem existed only in Diyarbakır and Cizre.

Mehmet Gölhan, who is acting DYP chairman in Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's absence during her visit to the U.S., said that the PKK's threats to the press in the Southeast was being interpreted as an effort to prevent people in the region from getting informed about what is the happenings in there. Gölhan said the PKK was in a state of panic and that 60 million people were ready to fight in the Southeast if conditions necessitated this. He stressed that he and his colleagues would not allow Turkey's national and territorial integrity and its flag to become a subject of controversy.

Gölhan emphasized that the matter would be solved within the context of the supremacy of law.

In a written statement, Tunç Bilget, one of the DYP deputies seeking a harsher policy on terrorism in the southeast, said even declaring martial law in the region would not be adequate. He proposed that deputies should cut off their links with their respective parties and come together in order to solve the problem.

Main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) Chairman Mesut Yılmaz, who spoke at his party's parliamentary group meeting on Tuesday, claimed that terrorism had increased by 5-10 fold compared to when his party was in power.

Yılmaz also claimed that there were no new measures which the government had put into force in order to fight terro-

ism. Pointing out that the PKK had been effective in its bid to intimidate the press in the southeast, Yılmaz said he had heard that TV channels may also be prevented from broadcasting from the region.

Criticising the government he said those who acted as mere spectators in the face of such events, were trying to assure the public now that the upcoming local elections could be held in the southeast just as it would be all over Turkey.

He said that guarantees given by the prime minister while she was in America, and the assurances by the interior minister while he was visiting Iran carried no importance whatsoever for him or his colleagues. Yılmaz added that his party was ready to give full support to the government in order for local elections in five months time to be held in an atmosphere of security.

The parliamentary group of the Republican People's Party (CHP) also convened on Tuesday. CHP Chairman Deniz Baykal, who addressed his colleagues during the group meeting, said that recent events in Diyarbakır clearly showed the situation which Turkey was facing vis a vis terrorism. He said no one could talk about the existence of "national integrity" if laws could not be implemented in a part of the country.

Referring to the PKK's threats to the press in the southeast, Baykal said while Turkish paper could be found in Australia, Britain and Germany, they cannot be found in the southeast. He criticized the government for failing to protect the journalists there and added that his party had prepared a censure motion regarding the recent developments in Diyarbakır.

Quest for a national consensus government

Meanwhile, the controversy regarding the need to establish a government of national consensus in the face of the mounting crisis in the southeast, continued to be part of the debate in Parliament on Tuesday. Late president Turgut Özal's brother Yusuf Bozkurt Özal, who is in the process of organizing his party known as the New Party, argued that Parliament Speaker Hüsameddin Cindoruk should assume the task of securing a national consensus among various political parties. Siirt Deputy for the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), Zübeyir Aydar, said, however, that such demands would amount to calling for a military coup. In a letter to be addressed to ANAP deputies Sadi Pehlivanoglu and Hüseyin Özalp, who first advocated the idea of a government of national consensus, Aydar warned that the quest for such a government would leave Turkey facing internal conflict and division.

Çiller: Right to live is the number one human right

■ Calls for enhanced economic partnership and opening of Iraqi pipeline

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON, D.C.- During her last day in Washington, D.C., Prime Minister Tansu Çiller repeated the themes of "enhanced partnership between Turkey and the U.S." and "negation of double standards in world politics" during an honorary degree ceremony at Georgetown University and the luncheon following at the National Press Club.

During the speeches she gave on both occasions, Çiller emphasized the necessity of withstanding aggression all over the world, regardless of the identity or religion of the victims. By specifically mentioning the world's deplorable passivity in Bosnia and Azerbaijan, Çiller said that attempts to change the national borders by force should be resisted and stopped by any means necessary.

In this context she said that the new danger awaiting the "new world order, or the new world disorder," was not posed by the antagonism between "communism and capitalism" but by this new type of fierce nationalism.

During her National Press Club address, Çiller asked, "How many more states can we afford in the world today?" and drew attention to the painful

results of the application of the Wilsonian principle of "self-determination." With respect to the PKK problem, Çiller declared that the Turkish state would never allow another state to exist in its current territory. "Nor would the United States," she added.

As she did during her previous public addresses in Washington, Çiller emphasized the importance of cooperation with Russia in the Caucasus to mediate regional conflicts. She said it would be wrong for Russia, or for that matter Turkey, to act alone in the region, and that it would not be right even for Turkey and Russia to act as go-betweens unless the cooperation of all regional countries was provided.

Debate on martial law intensifies

■ Turkish military says responsibility lies with civilian authority, urges civilians to use Emergency Rule region

Within this context, Çiller said that the traditional alliance between Turkey and the U.S., which has provided stability in the region for decades, must move forward from an exclusively military platform to an "enhanced partnership" that covers economic relations as well.

Çiller raised the topic of the damage caused to the Turkish economy by the Iraqi oil embargo and mentioned that the resulting poverty in the area was one of the reasons that PKK terrorism has escalated to its present level.

"It doesn't look like the oil embargo hurt Saddam Hussein, though," she added.

Frequently referring to Turkey's sensitivity to the issue of human rights, Çiller said that Turkey even has a mechanism at the ministerial level to "watch over individual cases of human rights violations.

When you are fighting terrorism, such individual abuses do happen. But we are serious about acting as watchdogs of human rights violations. Now the state watches over the state," she said.

Answering a question at the National Press Club concerning the prospects of Turkey's recognizing such cultural freedoms as TV broadcasts in Kurdish or Kurdish curriculum in schools, Çiller replied that within the current environment of escalated terrorism, the priority is on protecting lives.

She said that during her recent visits to the Southeast, people repeatedly asked her first to protect their lives. Only after terrorism stops can such freedoms be enjoyed, she said.

On the issue of Cyprus, Çiller said that Turkey definitely wants a solution to the crisis; for this reason Ankara has asked the Turkish Cypriot leadership to determine a definite date for an election and to hold it as soon as possible.

Once the election takes place, the two communities can sit down and reach an agreement between themselves, she said.

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Amid intensifying debate over the possible imposition of martial law in the face of growing terrorist activity in the Southeast, the highest government officials deny conditions exist for its declaration.

"To us, conditions necessitating martial law do not exist," Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu said Tuesday. "Unfortunately, debate over martial law has always been initiated before parliamentary vote on the extension of the emergency rule [in the Southeast]."

Meanwhile, in an interview with the daily Hürriyet published Tuesday, President Süleyman Demirel disclosed "no demand" by secu-

rity forces had yet been made for the declaration of martial law. "There is nothing you can't do under emergency rule that you can do under martial law. True that martial law is a legal measure. If conditions necessitate its declaration, it is resorted to. Yet for now, it is out of the question and no demand has been made as yet," Demirel told Hürriyet. Demirel also argued that the "coordination of the fight against terrorism" was his "responsibility."

"There is a widespread insurgency in the Southeast. The responsibility for the fight against such an attempt is not of the government, but of the state. Hence, as head of the state, it is my responsibility," Demirel said.

Voicing his opposition to martial law, Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk said there was "no need for martial law when emergency rule is in effect in the Southeast."

"If need be, Parliament will extend emergency rule," he added. Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, currently in the United States on an official visit, maintained that the government would ensure the safety of voters in the upcoming local elections and that debate over the imposition of martial law was unnecessary "at this stage."

Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın on Tuesday said his party was opposed to a declaration of martial law. "We do not believe that conditions have arisen that would justify the imposition of martial law, the Southeast and the East included," he said.

"I declare openly that my party shall oppose martial law unless conditions necessitate it," he added.

Welfare Party (RP) leader Necmettin Erbakan, People's Republican Party (CHP) Chairman Deniz Baykal, Democra-

tic Left Party (DSP) Chairman Bülent Ecevit, and pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) deputies have all voiced their strong reaction to martial law.

Yet despite such strong opposition, some politicians in the senior coalition partner True Path Party (DYP) and the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) demand martial law before the upcoming local elections of March 27, 1994.

Ismail Köse, DYP head of Parliament's Internal Affairs Committee, is one such politician demanding martial law before the local elections. Şadi Pehlivanoglu and Hüseyin Özalp, two ANAP deputies, last Friday asked for the formation of a "government of national alliance," which will suspend priorities of political parties, decree martial law if necessary, and defer the local elections of March 1994 to 1996, when general elections will be held. Claiming that some Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) members' demand for the annulment of laws that ban debate on discussing the division of the country would prevent an end to terrorist activity, they said a civil war was raging in the country.

In another development, military officials have said that the Turkish Army will not demand martial law at the upcoming National Security Council (MGK) meeting of Oct. 25.

"The emergency rule that is in effect in the region and martial law exhibit great similarities, the only difference being that the executive power lies with civilian authority in emergency rule. If civilian officials use their power to the full, there will be no need for martial law," the daily Milliyet quoted senior officials from the Office of the Turkish Chief of Staff as saying on Tuesday.

Minister urges 'all out resistance'

■ Fails to give assurances on security and admits no Journalist in the southeast had asked for police protection

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Political parties and the media must get involved in an all out struggle against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), in order to defeat its campaign in the east to close down political party and newspaper offices, Turkish minister for the interior Mehmet Gazioglu said here on Tuesday.

Commenting on the decision by newspaper offices in Diyarbakir, and party headquarters in Tunceli, to suspend their activities after receiving PKK threats, Gazioglu said at a press conference that it was not possible for him to look on these "withdrawals" favorably.

"As the government, we think that not be intimidated by such threats and to act bravely instead is absolutely necessary for the solution of this problem", he said.

"We are ready to give every kind of protection to foreign or Turkish journalists who

want to work in that region" Gazioglu added referring to the east and the southeast.

Gazioglu added that a meeting had been organized by the Diyarbakir based Regional Governor, Unal Erkan, with the local bureau chiefs of the national papers that had been threatened. He added that the same offer had been made to them, but that "unfortunately" no journalist from the region had asked for police protection so far.

Asked by a reporter whether he himself would have applied for protection if he was a journalist in the region, where state security forces give the impression of being unable to protect school teachers, gendarmerie stations as well as themselves, Gazioglu said he would have applied for protection. "Because whoever goes to that region for reporting knows the circumstances there. That's why we are saying that all of us face a threat there. There is no doubt that the PKK

is a terrorist organization," Gazioglu said.

"They (the PKK) are talking about human rights, but killing people. We are establishing schools in that region, they are setting them to fire. We are laying an infrastructure there, they are destroying it. They want to say that they are strong in the region and can dictate to everyone what they must do." "Now if we take a step back, they will reach their goal", he said, emphasizing that there would be no change in the tactics of the security forces in struggling with the PKK.

Gazioglu said that in the military field the PKK had reverted to its position of 1984, when it first launched its armed campaign for an independent Kurdish state in the region, carved out of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria.

"For the last two months the PKK has not been able to engage in a clash with the security forces", the interior minister said. "They only ambush and raid remote points. In addition to the forces already there, 1,000 people under special training in Mentese (western Turkey) will be sent to the region in three months" Gazioglu said.

Iraqi Kurds use Barzani's funeral to signal unity

By Aliza Marcus

Reuter

BARZAN, IRAQ-Gazali Mirhan was just a boy when he joined the guerrilla army led by the late Iraqi Kurdish leader Mollah Mustafa Barzani in 1943. He has no regrets.

"Barzani used to tell us that as long as there was one Kurd alive, we would never allow our enemies to control Kurdistan," said Mirhan, a retired guerrilla commander who is now 67. "The freedom we have now is Barzani's inspiration.

He gave us the strength to fight for the rights we have finally gained. Mirhan followed Barzani into battle in the mountains of Iraq and Iran, and into prolonged exile in the Soviet Union and Iran.

This month he accompanied the legendary guerrilla chief on his last journey when Barzani's body was finally brought back from Iran, where it was buried after his death in the United States in 1979, to his home town of Barzan in northern Iraq. "All my life I have followed Barzani and it is a great joy that I could follow him back here to the home he always dreamed of," said Mirhan, who has spent the past 18 years in Iran.

The return of Barzani's body turned into an emotional three-day celebration which reflected the conviction of Iraqi Kurds that their fragile autonomy, guarded by the Western allies which threw Iraq out of Kuwait in 1991, will survive.

It was also a show of unity between Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which split from the KDP after he fled to Iran in 1975.

Not least it was a slap to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, whose troops once tried to steal Barzani's body and who swore the Kurdish leader would never again see Iraqi Kurdistan. "Our enemies said Barzani would never again drink from the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, but we have proved them wrong," PUK leader Jalal Talabani told thousands of cheering people at a ceremony outside the Kurdish parliament in Irbil. Black-clad women wept and peshmerga soldiers raised guns decorated with the green and yellow colors of the KDP and PUK. "We have been under the control of our enemies and now we are free and we will continue our struggle to get the right of self-determination in a democratic Iraq," Talabani declared.

The Iranian government flew the remains of Barzani and his son Idris, who died of a heart attack in Iran in 1988, to the Iraqi border on October 6.

Talabani made the funeral arrangements in what Barzani's son Massoud, present leader of the KDP, said symbolised the desire of the two main Iraqi Kurdish parties to work together. "This is a great opportunity for the two parties to show that they can keep their unity, develop it and together further the development of Kurdistan," Massoud

Barzani told Reuters.

Talabani was a bitter rival of the elder Barzani in the early days of the PUK and on occasion linked up with Saddam's forces against the KDP in a feud which lasted into the 1980s. Tension remained even after the formation in 1988 of the Kurdistan Front, grouping eight Kurdish political parties. When Iraqi Kurds elected their first free parliament in 1992, the PUK and KDP emerged neck and neck. Their leaders agreed to take 50 seats each in the 105-seat assembly.

Cabinet posts are arranged to ensure that if the minister is from one party, his deputy must be from another -- promoting unity but also inertia, members of both parties said. Even now, the parties maintain separate newspapers and radio and television stations, although they broadcast jointly during Barzani's funeral, and friction lingers among the rank and file. But in Barzan, where Mustafa Barzani was born in 1903, the focus was on forgetting the past and building a common future in a land devastated by Iraqi bombs, dynamite and bulldozers.

"We have much work to do to rebuild our villages and rehabilitate our land. To succeed we must be hand in hand," Barzani said over the graves of his father and brother. "For the sake of the people, brotherhood must be kept between me and Talabani and between the PUK and KDP."

Les Kurdes de Turquie attendent la « paix blanche »

L'hiver apporte chaque année aux habitants de l'Est anatolien une trêve dans les combats entre les forces gouvernementales et les séparatistes kurdes

TATVAN

de notre envoyée spéciale

La carcasse calcinée d'un autocar intercepté puis incendié par le PKK marque l'endroit exact où quatre touristes français avaient été enlevés, sur la route entre Van et Tatvan, le 24 juillet dernier. Tous les passagers du véhicule ont été libérés indemnes, après avoir eu droit à la dose habituelle de propagande des militants kurdes, mais cette nouvelle attaque, qui a eu lieu tout récemment, démontre que, malgré la présence évidente des forces de sécurité à intervalles réguliers sur ce tronçon de route - tanks, patrouilles blindées, postes de gendarmerie -, les combattants du PKK peuvent attaquer à volonté.

A Tatvan, une petite ville endormie, nichée à l'extrémité ouest du lac de Van, le PKK a pris racine depuis deux ou trois ans et les

accrochages se sont multipliés. « Je ne pense pas que la force militaire soit suffisante pour résoudre le problème », admet Mehmet Günaydin, le kaymakam, qui représente les autorités turques dans le district. « Le climat est négatif, il y a beaucoup de chômage, pas d'investissements. » Le résultat de ces problèmes sociaux, reconnaît-il, c'est que « certains habitants soutiennent le PKK ». Beaucoup de jeunes entre dix et vingt ans, garçons et filles, quittent l'école pour rejoindre les combattants dans la montagne.

Depuis le début de la lutte armée du PKK, en août 1984, le conflit a causé la mort de plus de sept mille personnes. Au cours des dernières semaines, les forces aériennes ont bombardé régulièrement le mont Ararat et la région de Tendürek, près de la frontière iranienne. Mais les multiples crevasses, grottes et recoins formés par la roche volcanique de ces montagnes - une pierre noire aux

reflets verdâtres - offrent d'innombrables abris aux combattants kurdes, dont le nombre est estimé autour de dix mille, et rendent particulièrement difficile leur localisation. Le dispositif militaire turc dans le sud-est et l'est anatolien est impressionnant. Entre cent mille et cent cinquante mille hommes sont déployés dans la zone mais, malgré le fourmillement de troupes, les patrouilles de blindés, les hélicoptères et les bombardiers, rien n'indique que, sur le terrain, une victoire militaire soit possible.

Les combats, limités dans les années 80 au sud-est anatolien et à la zone frontière avec la Syrie, se sont étendus pour couvrir également l'Est anatolien. La pression démographique joue en faveur du PKK : la population kurde grandit très rapidement et s'installe progressivement dans les villages désertés par les Turcs partis chercher fortune dans les grandes villes de l'ouest du pays. Des accrochages

ont été signalés jusqu'à Kars, bien au nord de la zone traditionnellement kurde, et un touriste autrichien a été brièvement détenu par le PKK cet été, enlevé dans la province de Sivas, en pleine Anatolie centrale.

Le tourisme, source tarie

« Nous en finirons avec le PKK avant le printemps 1994 », a déclaré récemment le chef de l'état-major des forces armées, le général Dogan Güres. La presse turque, qui a rapporté ses propos à la « une », n'a pas relevé que ce succès imminent avait déjà été annoncé à plusieurs reprises.

Les conséquences du conflit sur l'économie locale sont évidentes. L'importante source de revenus que représentait le tourisme pour la province de Van, par exemple, est presque tarie : quelques rares groupes de retraités américains s'aventurent encore dans la région, leurs guides refusant de tenir compte du danger qui les guette. A Tatvan, quatre bacs languissent sur les eaux bleu sombre du lac, situé à 1 700 mètres d'altitude : le trafic ferroviaire a été interrompu, le train que les bateaux transféraient régulièrement jusqu'à Van ayant été à plusieurs reprises la cible du PKK au cours d'attaques qui rappelaient les méthodes du Far-West.

« L'Etat est convaincu que les villageois soutiennent le PKK par peur. Il pense que si leur peur de l'Etat est plus grande encore, il pourra les retourner », explique un responsable local. Pour que les villageois puissent se défendre contre le PKK, le gouvernement distribue des armes. Dans l'ensemble de la région sous état d'urgence, au moins trente mille « gardiens de village » - ou miliciens progouvernementaux - touchent un salaire mensuel. « Les villageois doivent absolument accepter les armes du gouvernement », souligne le kaymakam, qui reconnaît que leur réticence est un problème sérieux.

Les organisations des droits de l'homme mentionnent la forte pression gouvernementale sur les villageois trop obés. Des centaines de villages auraient été évacués de force ou brûlés dans l'ensemble de la région sous état d'urgence, parce que leurs habitants refusaient de collaborer avec l'Etat.

« La plupart des gardiens de village partagent leur salaire avec le PKK », affirme un journaliste kurde. La seule tribu qui refuse cette « police d'assurance », ajoute-t-il, est celle des Sigo, répartie dans plusieurs villages de la région. Lorsque les combattants du PKK avaient ouvert le feu sur des minibus transportant des civils à Mutki, près de Tatvan, le 19 septembre,

c'est apparemment ce clan qu'ils avaient choisi pour cible.

La recrudescence des groupements armés de toutes tendances inquiète les responsables kurdes. « Il est facile de distribuer des armes, il est plus difficile de les reprendre », explique l'un d'eux, qui admet craindre à la fois le PKK et les forces gouvernementales. Dans sa lutte contre le PKK, l'Etat turc emploie, outre les gardiens de village, l'armée, la gendarmerie, la police, les « forces spéciales », les services de renseignement.

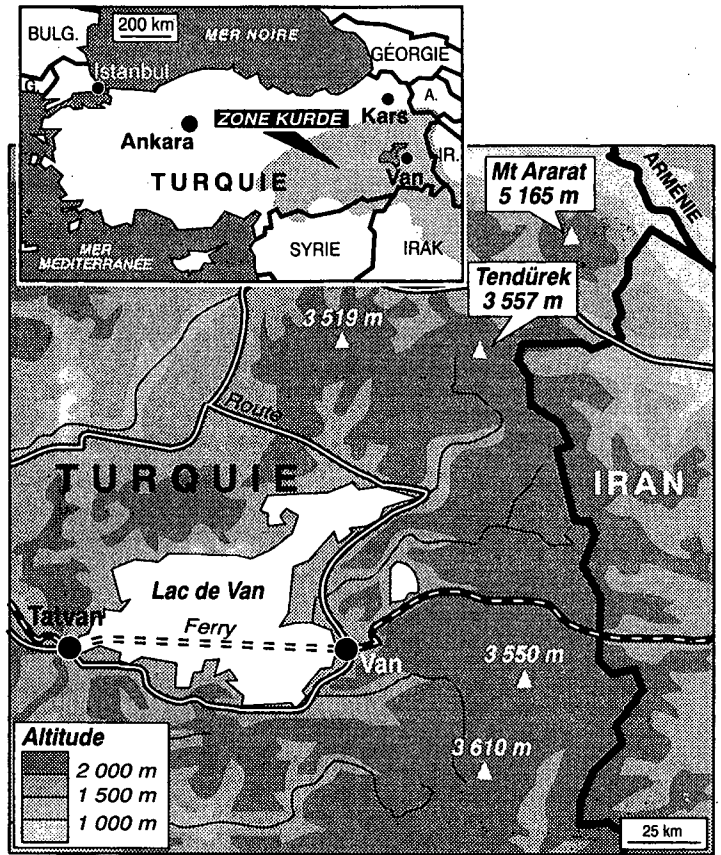
Hezbollahs contre nationalistes

A ces divers groupes viendra s'ajouter prochainement « l'armée privée » de volontaires spécialement formés pour lutter contre le PKK, prévue par le premier ministre Tansu Ciller. « Lorsqu'un suspect est arrêté, il est interrogé par cinq forces différentes qui travaillent séparément », explique un responsable local. « Comment le gouvernement va-t-il discipliner tous ces gens, comment va-t-il maintenir le contrôle ? Il n'y a pas d'état civil en Turquie. »

Les habitants de la région considèrent également les hezbollahs kurdes, qu'ils accusent d'avoir perpétré des centaines de meurtres de nationalistes kurdes, comme un groupe au service de l'Etat. « Les hezbollahs tuent des citoyens ordinaires. Ils tuent en plein jour, dans des rues bondées. La peur qui est créée est utilisée par l'Etat », affirme un responsable local. Déjà bien implantés dans le Sud-Est, les islamistes kurdes s'installent progressivement dans l'Est. Le pronostic est peu encourageant.

Les autorités turques s'obstinent dans leur politique, craignant que toute réforme ne soit perçue comme une concession à la lutte armée du PKK et une première étape vers un Etat kurde indépendant. Par conséquent, d'Ankara ne viennent que des déclarations martiales, qui semblent ne tenir aucun compte de la situation sur le terrain. Ni les forces armées, ni d'ailleurs le PKK, ne peuvent vaincre militairement. Les bombardements aériens et les ratissages ne pourront pas anéantir les aspirations de la population kurde, qui semblent modestes : droits culturels, éducation en kurde et développement économique. Les volontaires ne manquent pas pour remplacer les militants du PKK morts dans la montagne et alimenter ce conflit qui se poursuivra jusqu'à ce qu'une solution politique soit finalement envisagée.

A court terme, les habitants de l'Est anatolien attendent avec impatience l'arrivée de l'hiver - très rude dans cette partie du pays



-, qui forcera le PKK et les forces de sécurité à suspendre ou ralentir leurs opérations. « Nous aimons la neige, affirme un maire kurde. Nous l'appelons « la paix blanche. »

NICOLE POPE

PRÉCISION. - Après l'interdiction faite par le PKK aux journalistes turcs de se rendre dans l'est et le sud-est anatolien (*le Monde* du 19 octobre), Cemil Bayik,

commandant de l'aile militaire du PKK, a étendu cette interdiction aux correspondants étrangers, dans une déclaration diffusée lundi 18 octobre depuis l'Allemagne par l'agence Kurd-Ha. Ce reportage, effectué avant cette interdiction, est donc l'un des derniers réalisés dans cette région par un journaliste étranger.

Le Monde — 21 octobre 1993

TURQUIE Reporters sans frontières dénonce les menaces du PKK contre la presse

A la suite de l'interdiction, prononcée par le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), faite aux journalistes turcs et étrangers - accusés de partialité - de travailler dans le Sud-Est anatolien turc à majorité kurde, l'agence Reuter indique que cinq grands quotidiens ont fermé leurs bureaux régionaux.

L'interdiction du PKK s'étend non seulement au travail des journalistes mais aussi à la diffusion de ces journaux. Le gouvernement a déploré cette décision.

En France, l'association Reporters sans frontières a dénoncé cette « atteinte intolérable à la liberté de la presse et au droit à l'information » en ajoutant que « le risque est grand désormais de voir la Turquie devenir, comme d'autres pays du monde, un pays où les représentants de la presse sont uniquement considérés comme une monnaie d'échange entre deux parties qui s'affrontent ».

Mise en garde du PKK à la presse turque et étrangère

Après avoir "interdit" le sud-est anatolien aux touristes, le PKK s'en prend maintenant aux journalistes dont il dénonce la "collaboration", active ou passive, avec le pouvoir central d'Ankara. Dans un communiqué de l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche du PKK, daté du 18 octobre, le commandement de l'ARGK (Armée pour la Libération du Peuple du Kurdistan, aile militaire du PKK) met en garde la presse turque, mais aussi étrangère, la mettant en demeure de fermer ses bureaux dans le sud-est de la Turquie. Dans une conférence de presse vendredi près de Diyarbakir, le PKK avait par ailleurs menacé les représentants pour la région de la presse locale, leur demandant "l'arrêt à compter de mardi de la vente de leurs journaux et la fermeture de leurs bureaux".

"Le silence de la presse sur les massacres de journalistes démo-

crates et l'attitude pro-gouvernementale qu'a adoptée la presse, y compris la presse étrangère, dans la guerre dans la région sont les principales raisons de cette décision", a affirmé dans son communiqué l'ARGK, faisant allusion au meurtre, depuis un an, de 14 journalistes kurdes ou sympathisants de la cause kurde dont les auteurs n'ont jamais été retrouvés. Si le PKK n'avait pas précisé les représailles possibles en cas d'un éventuel refus à cette "mise en demeure", les principaux intéressés ne l'en ont pas moins prise très au sérieux. Les représentants des principaux quotidiens turcs à Diyarbakir, tel "Cumhuriyet" (centre-gauche, 650 000 exemplaires), "Milliyet" (centre-droite, 900 000 exemplaires), "Hurriyet" (centre, 700 000) et "Sabah" (populaire, 800 000), ainsi que l'agence semi-officielle "Anatolie", avaient ainsi fermé leurs bureaux lundi.

Turquie Plaidoyer pour l'Irak.

LA TURQUIE est lasse de l'embargo onusien contre l'Irak, et Tansu Ciller, son Premier ministre, en voyage officiel aux Etats-Unis, espère convaincre le président Bill Clinton de lever les sanctions. Ou à tout le moins obtenir des compensations.

Les experts chiffrent en effet à 5 milliards de dollars le manque à gagner pour l'économie turque depuis la guerre du Golfe. La fermeture des 985 kilomètres du pipe-line reliant l'Irak au terminal turc sur la Méditerranée coûte chaque jour 750 000 dollars à Ankara, a déclaré le ministre des Affaires étrangères Hikmet Cetin.

Plus grave : 7,2 millions de barils (pour une valeur de 1,5 milliard de dollars) sont bloqués dans l'oléoduc depuis trois ans. Pour les pomper, Ankara souhaite bénéficier d'une assistance technique américaine.

Sans oublier les marchés perdus par les entrepreneurs, partenaires traditionnels des industriels irakiens.

Signe de la normalisation des relations entre les deux pays, l'ambassade turque a rouvert ses portes à Bagdad. Et Ankara est d'autant plus résolu à poursuivre cette politique que Saddam Hussein a accepté de divulguer les détails de ses programmes d'armement, condition *sine qua non* de la levée de l'interdiction d'exporter son pétrole.

En outre, la Turquie, en butte à la guérilla kurde depuis neuf ans, voit d'un fort mauvais œil l'autonomie dont dispose le Kurdistan irakien. ■ GWENAELE LENOIR

LE PROVENÇAL — 20 octobre 1993

Critiques

Régale italien, courage kurde et naufrage grec

Chaque année, le Festival Méditerranéen nous offre une très belle surprise. Un film que l'on aime profondément et qui reste longtemps ancré dans un coin de notre mémoire. A cet effet, on se souvient avec bonheur de "Maria Zef", "Le crime de Cuenca", "Una gita scolastica", "La Maschera", "Blackbird", "Portes ouvertes", "Tolgo il dis-turbo" et "La noche mas larga".

En ce mois d'octobre 93, c'est incontestablement "Jonas" de l'Italien Roberto Faenza qui nous a procuré le plus d'émotion et de plaisir. Cette œuvre, qui trouve sa force et sa puissance de ton dans un style empreint d'une sobriété bienvenue, ne peut laisser indifférent. De bout en bout, on suit en silence la déportation de ce petit garçon juif dans un camp de concentration où son père trouvera la mort et sa mère la folie. Bouleversé, on regarde évoluer cet enfant aux yeux tristes dans un univers où la peur du "grand départ" règne au quotidien. S'appuyant sur le récit autobiographique de l'écrivain Jona Oberski et la superbe bande

musicale d'Ennio Morricone qui donne à l'ensemble une intensité dramatique peu commune, Roberto Faenza a réussi un petit chef-d'œuvre de pure émotion. Un régale.

Dans un registre tout aussi poignant, le cinéaste Nizamettin Ariç évoque avec courage et lucidité le drame du peuple Kurde et de ses conflits permanents avec l'armée et le gouvernement d'Ankara. "Une chanson pour Beko" est une œuvre grave qui parle de l'errance d'une nation sans frontières qui lutte pour sa reconnaissance officielle. Il s'agit là d'un très beau témoignage qui ne peut que forcer le respect.

En ce qui concerne le film grec en compétition, "De grâce mesdames, ne pleurez pas", sachez qu'il s'agit d'un vrai ratage. L'histoire de ces deux peintres d'icônes passionnés d'astronomie et ayant pour mission de restaurer les fresques d'une petite église rurale est ennuyeuse au possible. Il est rare de voir des films aussi décevants.

Quel naufrage !

Jean-Baptiste CROCE

TURQUIE

Le visage masqué du PKK

Derrière le visage héroïque de mouvement de libération qu'affiche le PKK - le Parti des Travailleurs kurdes - se cache une réalité plus trouble et très violente, à l'image de ceux qui les oppriment: l'armée turque. L'un et l'autre d'ailleurs, s'en prennent, depuis quelques jours, aux journalistes. Les uns, arrêtés à l'Ouest du pays par la police. Les autres plient bagage de Diyarbakir, où ils sont interdits par les guérilleros.

Cet été le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, se faisait sa publicité en enlevant des touristes occidentaux, dont deux Suisses (ce dernier week-end, deux touristes étaient à nouveau enlevés). Le PKK s'est alors

Par Christophe Chiclet

présenté comme un mouvement de libération contraint à la lutte armée en raison de la répression, brutale et bien réelle, de l'armée turque. Mais derrière cette image présentable de résistance légitime se cache une organisation qui ne recule pas devant la violence. Une violence souvent aveugle.

Tout commence le 27 novembre 1978, lorsque douze étudiants kurdes de Turquie, adeptes du marxisme-léninisme, fondent le PKK. Leur chef, Abdullah Öcalan dit Apo, a raté quelques années plus tôt son examen d'entrée à l'acadé-

mie militaire turque. Il se tourne alors vers les sciences politiques et embrasse le marxisme version maoïste, adopté par les Khmers rouges ou le Sentier lumineux péruvien. Il règne bientôt en maître sur l'organisation aidé de ses frères Osman et Ferhat et ne recule pas devant les méthodes employées: on sait qu'il a fait exécuter son bras droit, Sahin Balic, pour avoir protesté contre le massacre de civils innocents et fait même interner sa propre femme pour «déviationnisme idéologique».

En décembre 1978, un tract circule dans le Kurdistan turc qui dessine le projet de son parti: lutte armée contre l'Etat turc et les féodaux kurdes, instauration de la dictature du prolétariat dans un Kurdistan libre, indépendant et unifié. En 1979, les «Apoculars» (disciples d'Apo) comme s'appellent eux-mêmes les membres du PKK, organisent quelques attentats au Kurdistan. Mais en septembre 1980, les militaires turcs font

Le programme de 1978: lutte contre les féodaux et dictature du prolétariat

un coup d'Etat et, comme à chaque fois qu'ils ont pris le pouvoir (en 1960 et en 1971), ils s'en prennent aux Kurdes et décapitent l'organisation. Assassins sans jugement, arrestations massives, conditions de détention effroyables, le PKK paie un lourd tribut. Kemal Pir, un



Keystone

Les Kurdes d'Anatolie orientale (à l'Est de la Turquie) sont pris constamment entre le marteau et l'enclume. Entre les raids et les exigences du PKK d'une part, et la répression de l'armée.

de ses cadres, meurt en prison en 1982 des suites d'une longue grève de la faim. Les Apoculaires décident alors de se relier à l'étranger: au Moyen-Orient et en s'immergeant dans l'importante diaspora européenne. Car les immigrés kurdes sont 700 000 en Europe, dont 400 000 en Allemagne et 85 000 en France. Quant à l'état-major, Öcalan en tête, il s'installe à Damas sous la bienveillante protection du président Hafez El Assad. Car la Syrie a deux contentieux importants avec la Turquie: ses prétentions sur le sandjak d'Alexandrette, rendu à la Turquie en 1939 et le contrôle des eaux de l'Euphrate, dont ils décident du débit (le deuxième congrès du PKK a d'ailleurs lieu à Damas en août 1982). Quant à la formation des combattants qui doivent un jour ou l'autre partir se battre en Turquie, elle est désormais assurée dans un camp de la Bekaa libanaise.

La stratégie d'Öcalan consiste à lier habilement son mouvement à la nébuleuse terroriste proche-orientale et à leurs «parrains», sans pour autant commettre l'erreur (hormis quelques cas isolés) de fomenter des attentats en Europe, comme le font alors les Palestiniens, les Arméniens et les Libanais.

D'autre part, les voisins de la Turquie – la Syrie, l'Irak, l'URSS – accumulent des griefs contre la Turquie. Le PKK saura en jouer pour obtenir d'eux un soutien logistique et financier. En 1980, une bombe explose au consulat turc de

Strasbourg. Puis ce sont les locaux de la Swissair et de l'Office du tourisme suisse qui sautent à Rome. A chaque fois, une revendication commune: ASALA-PKK. A chaque fois que l'ASALA (le mouvement terroriste arménien) règle ses comptes internes à coups de kalashnikovs, une fraction vient se réfugier dans le camp du PKK de la Bekaa.

En 1983, le PKK fête son cinquième anniversaire à Hambourg. Présents à la cérémonie: des Palestiniens hostiles à l'OLP, des Kurdes d'Irak et les Péruviens du Sentier lumineux. Mais c'est le 15 août 1984 que les choses sérieuses commencent. Les 200 premiers Apoculaires formés à la guérilla par des instructeurs palestiniens pénètrent en Turquie. Une guerre sans merci commence. En moins de dix ans, elle a déjà fait près de 9000 morts. Les petits détachements du PKK s'en prennent aux postes de gendarmerie turque, aux instituteurs turcs accusés de «dékurdiser» la jeunesse, et aux chefs de villages kurdes (milices locales paramilitaires de 30 000 membres organisés par l'armée d'Ankara). Ces «Harkis kurdes» sont systématiquement massacrés avec toute leur famille, femmes et enfants compris.

La guerre du Golfe, en 1991, marque un véritable tournant pour le PKK. La Syrie, membre de la coalition alliée, ferme officiellement le camp de la Bekaa en mai 1992. En réalité, il est simplement mis en sommeil jusqu'à sa destruction par l'aviation israélienne en juillet 1993. Fidèle à lui-même, le président Hafez el Assad tient toujours deux fers au feu, et Öcalan peut continuer ses activités tant à Damas qu'au Li-

ban, sans hésiter à prendre fait et cause pour l'Irak dès septembre 1990. Apo (Öcalan), traité par les Kurdes irakiens de «dictateur coupé des réalités et de traître à la cause kurde», installe une vingtaine de bases arrière à la frontière turco-irakienne. Le fait que Saddam Hussein ait massacré des dizaines de milliers de Kurdes ne paraît guère le gêner: à l'été 1991, les services secrets irakiens livrent des tonnes d'armes chinoises au PKK. Finis les petits détachements de 20 à 30 guérilleros. Désormais le PKK est capable d'envoyer des brigades de 500 hommes armés d'équipement semi-lourd à l'assaut des villes du Kurdistan turc. La nuit, le PKK devient le maître de la région. Dans la journée, l'armée turque reprend le contrôle avec une brutalité inouïe. Du coup, les populations civiles sont prises entre l'enclume et le marteau, et la spirale de la violence finit par les rapprocher tout sont des Kurdes, comme eux. De nombreux jeunes Kurdes, désœuvrés dans leur majorité, prennent le maquis. Selon des chiffres datant de la fin 1991, Apo contrôle 30 000 guérilleros et les cellules du PKK sont implantées dans les cinquante plus grandes villes de toute la Turquie (sur 12 millions de Kurdes turcs, près de la moitié vivent en Anatolie occidentale).

1983: des instructeurs palestiniens entrent en Turquie pour appuyer le PKK

Décembre 1991: le PKK choisit le terrorisme urbain. 50 de ses militants occupent et incendient un grand magasin d'Istanbul: bilan 11 morts. Grâce à cette montée en puissance, Apo crée de multiples succursales. La branche militaire s'appelle l'AGRK (Armée populaire de libération du Kurdistan), dirigée par ses frères. La branche politique est l'ERNK (Front populaire de libération du Kurdistan), qui dispose de bureaux «officiels» à Moscou, Athènes et à Erévan. Son porte-parole pour l'Europe est Ali Sapan, qui passa par la Suisse et fut assigné à résidence quelques jours en septembre dernier à Rome. Contrairement aux autorités suisses (qui ne se sentaient pas en mesure de donner suite au mandat international lancé par la Turquie), les Italiens ont voulu marquer le coup après la prise d'otages de touristes italiens. En effet, d'après les services de renseignements occidentaux, Ali Sapan qui fut déjà détenu en Allemagne, ne serait rien moins que le responsable du

PKK Europe. Au sein de la diaspora, le PKK a mis en place des Associations culturelles et patriotiques bien implantées chez les travailleurs kurdes. Les étudiants sont regroupés dans l'Association des étudiants kurdes présente, entre autres, à Genève. Quant aux relations avec la presse occidentale, des «comités Kurdistan», généralement proches du PKK, s'en chargent, à Genève comme à Bâle. Lausanne est aussi une base importante du mouvement.

Face à la montée des islamistes (voir encadré) Apo a créé le Parti islamiste kurde (PIK) chargé d'éviter la tendance fondamentaliste de nombre de ses militants, fatigués d'une dérive de plus en plus trouble. Enfin, basées depuis 1990-91 en Irak, les troupes du PKK fondent le Parti de libération du Kurdistan (PAK) recrutant uniquement chez les Kurdes d'Irak. Là, le PDK et l'UPK, partis historiques des Kurdes d'Irak des Barzani et Talabani, ont créé leur propre «Etat» en mai 1992. Armée turque et Peshmergas kurdes irakiens se sont retrouvés dans une alliance objective, en traquant, les uns comme les autres, les Apoculaires. Ferhat Öcalan se rend aux hommes du PDK, les autres s'infiltrèrent en Turquie par petits groupes, ou passent en Iran et dans le centre de l'Irak sous contrôle de Saddam Hussein. Ces dernières semaines, un accord verbal a toutefois été acquis entre PKK (turc) et PDK (irakien) pour éviter les affrontements entre Kurdes.

Aujourd'hui, les guérilleros du PKK ne seraient plus que 15 000, comme nous l'a affirmé Ali Sapan quelques jours avant son arrestation à Rome. Il ne leur reste plus qu'un seul camp au Kurdistan irakien, baptisé «Académie militaire Mashum Kormaz». Ayant perdu une partie de sa puissance militaire, le PKK se réorienterait vers des actions plus médiatiques comme la prise d'otages de touristes et des bombinettes dans des sites touristiques de l'Anatolie occidentale (à noter que ces attentats n'ont pas été revendiqués et peuvent être

1991: on passe au terrorisme urbain et on encadre plus que jamais la diaspora

l'œuvre de sympathisants). A son actif, le PKK est de plus en plus soutenu par une population qui ne supporte plus la violence aveugle du nouveau Gouvernement turc du président Demirel et du Premier ministre Ciller. L'ex-président Özal, disparu le 17 avril 1993, avait fait des ouvertures que même le PKK avait pris au sérieux en décrétant notamment un éphémère cessez-le-feu unilatéral. Encore une occasion ratée entre Turcs et Kurdes.

Press reacts to suggestion on war correspondents for S.east

■ Official criticism of dailies for closing Southeast bureaus meets with strong counter criticism by press

■ Protests against PKK ban on dailies continue, foreign journalists prepare to take over from those leaving the region

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A suggestion to the printed media to send "war correspondents" to the Southeast if they "insist there is a war going on there," made by acting Prime Minister Necmettin Cevheri following the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) ban on dailies, has outraged the Turkish press.

Speaking at the True Path Party (DYP) parliamentary group meeting Tuesday, Cevheri criticized the dailies for closing their Southeast offices

"despite governmental guarantees to ensure their safety. This land is ours. Just as teachers, public servants are martyred there doing their duty, so the press must do its duty," he added.

"What sort of talk is that?" ran Milliyet's front-page headline on Wednesday. "Weird suggestion by acting PM Cevheri to journalists threatened by the PKK: 'Go and do war reporting then,'" read the subhead.

Milliyet said the press was ready to fulfill any journalistic responsibility, including sending war correspondents to the region. "Yet, the Southeast is waiting for the care and protection of the state," it added.

"The PKK is in effect ruling the Southeast," wrote Milliyet's Melih Aşık, "and its influence is being felt more and more in western Turkey. The country is at the threshold of a war to maintain its integrity. Yet neither the state officials nor the rich who control them are the slightest bit concerned." Hürriyet's Rauf Tamer argued that the PKK action occurred because the organization "knows very well that Turkish politicians cannot come up with a consistent plan of action to oppose the ban."

"In a country whose policies have become so bungled, this [ban] comes as no surprise. Some day soon, other institutions are going to suffer from similar bans. They will all be asked to stop functioning," he wrote.

İlhan Selçuk of Cumhuriyet accused state authorities of asking journalists based in the terrorism-stricken Southeast to "die." In his commentary entitled "Have You Ever Died, Buddy?" Selçuk alleged that the Emergency Rule region was being considered as "lost."

"In Ankara, no one knows what to do. As for political parties, they are embroiled in a struggle to send one another down the drain," Selçuk wrote, "and we ask the reporter in the Southeast to die! Why should he?"

Hikmet Çetinkaya, another Cumhuriyet columnist, wrote that remarks by senior government officials criticizing the press for closing their Southeast offices were out of place. "If it's that easy, you go and give it a try," he said, lashing out at Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioğlu, who advised journalists to do their job and not be afraid. "That's not kid's play," Çetinkaya added.

Sabah's Güngör Mengi said the latest developments in the Southeast had led the nation at large to think that a bloody eruption of violence was in the offing.

"The greatest deficiency is the lack of a state image that instills hope and trust. To cap it all off, a fight for prominence between President Süleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller appears set to break out. Terrorist activity keeps on claiming more lives, shedding innocent blood. Political maneuvering is not what we need," Mengi wrote.

With all independent reporting activity coming to a halt as of Tuesday, with more than 100 journalists having to resign, and with the Turkish dailies selling almost no newspapers to the Southeast, people in Turkey's Kurdish-dominated provinces have been denied their right to have access to information. It is only the pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem that the PKK allows to do reporting in the area.

The state television Turkish Radio and TV network (TRT) and the semiofficial Anatolia news agency are reported to be trying to find reporters to work for them.

While high-ranking government officials keep urging Turkish press organizations to reopen their offices, saying they will ensure reporters' safety, it seems a remote possibility that those who have resigned will ever resume work. It seems the PKK has gained the upper hand in its fight against the state in the Southeast.

Reactions continue:

Meanwhile, reaction by state officials and press associations against the PKK's ban on reporting activity and Turkish dailies' sales in the Southeast is continuing.

A group of at least nine journalists, supported by the Paris-based organization Jour-

nalists Without Frontiers, made final preparations on Wednesday to go to the region where, as of today, they will work voluntarily.

A spokesman for the group told the TDN they were determined to fight against the press ban and would demand no additional protection from security forces. He said the move was also supported by the International Federation of Journalists (FIJ). Qualifying the PKK's recent ban as a "victory for the press," Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk said on Wednesday that the PKK was "afraid of the voice of the press."

"This would-be dictator [PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan] failed to accept the idea of the freedom of the press, something even Saddam managed to tolerate," Cindoruk said at a meeting with members of the Association of Parliament Reporters Wednesday. "Following Prime Minister Çiller's return to Turkey from the U.S.," Cindoruk disclosed, "I will call, probably on Monday, a meeting of political party leaders regarding the latest threat to the press."

Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioğlu, in the southeastern province of Siirt to attend a meeting of Emergency Rule governors, told Anatolia Wednesday that it was the appointed duty of security forces to ensure the safety of journalists in the region. "If political parties, newspapers, and workplaces are closed down, then terrorist activity will have accomplished its aim. We're ready to take any measures to protect journalists based here in the area," the minister said.

Emergency Rule Governor Ünal Erkan, also in Siirt to attend the meeting, disclosed that 2,000 PKK militants had been killed and 9,700 detained by security forces in the first nine-and-a-half months of the year.

At an Ankara press conference, Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Deputy Chairman Mustafa Timisi said attempts to establish a connection between the closing of newspaper offices in Diyarbakir province and personal courage were mistaken. In another development, the Republican People's Party (CHP) on Wednesday submitted two investigative motions to Parliament, one of them on the government's Southeast policy. "The struggle against terrorism in the Southeast has been solely the responsibility of the military. Such a governmental policy has aggravated the problem. The outcome

has been that in one part of the country, the existence of the state is now questionable," the motion read.

Meanwhile, the Eastern Association of Journalists, the Foreign Press Agency (FPA) in Turkey, and the Frankfurt-based German Association of Journalists have issued press statements denouncing the PKK ban on the press.

The executive board of Turkey's Journalists' Association (TGC) has sent letters to President Demirel and Prime Minister Çiller, asking the state to take the necessary measures to ensure journalists' safety in the Southeast.

The association has also announced its decision to convene a meeting of the TGC executive board and other press organizations in Diyarbakır today.

Swedish Foreign Minister Af Ugglas in Ankara for talks

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Swedish Foreign Minister Baroness Margaretha Af Ugglas arrived in Ankara Wednesday to pay the first high-level official visit from that country to Turkey.

Af Ugglas visited her Turkish counterpart, Hikmet Çetin, Wednesday afternoon, followed by visits to President Süleyman Demirel and Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın. Çetin, who welcomed the Swedish foreign minister at the Ankara airport, said talks would center on bilateral relations and international issues. He said that as term chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Sweden would be playing an important part in shaping the organization's role in the new world order. "Sweden has undertaken certain moves in that direction," Çetin said, "and Turkey strongly supports these efforts."

No agreements are expected to be signed

during the Swedish foreign minister's short visit, Turkish Foreign Ministry acting spokesman Ferhat Ataman said Wednesday.

Turkey is expected to request that sympathizers in Sweden cut support for the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Relations between the two countries have been strained periodically in the past because of Sweden's reaction to the state of human rights in Turkey, following the military coup in 1980. The Swedish minister departs today after a joint press conference with Çetin.

Last year, Af Ugglas visited Turkey to attend a Council of Europe meeting to discuss the situation of the Turkic republics of Central Asia.

In 1992, Turkish imports from Sweden totalled \$256 million and exports totalled \$83.5 million. In the first six months of 1993, Turkish imports from Sweden amounted to \$209 million, while exports to that country stood at \$29.7 million.

Iraqi opposition groups slam France over Aziz

Reuters

PARIS- Three Iraqi opposition groups attacked France on Wednesday for admitting Iraqi Vice President Tariq Aziz "under the pretext of medical treatment."

In a joint statement, the al-Dawa Party, the Iraqi Communist Party and the al-Wifaq movement said: "It seems shocking to us that France should welcome one of the henchmen of the Iraqi regime instead of helping the Iraqi people and the Iraqi opposition forces to put the leaders of that regime on trial before an international tribunal for their crimes." The French Foreign Ministry said it had allowed Aziz, Baghdad's foreign minister during the invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf War, to enter France for medical treatment.

It said the decision was a humanitarian gesture and did not reflect a policy change.

France was part of the U.S.-led coalition that drove Iraqi troops out of Kuwait in 1991 and adheres to a U.N. embargo against Baghdad.

But French oil companies have held exploratory talks and an Iraqi opposition group charged last week that Aziz, whose country has no diplomatic ties with Paris, planned high-level meetings to grant oil con-

cessions to the French in Iraq.

Government officials said Aziz was suffering from a heart condition and would leave France this week after treatment at a hospital in the Paris region.

Iraqi pilot defects to Saudi Arabia

Meanwhile, an Iraqi fighter pilot has defected with his warplane to Saudi Arabia, Saudi and Western sources reported Wednesday.

Insisting on anonymity for both themselves and the defector, the sources said the defector landed in the kingdom Tuesday. They also refused to describe aircraft, beyond saying it was a military plane.

The pilot was the first to defect to Saudi Arabia since the Gulf War, which liberated Kuwait from a seven-month Iraqi occupation on Feb. 26, 1991. Several Iraqi pilots defected to Saudi Arabia during the 1990-91 Gulf crisis.

There have been other defections since the war.

It was not immediately clear what route the defector took to reach the kingdom. Normally

a flight from Saudi Arabia would involve using Iraq's southern airspace, below the 32nd parallel, which is patrolled by U.S.-led allied planes.

The southern no-fly zone was ordered by former U.S. President George Bush in 1992, mainly to protect the largely rebellious Iraqi Shiite Muslims from Saddam Hussein's forces.

Lt. Col. Dick McNally, spokesman for the joint task force command in Riyadh, declined comment on Tuesday's reported defection.

Iraq's military, once the Arab world's mightiest, was badly depleted during the Gulf War. Its air force in particular had suffered in an allied bombing campaign before the war. Iraq sent 33 civilian and 115 military aircraft, including sophisticated fighter jets such as French-made Mirages and Soviet-Built MiGs, to Iran for safekeeping during the crisis.

Iran said it would keep them until the war was over. But after the cease-fire, Iran, which fought an eight-year war with Iraq, said it would hold on to the aircraft, worth about \$3 billion, until Baghdad paid war reparations from the 1980-88 conflict.

Cindoruk: Declaration of martial law is an error

- **Opposition parties are against martial law**
- **ANAP Group Chairman Oltan Sungurlu: We do not support martial law**
- **RP Group Chairman Kazan: We desire the abolishment of emergency rule**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA Parliamentary Speaker Hüsametdin Cindoruk, giving his strong reaction to martial law in the Southeast, said, "In a region where the rule of law is in effect, the declaration of martial law is an error."

At his meeting with the Hak-İş Labor Union, the speaker, recalling the previous years during which Turkey was governed by emergency rule, said that "terrorism and anarchy can only be overcome by democratic means."

"It is absurd to demand martial law within a country whose Parliament is functioning. The state's solidarity can survive only if the state preserves its democratic institutions. Governance by the military is not democratic," Cindoruk said. Upon the imposition of bans on the national and foreign press in the Southeast by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the debate over the possible establishment of martial law intensified.

While some hard-line deputies in the senior partner, the True Path Party, with the support of some members of the opposition parties are for the imposition of martial law, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller and Social Democrat Peoples' Party (SHP) Chairman Murat Karayalçın stated their opposition to martial law. The group chairman of the Main Opposition Motherland Party (ANAP), Oltan Sungurlu, emphasizing the huge dimensions of terrorism in the Southeast, said: "There is a divergence of ideas within the coalition government which has caused a debate on the possible imposition of martial law. The government, which suffers from a lack of coordination, has been paralyzed. An election government can overcome the trouble." Arguing that the elections can be held safely, Sungurlu stated the declaration of martial law will subsequently lead to a military coup.

The pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP) has denoted its absolute opposition to the possible imposition of martial law in the Southeast region. Party Group Chairman Şevket Kazan criticized the policies of the government which have caused such an undesirable situation. "We desire the abolishment of emergency rule," Kazan said.

It is expected that the debate on martial law will be discussed in the upcoming National Security Council (MGK) meeting of Oct. 25

was coarse enough for anyone who thought primarily about covering his rear end. Atkinson may think it awful that junior generals were made to cringe. I suspect that the rough edge of Schwarzkopf's tongue saved a lot of lives.

What of the other disclosures? Atkinson strains to present a picture of improvisation, second-guessing and malfunction. What else is war about? The enemy does not behave as expected, orders are misunderstood, friendly fire falls on one's own troops, equipment breaks down, the weather does not obey forecasts, the terrain is not what the maps say it should look like. Atkinson collects examples of all these phenomena. They do not, to my mind, detract from the coalition's military achievements. The Gulf War, whatever it is now fashionable to say, was a triumph of incisive planning and almost faultless execution. The logistic achievement alone, which effectively brought the army meant to fight the Warsaw Pact to the eastern Saudi ports from a standing start in four months, bears comparison with that which preceded D-Day.

Atkinson is at his best in conveying the atmosphere of command responsibility and the uncertainties that afflicted the commanders in the months before the war was unleashed. It was easy for a detached observer to believe from the outset — as I did — that Saddam was a paper tiger and that his army would collapse once struck a sharp blow, quite different to have to frame plans that would work on the appointed day. There were real dangers that the Iraqis might use chemical weapons, might provoke the Israelis into a self-defensive war that would ignite the Middle East, might get lucky with a Scud strike on a Saudi city. The author shows a masterly touch in cutting from Washington to Riyadh to Tel Aviv, in recreating the tensions of decision.

He is also excellent in his descriptions of combat. This was a war of high-speed interaction between human beings and highly complex, often untested equipment. There was little old-style dismounted combat. The young men in the armored vehicles and high-performance aircraft were playing a deadly version of video games. There had never been a war like that before and the wonder is that, in what was in effect a military laboratory, the workers and their apparatus so often achieved the correct results.

In "The Long Gray Line" Atkinson encountered a warrior class whom he recognized to be the servants of a high and noble calling, that of the use of force in the cause of order. I do hope he is not weakening in his belief that covenants without swords are but words. If America wobbles, there is not much hope for the rest of us. "Crusade" is a morally ambiguous book.

John Keegan, the defense editor of the London Daily Telegraph, wrote this for The Washington Post.

Ankara: PKK activity in Iraq endangers aid to Kurds

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The increasing activities of the secessionist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in northern Iraq can endanger Turkey's humanitarian assistance to Iraqi Kurds, government sources in Ankara said on Wednesday.

Sources, who asked not to be named, told TDN that Iraqi Kurdish leadership had agreed last year with Turkish security forces to protect the Turkish-Iraqi border, but for the last few weeks increased activity by the PKK has been observed in the region. Turkey had carried out air strikes across the border against PKK camps in Iraq earlier this month. Following that raid, the security director of the Iraqi Kurdish leadership issued a warning to the PKK and asked them to cease their activities along the Turkish border.

Meanwhile, Turkish foreign ministry sources point out that Turkey's ongoing \$13.5 million of humanitarian assistance to Iraqi Kurds is more than the assistance given by many western countries. Some sources say that international assistance to Iraqi Kurds, which was planned under the umbrella of the United Nations, fell short because the West broke its promises. According to ministry sources, Turkish food aid to northern Iraq up until Oct. 10 has reached the following levels: 7,379 people have received 70.1 tons in Dohuk, 13,680 people have received 119.9 tons in Erbil, and 7,790 people have received 66.8 tons in the town of Suleymaniye.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1993

he has left. First, he reinforces more strongly than ever how different the American Army is from the one I know best, the British. The British are a tough lot, but tough in a deceptive, underspoken way. Orders are framed as requests or suggestions. Politeness prevails even on the battlefield. Bad language is not used between gentlemen and, although it incinerates the air between private soldiers, an officer absolutely would never direct it to them.

So it is the reported profanity in Atkinson's narrative that shocks. General Schwarzkopf and General Carl Vuono, the army chief of staff, and, to my surprise, General Colin Powell turn the pages blue with their expletives; strategy is filtered through a barrage of F-words, and intelligence reports are all about SOB's. Is this really how American generals talk? It isn't my recollection of Schwarzkopf. Not only was he smaller than I thought he would be but gentler, too, rather sensitive and decidedly high-minded.

Nevertheless, I suspect that Atkinson may have caught something. Peacetime armies, we forget, fossilize. Bureaucrats get to the top. Schwarzkopf was what John le Carré would call a mole, inside a monolith. He really cared about restoring the U. S. Army's warrior ethos, which Vietnam had so grievously degraded, and he had no patience at all with anyone who thought the book ruled. He wanted a victory so badly that no language

history of the Vietnam War. I hang with truth. Yes, I kept saying to myself as I read it, that is what young men who want to be officers are like; different as the American is from the British Army — and no two armies could be more unlike — I sensed from page to page that Atkinson had got it.

Now Atkinson, a Washington Post reporter, has turned his technique of telling history through the biographical sketch to the Gulf War. It is a bold sortie. Has he flown a successful mission? I am still not quite sure. I know the impressions

CRUSADE:

The Untold Story of the Persian Gulf War

By Rick Atkinson. 575 pages. \$24.95. Houghton Mifflin.

Reviewed by John Keegan

RICK Atkinson's "The Long Gray Line" was a wonderful book. I, who spent 26 years of my life in a military academy, Britain's Sandhurst, still marvel at the skill with which Atkinson wove the story of a West Point class into a

BOOKS

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Allemagne-Iran

Bonn admet que le ministre iranien des renseignements a pu être impliqué dans l'assassinat à Berlin d'opposants kurdes

BONN, 21 oct (AFP) — Le gouvernement allemand a reconnu jeudi que le ministre iranien des renseignements Ali Fallahian qu'il avait reçu à Bonn il y a deux semaines a pu être impliqué dans l'assassinat l'an dernier de quatre opposants kurdes iraniens.

Interrogé par les députés, le secrétaire d'Etat à la chancellerie Bernd Schmidbauer a affirmé qu'il était pas exclu qu'Ali Fallahian ait commandité le quadruple meurtre. Il a cependant ajouté que les services secrets allemands ne lui avaient pas fourni jusqu'à présent de preuve concrète.

Le Bundestag (chambre basse du parlement) avait choisi de questionner M. Schmidbauer après le scandale provoqué par la révélation de sa rencontre avec M. Fallahian.

L'Allemagne s'est ainsi attiré les remontrances des Etats-Unis, d'Israël et surtout de la Grande-Bretagne, qui a rappelé que le dialogue politique des pays de la CEE avec Téhéran était conditionné par l'abandon de la condamnation à mort de l'écrivain britannique Salman Rushdie.

Un quotidien de Berlin, citant le rapport final de la police criminelle (BKA) sur l'assassinat des opposants, a affirmé la semaine dernière que le BKA et le parquet fédéral sont persuadés qu'Ali Fallahian a directement ordonné les meurtres.

jlt/chb

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Allemagne-Iran

Le chef des services secrets invité à remettre à la justice ses informations sur l'assassinat d'opposants kurdes à Berlin

BERLIN, 22 oct (AFP) — Le chef des services secrets allemands, le secrétaire d'Etat à la chancellerie Berndt Schmidbauer, a été invité vendredi par la justice à remettre les informations en sa possession sur l'assassinat l'an dernier de quatre opposants kurdes iraniens à Berlin.

Le président de la première chambre pénale de Berlin, M. Frietjof Kubsch, a adressé une lettre en ce sens à M. Schmidbauer après que celui-ci eut indiqué, lors d'une émission télévisée, que les services secrets connaissaient les détails de l'affaire, a annoncé un porte-parole du tribunal, M. Bruno Rautenberg.

M. Schmidbauer avait déjà reconnu jeudi devant des députés qu'il n'était pas exclu que le ministre iranien des renseignements, M. Ali Fallahian, qu'il a reçu il y a deux semaines à Bonn, ait commandité le quadruple meurtre. Il avait cependant ajouté que les services secrets ne lui avaient pas fourni jusqu'à présent de preuve concrète.

Le procès des cinq auteurs présumés de l'attentat, un Iranien et quatre Libanais, doit s'ouvrir jeudi prochain. Dans sa mise en accusation, le parquet a formellement mis en cause les services secrets iraniens, mais n'a pas cité le nom de leur chef.

jlp/jlh/mfo

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Turquie-Kurdes

Un dirigeant local social-démocrate enlevé à Diyarbakir

ANKARA, 21 oct (AFP) — Le président local du parti populiste social-démocrate turc (PPSD, partenaire de la coalition gouvernementale) à Diyarbakir (sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde), Hayati Kahraman, a été enlevé mercredi par deux inconnus, a indiqué jeudi l'agence semi-officielle turque Anatolie.

M. Kahraman, proche du ministre chargé des droits de l'homme Mehmet Kahraman également du PPSD, a été enlevé devant chez lui par deux personnes qui l'ont forcé à monter dans une voiture, ajoute l'agence semi-officielle.

D'autre part, les partis politiques turcs ont été mis en demeure jeudi de cesser immédiatement leurs activités et de fermer leurs bureaux dans le sud-est à partir de dimanche par la rébellion kurde.

Cette mise en demeure a été formulée dans une déclaration de l'Armée de Libération du Peuple du Kurdistan (ARPK), branche militaire du parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), citée par l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche du PKK.

YM/pl

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LE MONDE — 21 OCTOBRE 1993

Officiellement en France pour raisons médicales

Le séjour de Tarek Aziz à Paris soulève de nombreuses questions

De quoi souffre donc Tarek Aziz et quelle affection est-il venu faire soigner en France? Les éventuels problèmes de santé du vice-premier ministre irakien ne pouvaient-ils pas être traités ailleurs et fallait-il vraiment que la France fasse preuve d'un sens si aigu de l'urgence humanitaire lorsqu'il s'agit de l'un des membres les plus éminents d'un régime mis au ban de la communauté internationale?

Certes, aucune des multiples résolutions adoptées par le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU n'interdit à un pays de recevoir un responsable du gouvernement irakien. Et M. Aziz, ou d'autres, ont déjà été reçus en Jordanie, au siège de l'ONU, ou ailleurs. Mais nombreux sont ceux qui se posent des questions sur les raisons réelles de ce séjour et tout aussi nombreux sont les soupçons que nourrissent diplomates et membres de l'opposition.

Officiellement, M. Aziz est venu en France « pour des raisons médicales » (le Monde du 19 octobre). Toujours de source officielle, il était en France pour une huitaine. Selon une autre source, bien informée, il est arrivé jeudi 14 octobre via Amman par un avion régulier.

Lundi 18 octobre dans l'après-midi, a rapporté l'AFP, M. Aziz s'est rendu, en compagnie de son épouse et de sa fille, pour une consultation au centre de réadaptation professionnelle du Beauvois, à Evry, dans l'Essonne, où il a été reçu par le directeur, le docteur Louis Albran. Celui-ci s'était fait connaître en 1986-1987, en remettant un rapport au ministère de la justice sur le traitement des toxicomanes en milieu fermé.

Un diplomate irakien que nous avons interrogé s'est borné à indiquer, pour sa part, que M. Aziz, « qui travaille sans relâche depuis plusieurs années, avait besoin d'un bilan de santé » et qu'il « demeurerait en France le temps de parachever les examens, une dizaine de jours environ ». Toujours selon ce diplomate, M. Aziz ne souhaite pas recevoir de journalistes pour « ne pas donner de tournure politique à son séjour ». Quant à savoir pourquoi l'ex-ministre des affaires étrangères, l'un des plus anciens compagnons de route de Saddam Hussein, avait choisi la France, la réplique de ce diplomate est très... diplomatique : « A votre avis, entre New-York, Londres et Paris qu'est-ce qui était

préférable? » La réponse ne paraît pas aller de soi comme la question le laisse supposer.

Les inquiétudes de l'opposition

Que M. Aziz souffre de problèmes cardiaques, dermatologiques ou autres, selon les versions, un autre diplomate arabe est sûr d'une seule chose : le dirigeant irakien a dîné dimanche soir dans l'un des restaurants libanais les mieux cotés de Paris. Et d'ajouter : « De la part du gouvernement français, invoquer des raisons médicales n'est pas très sérieux. »

Même s'ils ont généralement tendance à pêcher par excès de suspicion, les opposants irakiens se posent aussi des questions. « Nous savons, nous a déclaré un membre du Congrès national irakien basé à Londres, que des services français se sont entremis, il y a un an déjà, entre des membres de l'opposition dont je tairais les noms et le gouvernement de Bagdad. La visite de M. Aziz ne nous paraît pas très innocente », a ajouté cet opposant.

« Nous sommes très inquiets »,

nous a déclaré le représentant en France du « gouvernement » kurde. « En dépit des déclarations officielles françaises nous sommes convaincus que le séjour de Tarek Aziz a une autre portée que des problèmes de santé. Après tout, les intérêts de la France en Irak sont nombreux » et les intérêts pétroliers ne seraient pas les moindres, a ajouté M. Mohammad Ismail. Trois autres formations de l'opposition, le parti al-Daawa (islamique), le Parti communiste irakien et al-Wifaq, ont, dans un communiqué, exprimé leur « vif étonnement » de voir Paris accueillir Tarek Aziz.

« Faut-il rappeler que le peuple irakien continue de subir le règne de terreur et de répression du régime de Saddam Hussein? » interrogent les trois formations « au nom de l'opposition irakienne en France ». « Il nous paraît choquant que la France décide d'accueillir des bourreaux du régime irakien au lieu d'aider le peuple et les forces de l'opposition à les déférer devant un tribunal international pour les crimes commis contre leur peuple », ajoutent ces opposants.

A la Fondation France-Libertés dont la présidente, Danièle Mitterrand, est une grande amie des Kurdes, on se déclare surpris, voire choqué, par ce séjour, et l'on se demande pourquoi, si M. Aziz est vraiment malade, il fallait absolument qu'il fut soigné en France.

MOUNA NAÏM

LA CORSE - LE PROVENÇAL — 21 OCTOBRE 1993



Le jury a fait un choix politique et judicieux en décernant son Grand Prix à Nizamettin Ariç

"L'Olivier d'or" au premier film kurde de l'histoire du cinéma

Après l'Espagne en 1982 et 1991, la Turquie (83), la Grèce (84), l'Algérie (88), la Syrie (89), le Maroc (90) et la Yougoslavie l'an dernier, c'est un film kurde (le premier du genre) à avoir remporté en ce mois d'octobre 1993 "l'Olivier d'or" du IX^e Festival du Film et des Cultures Méditerranéennes de Bastia.

Le jury présidé par le cinéaste corse Pierre Moro-Giafferi a donc décerné son Grand Prix au film du réalisateur - scénariste - acteur Nizamettin Ariç intitulé "Une chanson pour Beko"

Courage et lucidité

Comme nous le précisions dans notre édition d'hier, cette œuvre évoque avec courage et lucidité le drame du peuple Kurde et ses conflits permanents et meurtriers avec l'armée et le gouvernement d'Ankara.

C'est un film grave qui, à travers l'histoire d'un homme à la recherche de son frère disparu, parle de l'errance d'une nation sans frontières qui lutte pour sa reconnaissance officielle.

Il s'agit là d'un très beau témoignage qui, dans un style proche de celui du regretté cinéaste Turc Yilmaz Guney, force le respect et l'admiration.

Le jury a fait un choix engagé et politique. Dans le contexte international si troublé de notre époque, il est difficile de ne pas lui donner raison.

"Olivier d'argent" et Prix d'Interprétation

"L'Olivier d'argent" a été attribué à "Citoyen Masri" de l'Égyptien Salah Abou Seif.

Là encore, le choix du jury est assez politisé car ce film, réalisé par l'un des plus prestigieux cinéastes du Caire, aujourd'hui âgé de 78 ans, est une fine analyse de la société égyptienne au début des années 70 où la réforme agraire a débouché sur de nombreux problèmes socio-économiques.

Magistralement interprété par Omar Sharif dans le rôle d'un puissant propriétaire terrien qui, sans scrupules, achète la vie d'un jeune homme en l'envoyant au front à la place de son propre fils, "Citoyen Masri" est une œuvre importante qui mérite de figurer au Palmarès de ce Festival.

Autre choix judicieux qui s'imposait vraiment : l'attribution du Prix d'Interprétation à la comédienne Dominique Blanc (déjà appréciée dans "Milou en mai" et "Indochine") dont la prestation tout en nuances est remarquable dans "Faut-il aimer Mathilde ?" du Français Edwin Bailly.

La critique joue la carte de l'émotion

Le jury de la presse, pour sa part, a récompensé par le

Prix de la Critique un petit chef-d'œuvre de pure émotion, "Jonas qui a vécu dans la baleine" de l'Italien Roberto Faenza.

Composé de Dominique Landron et Jean Pruneta (R.C.F.M), de Jean-Pierre Girolami (Corse Matin) et de votre serviteur, ce jury a été touché par l'intensité émotionnelle de ce magnifique film qui raconte les atrocités de l'Holocauste et la déportation d'une famille juive dans un camp de concentration, à travers le regard d'un enfant aux yeux tristes.

Il serait intéressant que ce film soit distribué sur les écrans nationaux dans les plus brefs délais.

"Jonas" mérite vraiment d'être découvert par un nombreux public.

Un public bastiais aux maigres exigences

Les spectateurs bastiais qui, comme tous les ans, attribuent eux aussi un Prix, ont choisi "Belle époque" de l'Espagnol Fernando Trueba.

Avouons une fois encore que, pour nous, cette farce fut une réelle déception.

En distinguant cette comédie de troisième zone qui conte les aventures sentimentales d'un jeune déserteur amoureux des quatre filles d'un vieil hildago dans l'Espagne des années 30, le public bastiais a démontré qu'il avait vraiment peu d'exigence dans ses choix.

Nous ne répéterons jamais assez que ceux qui ont trouvé drôle ce film ont le rire vraiment facile.

Il faut vraiment être triste par ailleurs pour jubiler en assistant aux pitreries loufoques d'un Michel Galabru cocu et fier de l'être dont on se demande encore ce qu'il est allé faire dans cette galère ibérique.

Jean-Baptiste CROCE

Le Palmarès 1993

- Olivier d'Or : "Une chanson pour Beko" de Nizamettin Ariç (Kurdistan)
- Olivier d'Argent : "Citoyen Masri" de Salah Abou Seif (Égypte)
- Prix d'Interprétation féminine : Dominique Blanc dans "Faut-il aimer Mathilde ?" d'Edwin Bailly (France)
- Prix de la Critique : "Jonas qui a vécu dans la baleine" de Roberto Faenza (Italie)
- Prix du Public : "Belle Époque" de Fernando Trueba (Espagne)
- Prix R.C.F.M : Antoine Duhamel pour sa composition musicale dans "Belle Époque".

Nice Matin — 22 octobre 1993

Festival : générique de fin...

La joie muette du réalisateur kurde et le rock endiablé de Castaldi-Mathy images contrastées d'une fête achevée trop tôt

Un lauréat éberlué par son Olivier d'or, cela restera un temps fort dans la mémoire du Festival.

Malgré les grèves des avions et un défaut de visa qui l'a obligé à voyager sous un nom d'emprunt, le réfugié kurde Nizammettin Ariç a débarqué d'Allemagne sur la scène du théâtre où l'attendait le jury en tenue de soirée.

Arrivée symbolique de l'exploit que constitue la réalisation de son film tourné avec des moyens de fortune. "Une chanson pour Beko" a vivement ému le jury unanime, ainsi qu'en a témoigné le président Pierre Moro-Giafferi qui en a salué "la grande sensibilité". Spécialiste du sport sur France 2, Patrick Chêne s'est montré à son aise en meneur de jeu lors de la distribution des "Oliviers" ciselés par l'orfèvre Pierre Filippi.

Ne répondant que brièvement et par le truchement d'un interprète, le réalisateur kurde a dit trouver dans cette récompense — à laquelle il ne s'attendait pas — des raisons de continuer le combat pour son peuple.

Petite entorse à la tradition, la soirée de clôture a débuté par un tour de chant. Derrière son piano, Tao qui règne sur les nuits calvaises a chauffé la salle. Il fut bien aidé par des musiciens efficaces, et par le tandem inattendu de deux rockers complices : le "Bullfighter" Castaldi et "mini" Mathy, élève dissipé du théâtre de Bruvard. Dignes représentants de la polyphonie méditerranéenne, les "Chjami aghjalesi" ont montré une fois de plus un savoir-faire musical tant à la guitare qu'au violon.

Leur sens de la mise scène illustre de belle façon un Festival de cinéma et c'est en chantant qu'ils ont écrit le mot fin.

Malgré sa réduction à cinq jours, ce 9^e Festival du film méditerranéen n'a pas été avare d'émotions et la fête a continué la nuit ailleurs que dans les salles.

Reste à espérer que la prochaine édition marquera d'une pierre blanche le dixième anniversaire.

J.-P. G.

Nice Matin — 22 octobre 1993



Festival de Bastia

Arrivé in-extremis de Francfort malgré la grève du trafic aérien et une absence de visa, le réfugié kurde Nizammettin Ariç (notre photo en compagnie de son interprète) a pu retirer son Olivier d'or qui lui a été décerné au théâtre par le jury du Festival du film des cultures méditerranéennes. Le Festival de Bastia a donc primé le premier film kurde jamais tourné. « Cela me donne davantage de force pour continuer », a déclaré ému, le lauréat qui venait de débarquer quelques instants plus tôt.

(Photo A. Pasqualini)

Olivier d'or : "Une chanson pour Beko" du cinéaste kurde Nizammettin Ariç.

Olivier d'argent : (Prix du Jury) "Citoyen Masri" de l'égyptien Salah Abou Seïf interprété par Omar Sharif et Ezzat El Alaily.

Palmarès

Olivier de bronze : (Prix du public) "Belle Epoque", le film espagnol de Fernando Trueba.

Prix d'interprétation :

Dominique Blanc pour son rôle dans "Faut-il aimer Mathilde" d'Edwin Bailly.

Prix de la critique : "Jonas qui a vécu dans la

baleine", de Roberto Faenza.

Meilleure musique : Antoine Duhamel pour la bande sonore du film "Belle Epoque". Décerné par R.C.F.M.

LA CROIX
22 octobre 1993

BASTIA Un film kurde primé

● Le Festival du film méditerranéen de Bastia a décerné son Olivier d'or du meilleur film à *Une chanson pour Beko* de Nizammettin Ariç, réalisateur kurde de Turquie. Réalisé avec des capitaux allemands, ce film raconte l'errance d'un paysan à travers le Kurdistan.

Friday, October 22, 1993

turkish daily news

UN lists big tank imports by Greece and Turkey

Reuters

UNITED NATIONS- Greece and Turkey have told the United Nations they each imported more than 400 battle tanks during 1992 while arms manufacturing countries reported exporting nearly 600 tanks to each, according to a U.N. document.

The tanks transfers involving Greece and Turkey are by far the largest listed in the first U.N. register of conventional arms, issued in accordance with a 1991 General Assembly resolution.

The resolution called on U.N. members to provide details of annual weapons transfers in hopes that greater openness and transparency would enhance confidence, promote stability and help ease tensions.

"The greatest cause for concern in the U.N. register is the Greek-Turkish arms race," commented Natalie Goldring, deputy director of the British American Security Information Council, an independent research organization with offices in London and Washington.

Only 80 of the United Nations' current 184 members provided data for the 1992 register. They included most of the main arms-producing countries, such as the United States, Russia, Germany, Britain, France and China, but some of their replies were incomplete.

The register lists seven categories of weapons imports and exports: battle tanks, armored combat vehicles, large caliber artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, and missiles and missile launchers.

Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria and North Korea were among countries which provided no data.

Russia listed no arms imports and, in the battle tank category, said it exported only seven -- one to Britain and six to Oman.

A footnote to the Russian entry said sales to Syria of arms produced in the former Soviet Union and not supplied from the territory of Russia were not included.

The United States said it exported a total of 1,241 tanks, including 577 to Turkey, 492 to Greece, 96 to Spain, 75 to Egypt and 1 to Singapore.

Greece listed imports of 447 tanks, saying 347 came from the United States and 100 from the Netherlands.

Turkey reported importing 427 tanks, including 416 from the United States and 11 from Germany.

The Netherlands entry confirms the export of 100 battle tanks of German origin to Greece. Together with the listed U.S. export of 492 to Greece, this would make a total of 592. Germany's record of tank exports includes 11 shipped to Turkey. Together with the U.S. figure of 577 tanks for Turkey, that country's imports would total 588.

The United States noted that possible discrepancies in the number of transferred weapons, as reported by exporting and importing states, were due to differences in the perceived dates of transfer and in the definition of what constituted a reportable transfer.

India said its arms exports consisted entirely of four armored combat vehicles sent to the Maldives - two built in the former Soviet Union and two in

Britain. India's only weapons imports were given as three combat aircraft from Britain.

Pakistan said it had no arms exports and its only imports were 97 battle tanks from China.

China reported the export of 97 battle tanks to Pakistan as well as two armored combat vehicles to Sri Lanka, 106 large caliber artillery systems to Iran, 42 to Bangladesh and 18 to Sudan. It also said it exported 2 warships and 24 missiles and/or missile launchers to Thailand.

China said it imported 26 combat aircraft and 144 missiles and/or missile launchers from Russia.

Japan listed no weapons exports and said its only weapons imports were 74 missiles and/or missile launchers from the United States.

Israel said it exported four armored combat vehicles to Botswana and one, of U.S. origin, to the United States. It said it also exported to the United States one large caliber artillery system of U.S. origin, and 40 missiles and/or missile launchers.

Israel listed as its only arms import 40 U.S. combat aircraft. Egypt said battle tank components and 25 combat aircraft had been imported from the United States while its exports consisted of 53 armored combat vehicles for Algeria and six large caliber artillery systems for Rwanda.

DEP asks for probe into counter-guerrilla claims

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) on Thursday asked for a parliamentary investigation into the so-called "counter-guerrilla" claims which have been receiving much coverage by the media for some time.

In a petition submitted to the office of the parliament speaker, 13 DEP members of Parliament stated, "Evidence relating to a secret unit of the state, dubbed by the public as 'counter-guerrilla,' which has been debated for some 20 years in Turkey, was reported in a weekly magazine a week ago." In its Oct. 13-19 issue, the weekly Panorama magazine wrote a story about a soldier who completed his military duty in a special department of the Army called "B teams" in troubled southeastern Turkey.

According to the story, Yücel Y. (whose surname was withheld by the magazine for security reasons) has been involved in so-called counter-guerrilla activities as a member of "B teams." He told the magazine that along with all members of "B teams," he was involved in activities such as village raids and kidnappings. After completing his compulsory training as a commando in Manisa, the story said, 23-year-old Yücel Y. was appointed to the command of the Tunceli provincial gendarmerie. "I was first ordered to grow my hair and beard, then to wear clothes of the PKK

(outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party) guerrillas and participate in village raids," he told the magazine.

Saying that these allegations should be seriously considered, DEP deputies pointed out the necessity of clarifying the said organization, publicly known as "Counter-

Guerrilla." "The purpose of the "Special Forces Command" and their organizational structure, field of interests and activities should be thoroughly investigated by Parliament, and the counter-guerrilla organization should be clarified," they added.

Buildups in Greece, Turkey at a glance

Reuters

UNITED NATIONS: Import declarations from the U.N. register of conventional arms in 1992:

Greece

■ Battle tanks: Netherlands 100, United States 214 M60 A1 and 133 M60 A3.

■ Armored combat vehicles: United States 150, Germany 1.

■ Large caliber artillery: United States 78, Netherlands 171.

■ Combat aircraft: France 11 M-2000, Germany 5.

■ Warships: United States 7, Germany 4.

■ Missiles and missile launchers: United States 18 Harpoon missiles and 3 launchers.

Turkey

■ Battle tanks: Germany 11, United States, 25 M60 A1, 391 M60 A3.

■ Armored combat vehicles: United States 119.

■ Large caliber artillery: United States 69.

■ Combat aircraft: United States 9 F-4E, Netherlands 6, Germany 11.

■ Attack helicopters: United States 6.

■ Missiles and missile launchers: United States 24 Sea Sparrow guided missiles.

An ill-advised show of force in Diyarbakır



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

The clandestine Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) is not really a political entity but a militant organization bent on bloodshed and

destruction, so its intimidation campaign in the southeastern provincial capital of Diyarbakır hardly comes as a surprise.

The PKK has banned the distribution of all Turkish newspapers in Diyarbakır and forced the closure of newspaper offices in the city as part of its intimidation campaign. This action was also designed to undermine the prestige of the state in southeastern Turkey, and unfortunately the authorities have once again played into the hands of the PKK.

Instead of trying to provide proper security for the local newspaper offices and guarantee the safety of journalists, the authorities at first criticized the newspapers for bowing to the PKK and then went further to face the PKK challenge with a new campaign of creating "war correspondents" for the area. On Thursday, the authorities arranged a press tour for Diyarbakır where about 100 journalists from Ankara and Istanbul would visit the southeastern city and serve notice to the PKK that the journalists will not be intimidated by the pro-Kurdish militants. The visit was cooked up by State Minister Yıldırım Aktuna and

the Ankara Journalists Association.

The authorities also encouraged a handful of reporters from Ankara and Istanbul to be based in the troubled southeastern provinces as "war correspondents."

The state could not come up with concrete ways to create conditions whereby newspaper offices can function properly without having to bow to the harassment of the PKK and had to rely once again on superficial steps that will only jeopardize the lives of those who agree to go to the region as "war correspondents."

Why can't the authorities secure proper newspaper distribution in the region? How can the PKK round up the representatives of the newspapers in

broad daylight and intimidate them and then force closure of newspaper offices in Diyarbakır? All the authorities can do is to partially distribute newspapers through military means and then import journalists to the area just because the state cannot provide conditions where local newspaper offices and journalists can operate safely. We do not need all these superficial solutions. We want the state to show that it is in control in the region. We want to see the state show the necessary compassion to its citizens in southeastern Turkey. We want everyone in the troubled area to be treated as first-class citizens of the Turkish Republic. Without all these we will unfortunately continue to see the PKK flourish in the region and challenge the state.

Group seeking talks with PKK

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Sources in Ankara reported on Thursday that a special secret committee had been established by former and current officers along with political party officials to seek a peaceful solution to Turkey's crisis with the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

According to rumors circulating in Parliament, the unnamed committee consists of 18 retired officers as well as officers who are still commissioned, people from all political parties and several journalists.

Following the arrival of Prime Minister Tansu Çiller in Ankara from her visit to Mexico the committee is expected to seek contact with PKK leader Abdullah

Ocalan and work out a formula to diffuse the current tension in the Southeast.

The committee, the sources said, has been trying to raise awareness in Turkey that the current Kurdish crisis can not be solved through military means, but only through democratic methods.

These methods, they say, also includes negotiating with the PKK leadership.

"Their aim is to raise awareness that the Kurdish crisis, which is intensifying daily and claiming the lives of dozens of people, can not be solved through current methods. They also aim at creating the environment for another cease-fire, and are seeking a contact with the

PKK leadership for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the southeast" a well-informed source told the TDN on Thursday.

According to rumors in Ankara the committee also comprises some well-known intellectuals, academics, and officials from Turkey's state-run Religious Affairs Directorate.

PKK bans parties in Southeast

- ARGK kidnaps SHP provincial chairman Kahraman
- Spokesman tells TDN 'historic changes' expected

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A week after banning the activities of national and foreign news agencies in the region, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) announced on Friday the organization had imposed a general ban on all political parties in the Southeast.

A spokesman for PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan told the TDN in a telephone interview that all politicians "aiming at fooling the masses will be retaliated against."

Kani Yılmaz, contacted in a European country, said those party officials who did not abide by the PKK ban would be placed among "the targets of our struggle for national liberation."

Noting that there would be "changes of historic importance" in the days ahead, Yılmaz said the organization would take even further steps to emphasize its control in the region.

"There will be very, very important developments in the near future," he said without elaborating.

Yılmaz's statement on political parties coincided with an announcement by the PKK's armed force, ARGK, that one of their city teams had kidnaped the Diyarbakır provincial chairman of the junior coalition partner Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP).

The statement said Hayati Kahraman was "kidnapped by ARGK urban guerillas the night before." The SHP confirmed the claim.

As security forces searched for information on the whereabouts and fate of Kahraman, Yılmaz said the decision to ban parties in the region as of Oct.24 had come from the ARGK Amed (Diyarbakır) Provincial Command.

The Amed Command said in its statement that "from now on, no one will be allowed to be part of bourgeois parties while claiming they are representing the Kurdish people and acting on behalf of [Kurdish] patriotism."

It called on all Kurds in "bourgeois parties" to resign from their posts on Oct.24 by the latest and "to take their place in their own national struggle. Those who do not abide by this decision... will meet its consequences."

Yılmaz on Friday accused the Turkish press of falling in line with the country's National Security Council (MGK) and distancing itself from objective reporting.

"Our approach," he said about the press ban, "is not against democracy. Just the opposite, it is based on the principle of making democracy work."

Çetin tells Sweden, 'do not be taken in by PKK propaganda'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin on Thursday urged Sweden not fall under the influence of propaganda campaigns conducted by anti Turkish terrorist organizations in the country.

"We have explained the risks of having our relations (with Sweden) overshadowed by the propaganda of terrorist organizations," Çetin said during a joint press conference with visiting Swedish Foreign Minister Baroness Margaretha Af Ugglas. "The aim of our country is to bring democracy and human rights to the highest level possible. No country is perfect when it comes to human rights, and Turkey, as a country combating terrorism, can have certain difficulties in this regard. But our government is committed to democracy and human rights," Çetin added.

Af Ugglas arrived in Ankara Wednesday to pay her first high-level visit to Turkey.

Relations between the two countries had been strained in the past when Sweden became one of the harshest critics of Turkish human rights violations following the 1980 military coup. It also joined several European countries after the 1980 coup and took the military regime in Turkey to the European Court of Human Rights.

Af Ugglas told reporters during the conference that Sweden recognized that Turkey had difficulties with terrorism, and that combating this was the duty of every state.

"But this fight should be done within the framework of democratic principles and with due respect to human rights," she added.

"Sweden has made it quite clear that it is against terrorist acts and terrorist organizations. It is clear that the PKK is perpetrating terrorist acts. And as we are against terrorism, we are against these acts."

Referring to threats made to journalists in the Southeast, Af Ugglas added: "I think that this goes against all democratic principles and against free

speech that is cherished in Sweden." On the situation of Kurds in Northern Iraq, the Swedish minister said she had consulted with Çetin about the logistics of getting Swedish aid to the region through Turkey. Çetin, for his part said a Turkish delegation had been sent to the region and had estimated that an additional \$2.5 million would be needed in aid for the people for the winter. "Our government had started to deliver part of the necessary aid," the minister said. He also said Turkey could provide electricity for Northern Iraq.

"Without our help it would not be possible for the people in Northern Iraq to stay safely there economically, politically and militarily. This is a sign that in this country we have no problems between different ethnic groups."

He also repeated Turkey's losses from the embargo imposed on Iraq that amount to billions of dollars, adding we sincerely hope that the embargo will be lifted and that Iraq will participate fully in the international community very soon. As Sweden is the term president of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the topic of regional cooperation was an issue that was discussed at length between the two ministers.

Foreign Minister Çetin said that no country in the world should act alone in any conflict in any part of the world and pointed to the need of a regional arrangement that would be under the umbrella of the CSCE or the United Nations Security Council.

"It is difficult for the whole world to participate in some regional conflicts, some countries should participate actively in such conflicts under the umbrella of international organizations," he said.

Foreign Minister Çetin said both ministers agreed to take relations to a level that went beyond the "normal." "The visit was a step toward widening the dialogue between Turkey and Sweden, and both countries can profit from greater commercial relations," Af Ugglas said.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Des "centaines de civils" tués par l'armée turque, affirme une agence de presse kurde

ANKARA, 22 oct (AFP) - Des "centaines de civils ont été tués" par les forces de sécurité turques vendredi à Lice (région de Diyarbakir, sud-est), a affirmé l'agence de presse Kurd-Ha, proche de la rébellion kurde.

Dans cette ville, un général turc a été tué le même jour par des rebelles kurdes lors d'un affrontement armé.

Les forces de l'ordre turques "ont ouvert le feu depuis des chars d'assaut" vendredi matin sur des "maisons, cafés, magasins et mosquées" à Lice, tuant des "centaines de civils", rapporte Kurd-Ha en citant un "commandant local de guérilla" à Lice, nommé Cemal.

L'agence proche des séparatistes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, en lutte armée contre Ankara depuis 1984) ne se réfère pas à la mort du général Bahtiyar Aydin, commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale à Diyarbakir, qui a été tué alors qu'il dirigeait une opération contre les rebelles du PKK à Lice.

Par ailleurs, l'état-major de l'armée turque a affirmé dans un communiqué publié vendredi soir que "de lourdes pertes ont été infligées à l'organisation terroriste séparatiste" lors d'opérations menées depuis quatre jours au nord de Diyarbakir, dans la région où se trouve la sous-préfecture de Lice.

CE/sb/mfo

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Turquie-Kurdes lead

Un général turc tué par des hommes du PKK alors qu'il dirigeait une opération anti-rebelles

ANKARA, 22 oct (AFP) - Le commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale turque à Diyarbakir (sud-est anatolien), le général Bahtiyar Aydin, a été tué vendredi alors qu'il dirigeait à Lice (région de Diyarbakir) une opération contre des séparatistes du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), a annoncé la télévision d'Etat turque TRT1.

Le général Aydin a été atteint par une balle près de l'oeil droit alors qu'il se trouvait dans l'enceinte de l'unité de commando de la gendarmerie pendant qu'il dirigeait l'opération, a indiqué la télévision. Il a succombé à ses blessures lors de son transfert à l'hôpital militaire de Diyarbakir.

C'est la première fois qu'un général turc est tué par des rebelles kurdes du PKK, qui mène une rébellion armée depuis août 1984 pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde.

L'opération des forces de l'ordre turque avait été lancée peu après une attaque rebelle contre un minibus de police sur la route de Kulp à Lice, suivie de tirs en début de matinée en direction de bâtiments publics, de logements de la police, de la préfecture de police et de l'unité militaire, depuis des maisons avoisinantes et les hauteurs de Lice.

Les forces de l'ordre ont aussitôt riposté et des renforts ont été dépêchés. De nouveaux renforts ont été envoyés à Lice où l'affrontement armé se poursuivait en début de soirée, selon la même source.

Promu général de brigade en 1991, le général Aydin avait été nommé à la tête de la gendarmerie régionale il y a plusieurs mois.

La rébellion du PKK et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait plus de 7.600 morts (civils, militaires, rebelles, policiers et miliciens pro-gouvernementaux).

CE/pt/ms

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Turquie-Kurdes

PKK dément toute implication dans la mort d'un général turc

ANKARA, 23 oct (AFP) — Les rebelles kurdes de Turquie ont démenti toute implication dans la mort d'un général turc vendredi à Lice (sud-est, province de Diyarbakir), dans un communiqué de l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche de la rébellion kurde, parvenu samedi à l'AFP.

Le "commandant du quartier général" de l'Armée de Libération Populaire du Kurdistan (ARPK, branche militaire du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan — PKK —) M. Cemil Bayik, cité par Kurd-Ha, dément également les informations faisant état d'accrochages entre les forces de l'ordre et leurs "unités" dans cette région vendredi.

Le secrétaire général de l'état major turc à Ankara, le général Hursit Tolon avait indiqué vendredi dans un communiqué, que le commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale de Diyarbakir le général Bahtiyar Aydin avait été tué par balles tirées vers un poste militaire d'où il dirigeait des opérations contre les rebelles.

KG/mfm

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Turquie-Kurdes

24 personnes tuées par des séparatistes kurdes dans le sud-est, selon les autorités

ANKARA, 22 oct (AFP) — Des séparatistes kurdes ont tué 24 personnes, 15 enfants et 9 femmes, jeudi soir dans l'attaque d'un village de la région de Siirt, dans le sud-est de la Turquie, a rapporté l'agence turque Anatolie citant les autorités locales.

Un groupe de "terroristes séparatistes", le terme officiel désignant les militants du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, PKK, ont attaqué à l'arme automatique et à la roquette le village de Derince où dix autres personnes ont été blessées, indique l'agence semi-officielle citant la préfecture de Diyarbakir responsable des régions sous état d'urgence de l'est et du sud-est anatolien.

Dix autres personnes ont été tuées depuis mercredi dans la région, selon des sources officielles. Il s'agit de huit soldats et deux membres des forces de l'ordre tués dans des accrochages.

YM/jlb/br

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Midi Libre — 23 octobre 1993

TURQUIE

Un général tué par les Kurdes

■ Les rebelles séparatistes kurdes ont abattu un général de gendarmerie turque dans le sud-est du pays. Le général Bahtiyar Aydin, commandant des forces de gendarmerie engagées dans la lutte contre le PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) dans la province de Diyarbakir, a été tué à Lice. Le général Aydin est l'officier de plus haut rang à mourir sous les balles des séparatistes du PKK, en neuf ans d'une insurrection qui a fait 7.500 morts.

Ouest France- 23 octobre 1993

Turquie : un général tué par des rebelles kurdes

Le général Bahtiyar Aydin, commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale turque à Diyarbakir, a été tué vendredi par des rebelles kurdes, lors d'un accrochage armé. La lutte des rebelles, depuis 1984, pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant, et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait plus de 7 500 morts.

Saturday, October 23, 1993

turkish daily news

PKK kills General in Lice

■ Gun battles rock township of Diyarbakır ■ New raids claim 22 civilian victims

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) on Friday killed a Turkish general in the Southeastern province of Diyarbakır, leading to a fierce gun battle in the township of Lice which lasted throughout the day.

Officials said Diyarbakır Gendarmerie forces commander Brigadier General Bahtiyar Aydın was killed hours after a group of terrorists killed 22 Kurdish civilians in nearby Siirt. They said the general, the highest-ranking officer to be killed by the PKK, was directing an operation in the city when he was shot by a PKK sniper. They said the separatists opened fire on the city in the early hours of the morning. An official at the local governor's office, who refused to identify himself, claimed in a telephone interview with the TDN that tanks and military armored vehicles were "blasting through the town."

He said at least 60 buildings had been destroyed and that there was heavy gunfire from Turkish security forces. Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu said in Ankara that security forces had "taken control of the situation" around 11 a.m. local time while the semiofficial Anatolia news agency said the general was killed at noon.

The governor's office official used his telephone to relay noises of the conflicts back to Ankara: gunshots, explosions and helicopters. Gazioglu told journalists here that helicopters were not used.

After the interview, further telephone contact

with Lice was not possible.

Meanwhile, the PKK on Thursday night again massacred civilians.

In a late-night raid on a village-guard village, at least 22 Kurdish civilians were killed in southeastern Turkey, Anatolia said on Friday. Officials said the victims of the attack were nine women and 13 children including a three-month-old infant. A statement issued by the organization for the Western press and its own militants later claimed 23 were killed and that all were village guards. This was the third PKK attack on civilian settlements since early September, as part of a campaign which has claimed the lives of at least 100 Kurdish villagers in the region.

The PKK claims it is fighting for self-rule for Turkey's Kurds and has been waging an armed campaign on Ankara since 1984 with the total death toll now reaching 8,000.

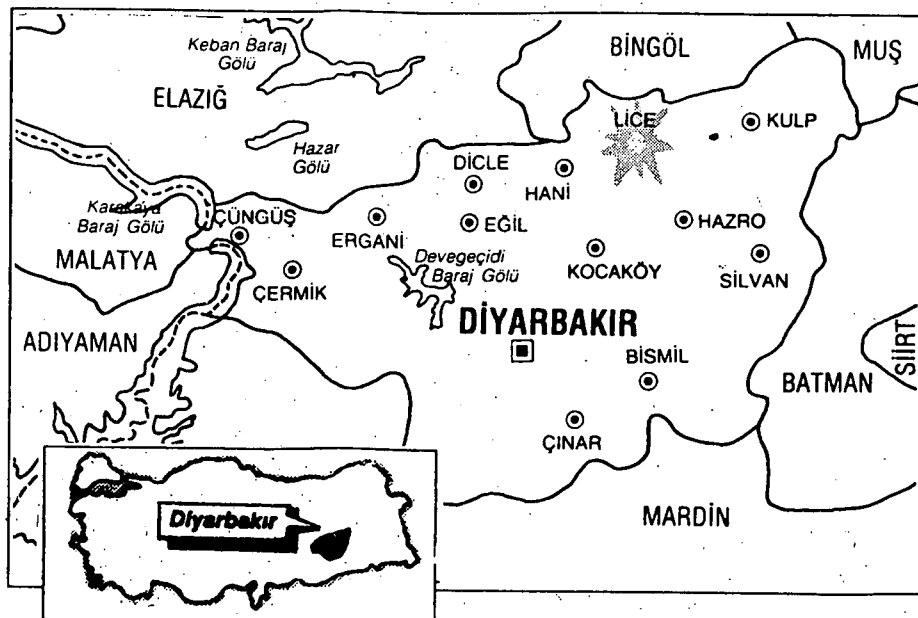
Officials said a group of militants on Thursday night raided the Derince village of Siirt's Baykan township and first called on all village guards to surrender. When they re-

fused, the terrorists attacked houses with automatic guns and rockets. The PKK statement claimed eight guards were wounded in Thursday night's attack and recalled that the organization had declared a pardon for these paramilitary officials last year and warned that those who refused to surrender their weapons would be among the organization's priority targets.

Meanwhile, Kurdish-based Democracy Party De-



General Bahtiyar Aydın



puty Chairman Kemal Birget claimed to the TDN on Friday that the village guards attacked the Baykan township and destroyed three official vehicles of the Baykan Municipality along with four shops. Quoting Baykan's SHP mayor, Birget claimed the attack

was in retaliation to the PKK raid.

In a separate development, a spokesman for the Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) condemned the PKK attacks and said they were against any activity which shed blood.

Remzi Kartal, the spokesman for DEP deputies, said with regard to the killing of Gen. Aydın that they were very sorry about the incident and were concerned over this action.

Emergency security summit in Ankara

■ Çiller convenes National Security Council without President Demirel

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- An emergency summit was held in Ankara on Friday to consider the worsening security situation in Southeastern Turkey.

Prime Minister Tansu Çiller chaired the meeting, during which recent developments, including the ban by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party's (PKK) on the media and political activities in the Southeast were discussed. Measures aimed at maintaining secu-

urity in the region were also said to have been taken up.

The meeting was held as work was underway for a security summit called by Parliamentary Speaker Hüsamettin Çindoruk for October 25 to be attended by the leaders of the political parties in Parliament.

Çiller had announced during her visit to the United States that she would be holding a meeting on security as soon as she returned to Turkey.

Çiller convened the security summit approximately three hours after she returned to Ankara around noon Friday, and before visiting President Süleyman Demirel.

Observers point out that the participants at the security summit were the same as the participants who attend meetings of the National Security Council (MGK). The only one absent at Friday's summit was President Süleyman who chairs MGK meetings.

The MGK meeting planned for October 29, has been brought forwards to October 25, considering the worsening security situation in southeast Turkey.

The following officials attended Friday's security summit: Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin, Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz, Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioğlu, Chief of General Staff Doğan Güreş, Land Forces Commander

General İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, Naval Forces Commander Admiral Vural Beyazıt, Air Forces Commander General Halis Burhan, Gendarmerie Forces Commander General Aydın İter, National Security Council Secretary General Doğan Beyazıt, Emergency Rule Region Governor Ünal Erkan, National Intelligence Organization (MIT) Chief Sönmez Köksal, the Prime Minister's Military Advisor Major General Edip Başer, Chief of Police Mehmet Ağar and Ministers of State Necmettin Cevheri, Mehmet Gölhan, İbrahim Tez and Bekir Sami Dağ.

The meeting was continuing as TDN went to print.

Political parties to resist PKK ban in Southeast

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Political parties in Parliament on Friday denounced a recently imposed separatist ban on their activities in the Southeast and said they would not give in to terrorist demands. In interviews with the TDN, party leaders said they would in no way yield to a decision issued by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) to halt their political activities in the troubled region as of this Sunday.

Speaking on behalf of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, European representative Kani Yılmaz told the TDN Thursday that the ban would be implemented at the cost of "punishing" those who violated it. The PKK's armed force ARGK announced this week that it would place all Kurdish politicians from "bourgeois parties" among their "national liberation targets" if they did not resign by an Oct. 24 deadline. "They will then have to meet the consequences," a written statement declared.

Evaluating the PKK threat, party leaders said it would be a mistake even to consider yielding to the ban. Aydın Güven Gürkan, parliamentary group chairman of the junior coalition partner Social Democrat Peoples' Party (SHP), said, "Our joint duty is not to bend in front of threats of violence and terror." Referring to the ban, True Path Party (DYP) group Deputy Chairman Nevzat Ercan said he was "prepared to die for the country" and pointed out that it was the duty of every citizen to resist these threats.

"Bandits always threaten," Ercan said. "But the shape of the threat is different this time. It was threatening human lives from day one but has now imposed a deadline of Oct. 24. All political parties and organizations must work together on this." DYP Deputy Chairman Yaşar Topçu criticized suggestions to seek a political so-

lution to the problem and said there was no way to overcome the crisis politically.

Officials from Turkey's main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) argued, meanwhile, that despite their decision to resist the PKK threat, they did not believe in the need for martial law. Acting Parliamentary Group Chairman Eyüp Aşık told the TDN that local administrations in the Southeast had to be strengthened and called for the establishment of an "Interior Security Undersecretariat."

ANAP's deputy chairman in charge of party organizations, Rüşti Kazım Yücelen, said that all party organizations were open, and they were not considering closing down any branch.

Republican Peoples' Party (CHP) Secretary General Ertuğrul Günay said they would not listen to the threats either, but noted that parties should travel more frequently to that region. Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Deputy Chairman Rıza Müftüoğlu said, on the other hand, that the PKK's threat to parties coming after the ban on the press was "a very serious incident." Müftüoğlu said that although they did not think the parties would abide by the ban, making the threat was important and the state should "do what it needs to do" in the shortest possible time.

The strongest reaction came on Friday from the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP) with Secretary General Oğuzhan Asiltürk saying they would "make the administration pay for each drop of blood" if there was an attack on their party or politicians. "The administration has the duty to maintain security in the region. If it cannot do this, this is a shame."

Asiltürk also said that if the government fails to secure the region, it should resign.

Democracy Party (DEP) deputies, whose party was not banned, said that all parties had to evaluate their own situation and decide what to do. They said that a possible reason for them being exempt from the ban was their special emphasis on the Kurdish issue.

Sud Ouest — 23 octobre 1993

TURQUIE

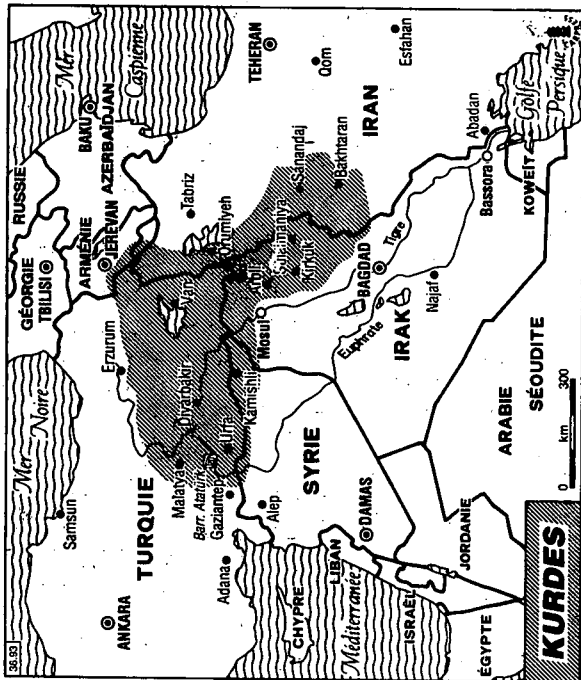
Les Kurdes en maîtres à l'Est

La guérilla kurde est en train de couper le pays en deux malgré les offensives militaires d'Ankara dans leur fief du Sud-Est

Michel Verrier
correspondance spéciale

La Turquie est aujourd'hui pratiquement coupée en deux. Tandis que la vie est normale à l'Ouest, l'autorité de l'État s'efface de plus en plus à l'Est. Les routes ne sont plus sûres, les rebelles du PKK y multiplient les contrôles d'identité à leur gré. Ils ont imposé leur diktat le 19 octobre jusque dans la capitale kurde, Diyarbakir, un million d'habitants.

Le commandant de région de la branche armée du PKK a exigé des journalistes représentant les principaux quotidiens turcs qu'ils cessent leurs activités. Menacés de représailles s'ils ignoraient cet ultimatum, ceux-ci, résignés, ont dû fermer leurs bureaux, après avoir refusé la protection que leur offrait les autorités. La plupart d'entre eux n'accorderaient sans doute guère de crédit à cette offre. Quinze journalistes en effet ont été abattus dans la région au cours des dix-huit derniers mois. La plupart, appartenant à des journaux pro-kurdes, sans cesse menacés d'interdiction par Ankara. C'est probablement pour cette raison d'ailleurs que le PKK a jugé bon d'interdire d'expression les grands quotidiens turcs, sans crainte



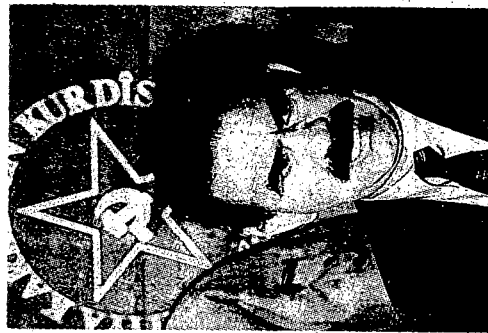
l'interroge à ce sujet. Il se refuse en tout cas à satisfaire des revendications telles que le droit d'enseigner le kurde à l'école ou d'émettre des programmes de télévision en cette langue qui mettraient selon lui en danger l'unité et l'intégrité de l'État. La pression des principaux alliés de la Turquie, tels que les USA ou la RFA, qui « appuient la politique d'Ankara à l'égard des terroristes » tout en regrettant son attitude timorée à l'égard des kurdes et le non-respect des droits de l'homme dans la région, n'a aucun effet.

Mais que veut le PKK ? Abdullah Ocalan, son leader, s'adressait le 28 septembre dernier à une trentaine de représentants de la presse internationale au cours d'une conférence de presse tenue dans la plaine de la Bekaa, au Liban. S'il souhaite toujours que les Kurdes — ils sont environ 15 millions en Turquie —

un échec, Ankara pourtant persévère. « Que faire d'autre », répond le président Souleyman Demirel à qui

L'événement est particulièrement inquiétant pour le gouvernement de M^r Tansu Çiller et marque probablement un tournant dans cette guerre qui déchire la Turquie depuis août 1984. 140 000 hommes, 54 % des forces de l'armée turque, dotées d'une centaine d'hélicoptères, de véhicules blindés et de l'appui de l'aviation stationnée dans la région. Rien n'y fait. Les guérilleros kurdes ont sans cesse étendu leur influence dans la population. Les combats ont fait une dizaine de milliers de morts.

La solution militaire paraît être



Apo Abdullah Ocalan, chef du PKK (Photo AFP)

puissent accéder un jour — « comme tout autre peuple » — à un État, il limite aujourd'hui ses exigences à la reconnaissance de leurs droits nationaux dans le cadre d'une fédération turco-kurde. Le PKK tenterait dans ce but, au cours de l'année 1994, de mettre sur pied une « assemblée nationale » au nord du Kurdistan, à côté de la région kurde de l'Irak — 6 millions d'habitants — totalement autonome à l'égard de Bagdad aujourd'hui.

M. Ocalan ne semble pas impressionné par les déclarations du chef de l'armée turque selon lequel la guérilla devrait avoir été exterminée d'ici mars prochain. Il affirme au contraire qu'à cette époque ses troupes auront doublé en effectifs.

Un général turc tué au combat dans une opération anti-kurdes

Le commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale turque à Diyarbakir (Sud-Est anatolien), le général Bahattiyar Aydın, a été tué hier alors qu'il dirigeait une

Lice (région de Diyarbakir) une opération contre des séparatistes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK). L'opération des forces de l'ordre turque avait été lancée peu après une attaque rebelle contre un minibus de police. C'est la première fois qu'un général turc est tué par des rebelles kurdes du PKK, qui mènent une rébellion armée depuis août 1984 pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans le Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Neuf personnes ont été tuées à Lice, selon un responsable turc

ANKARA, 23 oct (AFP) — Neuf personnes — dont cinq rebelles kurdes — ont été tuées vendredi lors d'un accrochage entre rebelles kurdes et forces armées turques à Lice (province de Diyarbakir, sud-est) où un général turc avait trouvé la mort le même jour, a déclaré samedi dans la soirée le préfet de Diyarbakir, M. Ibrahim Sahin, cité par l'agence Anatolie.

Le secrétaire général de l'état major turc à Ankara, le général Hursit Tolon avait indiqué vendredi que le commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale de Diyarbakir le général Bahtiyar Aydin avait été tué par balles tirées vers un poste militaire d'où il dirigeait des opérations contre les rebelles.

Pour sa part, le "commandant du quartier général" de l'Armée de Libération Populaire du Kurdistan (ARGK, branche militaire du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan — PKK —) M. Cemil Bayik, cité par l'agence Kurd-Ha proche de la rebellion, avait démenti toute implication du PKK dans la mort vendredi du général Aydin.

Il avait par ailleurs affirmé que "160 personnes avaient été massacrées" par les forces turques "tirant contre Lice avec des chars et des canons".

Le couvre-feu décrété samedi matin est toujours en vigueur à Lice où plusieurs bâtiments avaient été endommagés vendredi.

KG/pk/mfo

AFP 231901 OCT 93

Journal de Genève — 23 octobre 1993

KURDISTAN

Ankara et le PKK musèlent
la liberté de la presse

Les rues de Diyarbakir, dans l'extrême est de la Turquie, ont eu vendredi des visiteurs inhabituels. 147 journalistes ont distribué au public l'édition du jour de leur propre journal. But de l'opération: protester contre le black out que la guérilla kurde — le PKK, ou Parti des travailleurs kurdes — tente d'imposer à tous les journalistes qui essaient de travailler dans la région. Relayée par les grandes associations de presse internationales (la FIJ, Reporters sans frontières), la presse turque, qui a largement payé son tribut dans la couverture des événements d'Anatolie orientale, est indignée. En deux ans, 18 d'entre eux (et 5 distributeurs) ont trouvé la mort dans l'exercice de leur travail. Pour avoir parlé de la cause kurdes des journalistes ont été emprisonnés. La semaine dernière encore, plusieurs professionnels étaient interpellés — tous journalistes et écrivains s'intéressant à la cause kurde — par les forces de l'ordre à Istanbul.

Mais le PKK n'en a cure: considérant que la presse (nationale et internationale) ne fait que

«travailler pour la bourgeoisie», il lui interdit désormais de couvrir les événements dans la région, et intime l'ordre aux correspondants turcs de fermer leurs bureaux. Faute de quoi, eux-mêmes et leurs familles en porteront les conséquences. Le message est clair. Il ne fait que conforter l'idée qu'on entend, des deux côtés, camoufler la réalité des faits. Désormais, la population de Turquie, Kurdes et Turcs réunis, sont les otages d'un silence, qui couvre l'horreur. Entre la répression aveugle des forces de l'ordre d'Ankara et les règlements de comptes, sur la population kurde, d'un mouvement qui se veut de libération, la guerre civile atteint le sommet de l'absurde.

Antoine Bosshard

Un général tué

Le commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale turque à Diyarbakir, le général Bahtiyar Aydin, a été tué vendredi par des rebelles kurdes de Turquie à Lice. Il s'agit du premier assassinat d'un général turc par des rebelles kurdes de Turquie. (AFP)

Le Monde • Samedi 23 octobre 1993

TURQUIE

Le PKK étend
ses menaces
aux partis politiques

L'Armée de libération du peuple du Kurdistan (ARGK), branche militaire du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie), citée par l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche du PKK, a mis en demeure les partis politiques turcs, jeudi 21 octobre, de cesser immédiatement leurs activités et de fermer leurs bureaux à partir de dimanche dans le sud-est du pays à majorité kurde. Les partis qui ne se conformeraient pas à cet ordre «deviendront la cible de [la] lutte de libération nationale», ajoute le texte. L'ARGK revendique par ailleurs l'enlèvement, mercredi soir, de Hayati Kahraman, président local du Parti populaire social-démocrate (PPSD, partenaire de la coalition gouvernementale) à Diyarbakir, principale ville du Sud-Est.

La mise en demeure des séparatistes kurdes intervient cinq jours après un avertissement similaire du PKK à la presse turque et étrangère (*le Monde* du 20 octobre). La presse avait apparemment obtempéré dès lundi. Toutefois, des journalistes se sont rendus jeudi à Diyarbakir, où le porte-parole du gouvernement, Yildirim Aktuna, a réuni une conférence de presse, semble-t-il en signe de protestation contre la menace du PKK. — (AFP.)

ELU0247 41 0280 TUR /AFP-MG94
TURQUIE-KURDES

41 rebelles kurdes tués lors d'opérations dans le sud-est anatolien

ANKARA, 24 oct (AFP) - Quarante et un rebelles kurdes ont été tués depuis le 9 octobre par les forces de l'ordre turques lors d'une opération aéro-terrestre, dans la région montagneuse de Senyayla (province de Diyarbakir) dans le sud-est anatolien, a-t-on appris dimanche de sources officielles.

Un grand nombre d'équipements et d'armes, dont un canon sans-recul et un mortier, ont été saisis lors de cette opération de grande envergure contre un important groupe de maquisards kurdes dans cette région située entre Bingöl, Mus et Kulp, a déclaré la super-préfecture d'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir qui coordonne la lutte contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

Environ 100 tonnes de vivres et de médicaments ont également été saisis dans 123 caches souterraines, ajoute la super-préfecture dans un communiqué parvenu à l'AFP. Le texte du communiqué ne fait toutefois pas état des pertes éventuelles des forces armées turques dans cette opération.

Vingt-neuf personnes, dont 17 rebelles kurdes du PKK, ont été tués depuis vendredi dans le sud-est et l'est anatolien.

Un général turc, Bahtiyar Aydin, commandant en chef de la gendarmerie régionale de Diyarbakir avait été également tué lors d'accrochages à Lice. Le PKK avait démenti toute implication dans la mort du général.

Plus de 7.600 personnes -- militaires, policiers, rebelles et civils -- ont trouvé la mort dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde depuis 1984, date à laquelle le PKK - qui lutte pour l'indépendance - a déclenché sa rébellion armée contre le pouvoir central.

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TURQUIE-KURDES-PRESSE

Le PKK enlève un journaliste turc à Tunceli

ANKARA, 24 oct (AFP) - Un correspondant à Tunceli (est) du quotidien turc Milliyet a été enlevé par des rebelles kurdes "pour avoir négligé" leur injonction adressée aux journalistes d'"arrêter toute fonction" dans le sud-est anatolien, selon l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche du mouvement kurde, citée dimanche par le quotidien.

Ferit Demir, 23 ans, qui "insistait pour exécuter son travail malgré plusieurs avertissements", serait retenu pour une durée indéterminée par des rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), selon Kurd-Ha toujours cité par Milliyet. Aucune information n'a pu être obtenue sur la date et les circonstances de l'enlèvement du journaliste.

Le PKK avait mis en garde le 15 octobre les représentants locaux de la presse turque dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde contre la vente de leur quotidien. Le PKK avait également imposé la fermeture des bureaux de la presse turque dans toute la région. Les rebelles avaient finalement déclaré lundi dernier que leur mise en garde concernait aussi la presse internationale.

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AFP 241249 OCT 93

Monday, October 25, 1993

turkish daily news

'Parliamentary coup' proposed to counter possible military coup

■ **A group of deputies, fearing developments in the Southeast are preparing to recommend a "Government of National Consensus."**

By Hayri Birler

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Arguing that Turkey is heading towards an impasse with the increasing violence in the Southeast, and accusing the government of being a mere "spectator" in the face of these developments, a group of deputies of different party affiliations is preparing to recommend the formation of a "Government of National Consensus."

These deputies, mostly from the True Path Party (DYP) -- the senior partner in the ruling coalition government -- and the Motherland (ANAP) party -- the main opposition party -- say they will take action in this direction if the local elections scheduled for March do not take place in the region, or in the whole of the country, for "security" reasons.

These deputies say the government has remained ineffective as large numbers of citizens are killed everyday in the Southeast. They remind that this is also precipitating the notion in the common man and woman's mind in other parts of the country that the region "should be given up and the problem thus gotten rid of."

The common point of view that these deputies -- said to number around 36 at the present time -- put forward in arguing for a "Government of National Consensus," can be summarized in the following manner:

"Something strange that we cannot fully grasp is going on in the region. What we are sure of, though, is that the United States and Great Britain are bent on the establishment of a Kurdistan in Southeastern Anatolia. The first step towards this is granting the region autonomy. We fear that in the end a military administration will be forced to take this step toward autonomy because it is a step that no civilian government would have the courage to take. This of course means a military coup or a military ultimatum to the civilian administration. What we are seeking is a 'Parliamentary coup' to counter the prospect of such military a coup."

The first signs

Last week two ANAP deputies, Şadi Pehlivanoglu and Hüseyin Özalp, organized a press conference after consulting with their party chairman, Mesut Yılmaz, and getting his blessing. These two veteran politicians, who served in Parliament before the military coup on Sept. 12, 1980, avoided clarity in making their concerns known and merely referred to a governmental model that involved rising above parties.

The next day, Yılmaz made a statement, and blaming those who proposed a political solution to the problem in the Southeast said these proposals would lead to nowhere.

"We must prevent bloodshed first, and the state must fight the separatist organization with all its might to achieve this" Yılmaz said.

In the days that followed these developments, certain deputies, especially those within the DYP wing, began whispering the words "martial law" in the corridors of Parliament in connection with the Southeast.

The first reactions to these deputies, who included the heads of the Parliamentary Commissions on National Defence and Interior Affairs, came from the Chief of Staff's office.

The Chief of Staff's office announced that during the the National Security Council (MGK) meeting this month they would not be proposing that martial law be declared.

Throwing the ball to the "civilians' court" the statement said: "The matter can be resolved within the context of the Emergency Rule which is currently in force in the region. Provided, that is, that the government makes full use of its legal rights in this framework."

The Chief of Staff statement caused tumult in Parliament, especially among DYP and ANAP deputies who felt the blame for the inability to prevent separatist terrorism was being placed on civilians. Soon after this statement, all talk in Parliament of the need to declare martial law ended.

Meanwhile, President Süleyman Demirel gave a statement to a newspaper around this time, and also said there was no need for martial law. He later invited Parliamentary Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk to his office for a meeting. While no statement followed this meeting, it was whispered in Parliament that events in the in Southeast had been discussed.

DYP deputy for Aydın, Tuğ Bilget, whose name had frequently come up among those in favor of martial law, issued a statement within the context of these developments, and declared himself against martial law. For the first time he uttered the notion of a "Parliamentary coup."

"Mrs. Çiller cannot see the truth..."

The Turkish Daily News decided to investigate the matter following further references, not just by headline deputies but also by others, to the notion of a "Parliamentary coup." This investigation revealed that a group of mainly DYP and ANAP deputies -- whose numbers range between 35 and 40 -- had come together, both in parliament and in private, to evaluate the overall situation.

It became clear that these deputies also aimed at increasing their numbers by letting their plans be known to other "small groups" of deputies.

These "small groups" included deputies from the ultranationalist, National Action Party (MHP), and the pro-islamic Welfare Party (RP). In time these opinions were also relayed to some deputies from the Social Democrat Peoples' Party (SHP) and the Republican Peoples' Party (CHP) who were felt to be "close."

This is what a DYP deputy, who spoke on condition of anonymity, had to say on the subject:

"Our general convention will take place in November. Mrs. Çiller (PM Çiller) is in a cloud of dreams, running all over the place. Her feet never touched the ground. She never saw the truth, or understood where she is heading. Yet, on the question of the Southeast, the country is on the brink of division. The press was removed from the Southeast (by threats from separatist terrorists). Now the activities of political parties are being restricted (because of similar threats). The mentality spreading in the Southeast is one of "liberated region." While this is happening Mrs. Çiller does not seem to care. Her indifference applies also to question of economic investments in the region."

Expectations and the timetable

Indicating that the problem of the Southeast will again be put on the back burner because of the upcoming DYP Convention, and pointing to the fact that straight after this, on November 27, the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) will be celebrating its foundation anniversary the same deputy said the following: "The PKK will now change its tactics to avoid the winter operation an-

nounced by the Chief of Staff's office. Using its anniversary as a pretext, it will declare a cease fire to cover up the fact that it is losing its ability to maneuver in winter conditions. It finds itself in need to prepare for the spring. It will declare a cease fire and halt its actions to have a relatively easy winter.

"I do not think the State will fall for this ploy. But the military will also not move forward much because of the need to limit bloodshed. In fact if you look at the last 8-9 months of this year, the security forces have begun withdrawing as far back as is acceptable. All the military stations that have come under PKK attack have been closed one by one. Not one soldiers dares walk out of his barracks after 5 p.m."

The deputy said this is how the winter months would pass, and only after March would things blow up again and spread. "First of all there will be the March local elections. These will be follow on March 21 by Nevroz (the Shiite spring festival which has in recent years been turned into an occasion for separatist propaganda by the PKK). PKK attacks can be expected to intensify before the local elections and peak during Nevroz." Asking how local elections can be held in an environment, "where events will spread and corpses will cover the streets?" the deputy wondered what the state was proposing to do to provide the necessary security.

"However, according to the Constitution the elections must take place. They could be brought forward, but under no circumstances can they be postponed. If we go ahead with the elections then this could lead to two alternatives. Either the PKK tells the people to boycott the elections, and in doing so secures itself a referendum in a manner of speaking, or it will not boycott the elections and put forward several independent candidates, telling the people to support these candidates. The PKK will come out the winner either way" the deputy said.

And while all this is going on, the deputy added, people living outside the region will start thinking: "Enough is enough, let's give the region over to them, and rid ourselves of trouble." He added that this sentiment would go on spreading. However, no civilian government can take the decision for autonomy, which is, in effect, the first step toward secession, since any government that takes this step will be accused of "treachery" and of "wanting to divide the country," he said.

"A parliamentary coup to counter a military coup"

The deputy also indicated that it is apparent that the United States and Great Britain are determined to have a Kurdistan set up in Southeast Anatolia by citing the fact that even the Palestinians and Israel have managed to arrive at an agreement. Maintaining that these countries "need to create a new area of conflict in the region," the deputy said, "although there is already an autonomous Kurdistan in Northern Iraq, nobody takes it seriously because it is a region in poverty."

"However if a real Kurdistan is going to be set up and made viable, it has to be in Southeastern Turkey. Because the most modern, most developed and richest part of Kurdistan that lies on the territory of four countries, is in Turkey" he said. "The road to an independent Kurdistan passes through autonomy. No civilian government can consider this. But we have the examples from the past. When things that no civilian government can dare to undertake come on the agenda, there is a U.S.-backed military coup, and the military is made to do the dirty work" the deputy said.

"The military government after the Sept. 12 military coup is the best example of this. For example, the US administration as part

of its "Green Belt theory," included Turkey in the "Belt," and, being prepared to make concessions from the principles of Atatürk, had the Constitution stipulate that religious classes in schools are compulsory."

Questioning "which civilian government would have dared do such a thing?" the deputy argued that another example supporting his argument was the lifting of the Turkish veto allowing Greece back into the military wings of the NATO alliance.

"For years we've had rightist governments and leftist governments, but none made such a concession. The U.S. managed to get the military to do what it could not get the civilians to do. Now we fear that it may get a military administration to deal with the question of autonomy for the southeast that no civilian administration would touch. We fear that an environment is being prepared for those who can deliver what the civilians can not to come to power."

The deputy indicated that he was referring to the prospect of a military coup.

"The road to this is the cancellation of the March local elections on the pretext of a lack of security. If this happens, we will leave aside our party interests and try to prompt all the deputies into action to stage a 'parliamentary coup' and establish a Government of National Consensus that will prevent a military coup."

The DYP deputy added that he believes that if the elections do not take place, and such a government is not formed, then the country will head toward chaos. He also said that the conditions for a military coup could be developed easily.

"With the extension of the Chief of General Staff's term in office by one year, the renewal of all command ranks in the Military by August 1994 has been enabled. Beware of this," the deputy said.

Lice flop leads to Cabinet reshuffle

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, under fire for her government's inability to curb separatist violence in eastern and southeastern Turkey, was forced to announce a Cabinet reshuffle during which she replaced Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu.

Education Minister Nahit Menteşe became interior minister while Gazioglu was relegated to a Cabinet portfolio as state minister. State Minister Mehmet Gölhan was named as defense minister while Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz was named education minister.

President Süleyman Demirel approved the appointments. Gölhan, soon after the announcement, said the government in close cooperation with the Armed Forces will do "everything necessary for peace and tranquility in the country." Gazioglu has come under strong criticism ever since the Çiller government came to power.

The situation got out of hand after separatist terrorists

killed General Bahtiyar Aydın during violent incidents in the Lice township of Diyarbakır. State Minister Necmettin Cevheri announced after the Cabinet meeting that there would be no more changes in the government. Answering questions for the Anatolian News Agency about whether there would be any further changes apart from the four ministers, Cevheri said, "there are only these four. There are no other changes. And the changes decided on have been endorsed and sent to the Official Gazette for publication." Asked if Sunday's Cabinet reshuffle was planned beforehand Cevheri responded that he did not know. He merely stated that Sunday's decision was Prime Minister Çiller's. Cevheri added that the Prime Minister would possibly make a statement about the need for the reshuffle.

"But this is merely a change of jobs between friends and as such there is no need for long explanations as to why this decision was taken" Cevheri added.

Week of security summits

- *PKK activities lead to confusion, disagreement in Ankara*
- *Çiller expected to attempt to impose her views on security*

By Ismet G. Imset

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A week of summits on interior security begins today with Turkey's National Security Council (MGK) gathering in Ankara where Prime Minister Tansu Çiller is due to table her secret "special proposals" for national consensus to maintain control over the troubled Southeast region.

Çiller on Sunday took a surprise decision and renamed four members of her cabinet, appointing the interior minister to the seat of state minister and her defense minister to head national education as of now.

Her meetings thus coincide with increased tension in Ankara's political corridors and upgraded activities of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which is fighting since 1984 for Kurdish self-control in the Southeast.

Returning from her visit to the United States and Mexico, Çiller was greeted in Turkey on Friday with news of a major uprising in a township of Diyarbakır, and the controversial killing of a Turkish Brigadier General in the same area.

Gen. Bahtiyar Aydın, shot dead under highly controversial circumstances, was laid to rest in Ankara on Sunday, but Diyarbakır's Lice township is still under blockade with smoke rising and gunshots being heard from the outside. The PKK claims at least 380 people have been killed and that hundreds of others are being treated in three hospitals in Diyarbakır. Çiller on Friday started her emergency meetings, immediately calling for a special security summit, which appeared to be an alternative meeting to today's MGK. It was noted by observers that the gathering took place without President Süleyman Demirel. Although Demirel chairs the MGK, it was

Çiller who chaired the alternative summit on Friday.

According to Bekir Sami Dağ, a senior state minister, this summit-council is scheduled to meet now every ten days and discuss Turkey's security issues. There is a widespread belief that in this way, Çiller is also avoiding the special Crisis Committee within the Council of Ministers. This committee is made up completely of civilians.

On Saturday, at the entrance of Lice, a military officer who prevented Republican Peoples' Party (CHP) chairman Deniz Baykal from entering the township, reportedly told him that they did not take orders from any civilian authority. Baykal, angered by the ban, called on all political party leaders and journalists to enter the town.

Informed sources have said the outcome of Friday's meeting in Ankara was not only to establish a national-social consensus against terrorism, but also to take new measures. Behind the scenes, Çiller was preparing for her reshuffle.

Chief of General Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş reportedly voiced his anger over the coverage of recent events in the pro-Kurdish Özgür Gündem newspaper and is said to have criticised Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) deputies as well. Parliament sources say there may be new measures against Özgür Gündem in the coming days. They also point out that in a bid to soften the reaction of Turkey's hard-liners, steps may be taken to strip DEP deputies, 17 in all, from their parliamentary immunity.

What appears to be certain for the time being, however, is that Çiller will take the necessary steps to speed up the trial process of terrorist suspects and may actually give instructions for a new judicial package to be prepared -- with heavier penalties.

There is also the possibility that the government may introduce a new "Prevention of Terrorism Act" which would suspend certain constitutional rights in a bid to curb violence. This could include tougher measures on the national press as well as the local people.

Asked whether he believed martial law was required, Gen. Güreş told the meeting on Friday that the situation was not as bad as that and once again repeated that separatist terrorism would be crushed by next Spring. He did not, however, elaborate on how this would be done and why Turkey had failed to crush the PKK over the past nine years during which it was initiating similar military policies.

In today's MGK meeting, Çiller is expected to table these issues along with her own formula which she mentioned over the weekend but refused to reveal. Talking to Hürriyet's Ertuğrul Özkök, who has from the very beginning supported Çiller, the prime minister complained "something" had happened in her absence while she was in the United States recently. But she promised: "I will do everything I can to put the situation right."

One hitch for the Turkish PM while entering such a crucial week was that she failed from day one in delivering her promises, which has led to criticism mainly from opposition circles. She had said she would hold meetings with party leaders before the MGK meeting, but apparently was not aware that the leaders she mentioned were out of Ankara.

On Sunday, Çiller attempted to see at least some of the leaders on her agenda but failed again -- postponing her meetings until after the MGK summit.

Following today's meeting, Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk is scheduled to get together with all party leaders on Wednesday. The prime minister is also expected to hold her own talks on the subject with party leaders in the coming days. Sceptics say this alone shows Ankara's lack of a sincere, and concrete policy with regard to the Kurdish issue and the separatist terrorism which has come out of it.

Last Friday, the PKK killed nine women and 13 children in a new raid on a village guards' village. The same day, Çiller's self-styled summit decided that Turkey should increase the number of village guards in the region and expand this system. Human rights

activists claim more than 700 villages have been evacuated over the past years and most have been burned down, after the peasants refused to join this paramilitary system. There is general belief that this campaign, carried out by troops in the region, has provided new recruits for the separatists.

Even Özkök agrees now that Çiller is exhausting the credit given to her by the people and needs to express political will with brave decisions to solve the problem. Her special emphasis to the armed forces, though, indicate she may not be willing to accompany military measures with political reforms. Over the weekend, there were commentaries in the domestic press noting that the war in the region was one of winning the people and that this possibility had still not been lost. Developments in Lice indicate, however, that the situation could be much worse than what is being reflected back to Ankara. "Helicopters and tanks are bombing us. They have destroyed 60 houses and continue to fire," was what a local official at the governor's office told the TDN before telephone lines with Lice went down. It was not clear why, as officials said, 200 militants of the PKK attacked Lice which is known as a PKK stronghold in the region. Parliament sources feared this may be a repetition of incidents in Şırnak province where in August 1992, local security claimed a PKK attack and opened fire on the whole city. Şırnak was torn apart a week after the commander threatened local party leaders and mayors that he would destroy the settlement if there was any separatist activity in his area. What is happening in Lice now is unknown to all since the city is under block-

ade -- including to politicians. Another mystery is the death of Gen. Aydın who was listed on Saturday as "the highest level officer killed to date by the PKK." Official statements on the circumstances of Aydın's killing were conflicting until Friday evening when the Chief of Staff office clarified all

points in a written statement. Interior Minister Mehmet Gazioglu first said he was killed in Lice, by a PKK sniper using a special type of rifle. It was reported that he was killed with a single bullet. Later, following Çiller's summit, the information was revised, that the general was killed during a clash with the terrorists in Kulp while supervising his troops. At one point, he was announced as having been killed on the Lice-Kulp road. The Chief of Staff statement concluded that Gen. Aydin was martyred around 11:20 am while in the military headquarters in Lice, by terrorists opening fire from houses. President Süleyman Demirel, during the weekend, said the general was killed by "an accidental bullet," which seemed to imply what the PKK later said.

According to PKK Military Council commander Cemil Bayik who issued a statement to Özgür Gündem on Sunday, the PKK had nothing to do with the killing. "The general was killed by the state," he said bluntly.

Çiller enters this week as Turkey's major power circles are divided on what to do to solve the terrorism crisis which has engulfed the whole of the country. Sources report this division exists in all quarters, including Parliament.

A group of hard-line deputies in Parliament are now said to be seeking a "national consensus government" allegedly to avoid a pro-American military coup which aims at creating an autonomous Kurdish region within Turkey.

This move alone reflects that at least one group of deputies have come to the point of losing confidence in the country's security forces. While not saying so openly they appear to be implicating some commanders in a Western plot -- something that to the same meaning as treason.

Meanwhile, there are reports that another "committee" is being established, along with 18 retired officers and officers still in service, to seek a peaceful solution to the issue. Rumors in Parliament have it that this body aims even at contacting the PKK leadership for this cause.

The most important contradiction though is in Çiller's appeal for national consensus and her relations with the President. Demirel has opposed many of the recent steps taken by Çiller for a peaceful solution, including debating the so-called Basque model for Turkey.

Her appeals for national consensus, on the other hand, seem now to be an effort to gather major political parties and the Turkish people around a new military strategy. When seeking such a consensus, the Prime Minister has given no indication that she will seek the views of the main party in the conflict: the Kurdish people. Thus, efforts appear to be aimed at instituting a rougher policy in the region but with the full understanding and support of the people and national press.

Turkey, which is dealing with its age-old Kurdish problem while still refusing to realize such a problem exists, is entering now a

new stage in its struggle. Power circles are divided on what to do. Ankara still lacks any concrete policy. The dominant view is for a full-scale military campaign to end terrorism. According to Demirel, "there is no Kurdish issue. The issue is one of terrorism." And Çiller still believes that restoring Kurdish rights "is only giving them the hand after which they will demand the whole arm."

Meanwhile, the PKK is fighting for control and entering its own new stage in the battle. In the words of the PKK's European representative Kani Yilmaz, (who is also PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's political advisor) "what is happening now is a question of authority."

"We are showing who the real authority is" Yilmaz said last week.

Hürriyet columnist Rauf Tamer wrote on Sunday: "Journalism is finished in the Southeast. Politics is banned in the Southeast. The shutters are closed. There is no trade. Television antennas are being pulled down from the roofs, Goodbye to television. Education has ended. Mayors offices are closed. Justice is under threat. Property is under fire. The state is on vacation." This week, the state is expected to decide on what it can really do and this alone will show to all, how far the crisis has gone. What is evident for now is the dominance of the PKK which until recently was only "a handful of bandits" for Ankara officials. The PKK has, for the time being, led to a cabinet reshuffle. Many ask what it will lead to in the future and how safe the future of Turkish democracy remains to be...

Southeastern Anatolia Project :

Turkey on its way to regenerate cradle of civilization

- *GAP has already started yielding economic returns even at this stage, much earlier than the estimated completion date of the year 2005*
- *'The true returns of the projects will be obtained when, after its completion, regional development gaps in Turkey will have diminished substantially and therefore the reasons for certain social problems will have been eliminated,' says Dr. Olcay Ünver, president of the GAP Regional Development Administration*

By Burak Bekdil
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- In the difficult times of growing separatist terror in the region and extremely tough financial constraints on the

state budget, Ankara is silently proceeding with one of the world's largest development projects, the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP), on which public spending worth TL 1 billion (approximately \$75 million) is being made every hour. Described as one of the "Seven Wonders of the World" by the American quarterly journal "Infrastructure Finance," the GAP, with its 495 individual projects, represents a fully integrated development project with social, urban, infrastructural, irrigation, agricultural, industrial and environmental aspects. Recent criticisms that the Southeast area, the least developed in Turkey, absorbs enormous government funding and thus creates regional unfairness are rejected by the authorities. "The feasibility of the entire project is so clear, economically as well as socially. All governments have fully committed themselves to develop the region," says Dr. Olcay Ünver, president of the GAP Regional Development Administration. Dr. Ünver told the Turkish Daily News in an exclusive interview that the project has started yielding economic returns even at this stage, much earlier than the estimated completion date of the year 2005.

"The government has planned to invest TL 8.4 trillion on the GAP this year. Four units of the total planned eight of the Atatürk Dam started electricity production last year, and the output so far has reached more than 5 billion kWh, which corresponds to an economic value of TL 5 trillion," explains Ünver. Considered the ninth largest rock-filled dam in the world, the \$4 billion Atatürk Dam will have eight 300-megawatt turbines once completed. The government plans to complete all eight units by the end of the current year.

The project, covering the 1985-2005 period, is designed to quadruple the Southeastern gross regional product, now running at around \$2.5 billion.

"The true returns of the projects will be obtained when, after its completion, regional development gaps in Turkey will have diminished substantially and therefore the reasons for certain social problems will have been eliminated. It is always worth remembering the contributions the project will make to Turkey's political and economic competitiveness in international terms," comments Ünver.

Some years ago the project administrators were accused of focusing too much on the superstructural aspects of the project and thus ignoring the infrastructure dimension.

Unver responds: "A comprehensive study in the region has produced a total of 240 infrastructure projects to go hand in hand with the main project. They include a rich selection of urban development, drinking water, sewage, irrigation, electricity and telecommunications schemes.

"Today we have completed all infrastructure works in towns with a population of 10,000 plus. The political authority often reveals its commitment to the full-scale realization of both the urban and the rural infrastructure design of the region," he said.

The significance of the infrastructure aspect has been clearly underlined by the scientific facts and figures.

"The unit cost of infrastructure in Şırnak township would automatically triple if the residents here migrate to, say, the city of Izmir," explains Ünver.

Recently, there have been reports that financial bottlenecks put a halt to the construction of Urfa Tunnels, the world's largest irrigation tunnels at 25 feet in diameter. The Urfa Tunnels were designed so as to give life to the arid Harran Plain.

The problems, however, stem directly from skyrocketing cement prices, which put the contracting firm into financial difficulty.

The Turkish Daily News learned from State Hydraulic Works authorities that the original agreement with Akpınar İnşaat, the contractor of the tunnels, states that the payments to this firm should be made in terms of the U.S. dollar, as a sort of precaution to protect the company from the erosion of inflation.

Yet the Turkish lira depreciation against the dollar has fallen much short of the increase in cement prices, thus causing losses for the contractor.

Akpınar applied to the government for compensation, but no decision has been made so far.

Were there any financial problems delaying the entire project? "No, there are no problems on an integrated level. One can imagine there may be delays and problems on individual project levels in an integrated project of 495 projects. But I can say that there are no serious problems to delay the entire project," he noted.

Unver commented: "It is very fortunate that financial problems that the GAP has had to face are at the minimum. Such problems occur very rarely and are then resolved very quickly. This stems from the fact that there is undisputed political and social consensus on the GAP."

Asked whether the budgetary constraints may delay the project, Ünver said that a financial blockage to the routine development of the project is very likely because of the commitments of the present political authority.

"Moreover, the economic returns of the individual projects will increase with the passage of time, helping finance the inte-

grated project. The GAP is no more a project whose returns would be obtained in the future," he added.

Upon a landmark visit to the poverty-stricken Southeast in spring 1993, President Süleyman Demirel had given orders for an economic revival package to boost economic activity. The State Planning Organization (DPT) concluded a comprehensive study on the program and policymakers decided that the "Eastern Anatolia Action Plan" should be properly coordinated with the GAP.

"The DPT designed the plan in coordination with our experts. I refer to a five-year perspective plan that details the projects to be undertaken by our transportation, agricultural and infrastructural programs," Ünver explains.

"The plan well reflects the integrated characteristics of the GAP. It aims to raise the social indicators of the region at least to the national averages."

He also points to some aspects that are usually ignored when such development projects are being undertaken: environment and sustainability.

"Sustainability has definitely imposed a new condition for all facets of development.

It has also made it essential to adopt an integrated approach to development, as opposed to the fragmented, project-specific approach of the past.

We now know that sustainable irrigation development can be achieved. Mistakes made in the past, in the developing and the developed countries alike, provide us valuable information as to the possible consequences," according to Ünver.

Experts have been conducting an environmental impact assessment study in the Southeast. In the meantime, sociologists have been carrying out field studies.

"Social dimension is of great significance. We know that we should pay due regard to social sustainability," he said. The GAP policymakers believe that they will make great use of an exclusive study completed recently by a group of academicians, led by Professor W. Henricxhsmeyer from Bonn University and Professor Haluk Kasnakoğlu from the Middle East Technical University.

The study, titled "GAP Marketing and Crop Pattern Studies" will represent a major guideline to final shaping of the agro-business policies in the region, Ünver noted.

Dr. Olcay Ünver, president of the GAP Regional Development Administration

Ünver graduated from the Middle East Technical University (METU) with a B.S. in Civil Engineering in 1979.

He received his M.S. in Civil Engineering from the same university in 1981 and, in 1987, earned a PhD in Civil Engineering from the University of Texas in the United States.

He worked as an engineer in the infrastructure project of Batıkent, Ankara; a research assistant at METU; a research assistant and a research associate at the University of Texas and a staff engineer at the Lower Colorado River Authority in the United States.

He returned to Turkey in 1988 and worked as the water resources specialist at the GAP Project Management Unit of the State Planning Organization, where he later became a deputy director. In November 1989, the Prime Ministry's GAP Regional Development Administration was founded and Dr. Ünver was appointed as the regional director in Şanlıurfa.

In June 1991, he became the president



of the administration. Dr. Ünver has published papers in international journals and conference and symposium presentations. He is a member of national and international professional associations and serves on technical committees.

Ο ΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ του Εργατικού Κόμματος Αμπντούλα Οτσαλάν μιλά στην «Ε» για την εντατικοποίηση του αγώνα του κουρδικού λαού κατά της Τουρκίας, τους στόχους τους και τις σχέσεις τους με την Ελλάδα

Τελείωμα των Κούρδων

ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ Δευτέρα 4 Οκτωβρίου 1993

ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ

Αποστολή:
ΝΤΙΝΑ ΒΑΓΕΝΑ

«Βρισκόμαστε πάντα σε ολοκληρωτικό πόλεμο με την Τουρκία και αυτός ο πόλεμος δεν πρόκειται απλώς να συνεχιστεί, αλλά να ενταθεί»:
Μιλώντας σε τόνο κάτι παραπάνω από αποφασιστικό, συχνά συνοδεύοντας τα λόγια του με απότομες χειρονομίες, ο αρχηγός του Εργατικού Κόμματος του Κουρδιστάν (PKK) Αμπντούλα Οτσαλάν διακήρυξε πριν από λίγες μέρες την εντατικοποίηση του κουρδικού ανταρτοπόλεμου κατά του τουρκικού κράτους μπροστά σε μια ομάδα την οποία αποτελούσαν καμιά τριανταριά εκπρόσωποι των ΜΜΕ από αρκετές χώρες της Ευρώπης.

Είχε πείσει για τα καλά η νύχτα και είχαμε όλοι μας κουραστεί από την πολύωρη αναμονή «για λόγους ασφαλείας» και το ταξίδι από τη Βηρυτό μέχρι την ελεγχόμενη από το συριακό στρατό κοιλάδα Μπεκάα, στο σημείο συνάντησής μας με τον Απο, όπως χαιδευτικά οχεδόν - αποκαλούν οι άντρες του αυτόν τον αυστηρό αρχηγό - πατρική φιγούρα κι έναν από τους πλέον καταξιωμένους ανθρώπους του κόσμου. Ο ίδιος είχε περάσει μετά τη δύση του ήλιου τη μεθοριακή γραμμή Λιβάνου-Συρίας και ήρθε για να μας μιλήσει σε μια φρουρούμενη από οπλισμένα μέλη της οργάνωσής του και νοικιασμένη για την προστασία βίλα στην περιοχή της Μάσνα, δίπλα στο αρμενικό χω-

ριό Αντζάρ, ούτε τρία χιλιόμετρα απόσταση από τα σύνορα. Δίπλα του μετέφραζε από την κουρδική γλώσσα ένας «συμπαθάν» του κουρδικού απελευθερωτικού κινήματος που δήλωσε βρετανικής εθνικότητας.

«Η μόνη περίπτωση να υπάρξει κατάπαυση του πυρός στο τουρκικό Κουρδιστάν είναι αν η Τουρκία δεχτεί να αναγνωρίσει το PKK και να διαπραγματευτεί μαζί μας», ο Αμπντούλα Οτσαλάν φρόντισε να μας το ξεκαθαρίσει από την αρχή. Ο ίδιος τον περασμένο Μάρτιο είχε κηρύξει μονομερή κατάπαυση του πυρός, όμως οι αντάρτες του PKK ξανάρχισαν τον πόλεμο με τις ειδικές δυνάμεις του τουρκικού στρατού στις αρχές Ιουνίου, γιατί «η τουρκική κυβέρνηση αρνήθηκε την από μέρους μας ειρηνική χειρονομία και έστειλε το στρατό να επιτεθεί στα κουρδικά χωριά, επιχειρώντας να μας βγάλει από τη μέση».

Μαζί με την επανέναρξη των εχθροπραξιών άρχισε και η επίθεση του PKK ενάντια στον τουρισμό, μία από τις βασικότερες πηγές εσόδων για την Τουρκία, πραγματοποιώντας βομβιστικές επιθέσεις, στις οποίες τραυματίστηκαν 24 ξένοι τουρίστες, και απαγωγές ενός μικρού αριθμού ξένων πάντα τουριστών, από τους οποίους οι επτά τελευταίοι απελευθερώθηκαν τον περασμένο μήνα. Και σε αυτόν ακριβώς τον τομέα αποφάσισε ο Οτσαλάν να επιμείνει, αποσκοπώντας, όπως μας είπε, «να θέσουμε σε σοβαρό κίνδυνο τις σχέσεις της Τουρκίας με τη Δύση. Γι αυτό και θα εξαπολύσουμε μεγαλύτερης σφοδρότητας επιθέσεις, χτυπώντας τουριστικές εγκαταστάσεις και

κρουαζιερόπλοια, αλλά και εταιρείες που εκπροσωπούν δυτικά συμφέροντα στην Τουρκία. Είμαστε ικανοί να προκαλέσουμε το θάνατο 50 ανθρώπων σε μία μέρα και δεν θα είμαστε υπεύθυνοι εμείς γι' αυτό. Άλλη επιλογή δεν έχουμε».

Εθνικό Κοινοβούλιο

Ο ίδιος δήλωσε απολύτως ευχαριστημένος για τις εξελίξεις του ανταρτοπόλεμου και αισιοδοξώντας μίλησε για «το πρώτο εθνικό Κοινοβούλιο στο Κουρδιστάν, που θα ιδρυθεί μέσα στο 1994, μαζί με μεταβατική πολεμική κυβέρνηση μέχρι το 1995». Για την ώρα όμως τον απασχολούν περισσότερο ζητήματα όπως οι αιχμαλωτίες που συνεχίζονται και ο αριθμός των μαχητών του: «Μέχρι τον ερχόμενο Μάρτιο θα είναι διπλάσιοι. Από 15.000 που είναι σήμερα, θα γίνουν 30.000. Η αντίστασή μας βελτιώνεται συνεχώς. Αυτή τη στιγμή ελέγχουμε όλες τις ορεινές περιοχές του Κουρδιστάν. Οι Τούρκοι έχουν κάθε μέρα καμιά πενταριά νεκρούς, ενώ εμείς χάνουμε δύο, τρεις ή πέντε άντρες».

Ένα από τα μεγαλύτερα στρατόπεδα εκπαίδευσης των μαχητών του PKK υπήρχε στην περιοχή της Γιάντα, στην κοιλάδα Μπεκάα, μέσα στην εδαφική επικράτεια του Λιβάνου μέχρι πέρσι, οπότε περιήλθε στον έλεγχο των συριακών στρατιωτικών δυνάμεων. Ο Αμπντούλα Οτσαλάν μαζί με τους άντρες της προσωπικής του φρουράς ζει με την έγκριση της κυβέρνησης της Συρίας σε ένα από τα προάστια της Δαμασκού:

«Δεν μας χρειαζόταν για αυτό το στρατόπεδο, υποστηρίζει. Έχουμε άλλωστε

πολλά και στο τουρκικό και στο ιρακινό Κουρδιστάν. Δεν πρέπει να παρεξηγηθούν οι σχέσεις μας με τη Συρία, οι οποίες κινούνται σε επίπεδα αμοιβαίου σεβασμού και αλληλοκατανόησης. Μην ξεχνάτε ότι υπάρχει κουρδικός πληθυσμός και στη Συρία, αλλά και το ότι το λιμάνι της Αλεξανδρέττας, που βρίσκεται υπό τουρκική κατοχή, είναι πιο σπουδαίο για τη Συρία από τα Υψίπεδα του Γκολάν, όπως και το θέμα του νερού από τον Τίγρη και τον Ευφράτη, που η Τουρκία επιδίδει να ελέγχει απόλυτα τη ροή τους, πιέζοντας έτσι και τη Συρία και το Ιράκ. Υπάρχει σε εξέλιξη συμμαχία Τουρκίας-Ισραήλ με άμεση προτεραιότητας στόχο τη Συρία. Εμείς θα ανήκουμε σε εκείνους που δεν θα επιτρέψουν σε αυτά τα σχέδια να τελεσφορήσουν. Η Συρία μπορεί να αντιδράσει ενάντια στην Τουρκία».

Αλλά και η ροή του πετρελαίου τον ενδιαφέρει άμεσα: «Δεν πρόκειται να επιτρέψουμε να περάσει από το Κουρδιστάν ο πετρελαιοαγωγός που θα ξεκινά από το Αζερμπαϊτζάν, για να καταλήξει σε τουρκικό λιμάνι στη Μεσόγειο. Η Ρωσία αυτό το ξέρει καλά. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για την επαναλειτουργία του πετρελαιοαγωγού από το Ιράκ προς την Αλεξανδρέττα. Προειδοποιούμε τα ενδιαφερόμενα κонаόστουμ ότι τα λεφτά τους θα χαλάσουν αν επενδύσουν εκεί. Γιατί εκεί θα βρισκόμαστε εμείς. Αλλωστε ο έλεγχος και του "μαύρου χρυσού", αλλά και του "άσπρου χρυσού" θα περάσει και στα δικά μας χέρια».

Φρόντισε να διαψεύσει κατηγορηματικά ότι το PKK χρηματοδοτείται από ξένες χώρες, ανάμεσα στις οποίες και η Ελλάδα, όπως επανει-

λημμένα έχει ισχυριστεί ο τουρκικός Τύπος: «Εμείς ισχυριόμαστε ενάντια σε όλον τον κόσμο - είτε χαρακτηρισικά - ακόμη και ενάντια στην Ελλάδα, γιατί η Ελλάδα είναι μέλος του ΝΑΤΟ όπου ανήκει και η Τουρκία, μια εχθρή της χώρα. Βασίζομαστε στις συνδρομές των δικών μας ανθρώπων, που αφάνονται συνεχώς για να σπρώξουν τον αγώνα μας. Υπάρχει τέτοια κευδαρχία στο λαό μας που αν εγώ ζητήσω από 5.000 Κορδούς να δουλέψουν και ό,τι κερδίζουν από τη δουλειά τους να μας το δίνουν, ξέρω ότι θα το κάνουν. Η μόνη υποστήριξη που απολαμβάνουμε από άλλες χώρες είναι ότι

δεν μας χτυπούν, αλλά μας αφήνουν να υπάρχουμε στα όρια της επικράτειάς τους».

Στη διάρκεια κατ' οδόν συζήτησής μας λίγο αργότερα, ο Αμπντούλα Ουαλάν έστειλε στην κοριολέζια «θερμούς αγωνιστικούς χειρισμούς στο φίλο ελληνικό λαό». Υποσχέθηκε ότι το ΡΚΚ δεν σκοπεύει να κλέψει ελληνικά τουριστικά συμφέροντα στο Αιγαίο.

«Αλλιώςτε - όπως είπα - η επιστράτηγμά μας ενάντια στον τουρκικό τουρισμό, απεικονίζει μάλλον προς όφελος της ελληνικής τουριστικής βιομηχανίας. Θεωρούμε σημαντικό το γεγονός της φιλίας μας με τον ελληνικό λαό και πιστεύουμε ότι η νί-

κη μας θα ωφελήσει και τους Έλληνες. Μοιραζόμαστε αλληλεγγύη απέναντι στον παλιό μας εχθρό, την Τουρκία, για πρώτη φορά. Οι Έλληνες μπορούν να εμπνεστούν και να ελαττώσουν από τον αγώνα μας, με τον οποίο αναπτύσσουμε τη μεγάλη εξ Ανατολών απειλή για την Ελλάδα.

Η Τουρκία δεν έχει και τη σπουδαιότητα που είχε για τη Δύση και συνεπώς δεν πρόκειται να βρει υποστηρίκτες για φέρει σε πέρας τις επιθετικές της βλέψεις προς τους γειτονικούς λαούς. Για πρώτη φορά μπορούμε να πούμε ότι η τουρκική επιθετική πολιτική έχει υποστεί θανατηφόρο πλήγμα».

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Eco.

Le président de la Chambre de commerce iranienne en visite en Allemagne

BONN, 25 oct (AFP) - Le président de la Chambre de commerce et d'industrie iranienne Alinari Khamouchi, est arrivé lundi en Allemagne pour une visite de six jours, alors que les autorités allemandes viennent d'être la cible de critiques britanniques, américaines et israéliennes sur la nature de leurs relations avec Téhéran.

La visite de M. Khamouchi est embarrassante pour l'Allemagne, selon les observateurs, alors que doit s'ouvrir jeudi à Berlin un procès mettant directement en cause la responsabilité des services secrets iraniens dans un quadruple meurtre d'opposants kurdes au régime islamique.

M. Khamouchi, à la tête d'une délégation de 26 responsables économiques, devait rencontrer lundi le ministre de l'Economie de la ville-Etat de Hambourg, Hans-Juergen Krupp.

Il doit également s'entretenir avec le secrétaire d'Etat à l'Economie, Dieter von Wuerzen, ainsi qu'avec le ministre de l'Economie du Land de Rhénanie-Palatinat, Rainer Bruederle, a-t-on appris de source gouvernementale.

Autre motif de gêne pour le gouvernement allemand: un homme d'affaires, Gerhard Bachmann, 56 ans, vice-président de la chambre de commerce irano-allemande, est actuellement en détention en Iran pour espionnage.

Lundi, à Téhéran, le parquet militaire iranien a indiqué que M. Bachmann, représentant de la société MAN, pourrait être libéré sous caution.

Les autorités de Bonn ont récemment fait l'objet de vives remontrances des Etats-Unis, d'Israël et surtout de la Grande-Bretagne à la suite d'une rencontre début octobre à Bonn entre le secrétaire d'Etat allemand à la Chancellerie Bernd Schmidbauer, coordonnateur des services secrets fédéraux (BND) et le ministre des Renseignements iraniens, Ali Fallahian.

Londres avait rappelé que le dialogue politique des pays de la CEE avec Téhéran était conditionné par l'abandon de la condamnation à mort de l'écrivain britannique Salman Rushdie.

fka/chm/ros

AFP 252057 OCT 93

Turkish Probe October 26, 1993

15

Sweden Wants to Come Closer to Turkey

Sweden's Foreign Minister Margretha af Ugglas has been the first Swedish foreign minister paying an official visit to Turkey, with her visit on October 20-21.

The visit of Baroness M. af Ugglas was an indication of Stockholm's decision and will to come closer to Ankara. She believes Sweden has been "a bit late" in establishing an official contact to normalize the relations, but not "too late" to convince the Turkish government for cooperation in its region.

The state of human rights and democracy since the 1980 military coup in Turkey has been the major obstacle to Sweden's relations with Turkey. Sweden was a safe shelter for the members of Turkish fringe left and secessionist Kurdish groups for their activities against Turkey until mid-1980s.

By that time the activity of Turkish left groups there became negligible, while secessionist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) activity was on the rise. The PKK was disturbing enough for the socialist-led government of Olof Palme to denounce the activities of the organization as "terrorism". Palme's decision was disturbing enough for the PKK to put him on their death list.

Palme was killed in February 1986 and a mentally ill person was charged with the assassination, but there are still claims about a possible PKK involvement in the murder.

The PKK is still active in Sweden. Its members are successfully raising funds to contribute to the organization's armed campaign against Turkey -- allegedly including through drug smuggling. They also run big restaurants and companies. Stockholm must be aware of that. The Swedish government does not want the PKK to carry its campaign in Turkey to Sweden. That's why they are now extremely careful in, for example not naming the PKK as a "terrorist" organization, as

Baroness af Ugglas refrained from doing in her joint press conference with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin last Thursday.

Perhaps that was the reason why Çetin has called on af Ugglas not to be taken in by the PKK propaganda. That means the PKK and the Kurdish issue is still a major issue in Sweden's approach to Turkey.

Did the Swedish government observe any improvement in the state of human rights in Turkey, as a justification for trying to normalize relations? The Swedes do not give a clear answer to this question. They prefer to wait for the outcome of the legal rear-

rangements like the Criminal Trials Proceeding Law (CMUK). They seem more optimistic but with strong reservations about violations of human rights in Turkey. The fact that af Ugglas needed to be briefed by a group of expert journalists on foreign policy, human rights and Kurdish matters in Ankara after the completion of the official talks was an indication of that. Then why did Stockholm decide to come closer to Ankara? The answer is in the wind of tremendous political changes that are sweeping the region in which Turkey finds itself in the centre, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Baroness af Ugglas arrived in Ankara over Moscow where she had concentrated on two issues: the recent Russian demands to revise the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement and the turmoil in the Caucasus.



Sweden's FM Margretha af Ugglas

The disintegration of the Warsaw Pact was perhaps a relaxation for the West and Central Europe, because the Russian troops were deployed at least 500 km away. That meant a build up of troops near Scandinavia. Therefore any revision of the CFE will increase Stockholm's concerns about increasing threat from Russia. Swedes think if any tolerance is shown by the West to Russian demands in the Caucasus, those may be followed by more demands for the Baltic region.

That's a common point between Stockholm and Ankara. The Caucasus is the second common point. Af Ugglas will be in the region this week within the framework of the Minsk group, set up to find a peaceful solution for the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and also as the term president of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

And thirdly, Stockholm has an eye on big projects and international tenders opened in Turkey and wants to get more shares for the Swedish companies. Like many other European countries, Sweden has begun to look upon Turkey as an available jumping block and a partner for future projects in the Middle East and the Caucasus. Af Ugglas says she was impressed to see that there was only the Turkish embassy in addition to Russian and American embassies in some Central Asian countries, when she visited them last year.

Coming back to Sweden's usual criticism to Turkey, Baroness af Ugglas believes that her government's reservations on human rights in Turkey, no longer dominates the "values shared by both countries". ■

Turkey wants to import Iraqi oil, survey says

Anatolia/Associated Press

NICOSIA, CYPRUS-Turkey is pressing the United Nations to allow it to import Iraqi oil as Jordan is permitted to do, the Middle East Economic Survey reported Monday.

The respected oil industry newsletter, published in Nicosia, said that Ankara argues that, like Jordan, Turkey was traditionally a major importer of oil from neighboring Iraq and have been badly hurt economically by U.N. sanctions against Baghdad.

Turkish officials estimate that the trade embargo, imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, has cost Ankara some dlr 3 billion a year in lost trade and revenue from pumping Iraqi oil by pipeline to the Ceyhan terminal on the Mediterranean coast.

Jordan, which depended even more heavily on trade with Iraq, is allowed to import some 50,000 barrels of Iraqi oil daily by the U.N. Sanctions Committee.

Western oil industry sources say that Iraq is also trucking

some 30,000 barrels of oil a day to Iran and some 20,000 to Turkey, apparently in violation of the sanctions.

However, MEES did not indicate what volume of Iraqi oil the Turks are seeking.

Turkey closed the oil pipelines from Iraq's Kirkuk fields when the sanctions were imposed and was a key member of the U.S.-led coalition opposing Saddam Hussein.

But in recent months, Turkey has taken a more conciliatory approach to Iraq and is the only member of the coalition to have reopened its Baghdad embassy, though at a low grade.

Although Turkey continues to provide bases for allied warplanes policing the "no-fly zone" over the Kurdish controlled north of Iraq, Ankara is also making determined efforts to improve its relations with Baghdad.

Turkey's new prime minister, Tansu Çiller, said in August her government planned a diplomatic campaign to have the oil embargo against Iraq lifted, although she stressed Ankara planned no unilateral action on this.

A high-level delegation of Turkish businessmen led by former interior minister İsmet Sezgin visited Baghdad last month to discuss ways of boosting trade despite the sanctions.

Turkey and the United States have announced that international sanctions against Iraq must be maintained despite the damage to Turkey's economy from the trade embargo with Baghdad. The announcement was made in a joint statement following Çiller's visit to the U.S. on October 14-19.

Emergency rule to be extended despite opposition from SHP

■ National Security Council says forces successful against terror

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Overriding opposition from within the ruling coalition government, Turkey's National Security Council (MGK) -- made up of military commanders and cabinet ministers -- on Monday decided to advise the government to extend emergency rule in ten provinces for four more months.

The MGK decision came after the junior coalition partner Social Democrat Peoples' Party (SHP) leader and Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın expressed publicly his party's dissatisfaction with the State of Emergency rule in Southeastern Anatolia.

Karayalçın, who attended Monday's MGK meeting, had said earlier that emergency law had been of no use to Turkey, while his party's executives appealed for SHP deputies not to vote for an automatic extension after November 19.

"The MGK" said in a written statement, that an agreement had been reached for advising the government to extend emergency law currently in practice in the provinces of Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Hakkari, Mardin, Siirt, Şırnak, Tunceli and Van.

Although the MGK, a body Turkey inherited from past mi-

litary coup eras, has no jurisdiction, its decisions are almost always automatically endorsed and put into force by the cabinet. Observers say the decision on the extension of emergency rule will be adopted by the Council of Ministers now, and after being approved by Parliament, will go into effect as of Nov. 19. Discussions on the contents of MGK meetings, other than on the official statement, cannot be reported under Turkish law. Monday's statement said Turkey's struggle aimed at containing the terrorism threat was continuing by means of all available methods, and that it had been established that the security forces' moral remained high.

It also noted that the reason for extending emergency rule was to continue the struggle within the principles of a democratic state. In its statement the MGK also thanked the public for its support to the state in its struggle against terrorism.

Kurds threaten to block Turkey-Iraq highway

■ *We are continuing our efforts with all sides. We hope a solution will be found.*

TDN with wire dispatches

BAGHDAD-The United Nations relief agencies in Iraq fear that rebel Kurds in northern Iraq will block the vital Iraq-Turkey highway if Baghdad does not restore electricity to a town they control, a U.N. official said on Monday.

Mohamed Zejjari, U.N. coordinator in Iraq, told Reuters he had tried but failed to dissuade the Kurds in Dahouk from blocking the road if power is not restored to the town.

"This is what they say. I hope they will not do it," he said. Dahouk has had no electricity since allied planes bombed nearby Iraqi anti-aircraft positions in August. Iraq says the raid destroyed power pylons.

Kurds protesting against the lack of power blocked the Iraq-Turkey highway for about two weeks up to October 13 and vowed to block it again if electricity was not restored in two weeks.

"We are continuing our efforts with all sides," Zejjari said. "We hope a solution will be found."

The highway is crucial for transporting U.N. relief aid, mostly intended for Kurds.

It is also a major supply route to the rest of Iraq, which relies on a lucrative food-for-petrol trade with Turkey to alleviate serious food shortages caused by U.N. sanctions imposed on Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War.

Turkey has launched a \$13 million worth of humanitarian assistance to Iraqi Kurds earlier this year in form of food, medicine and school material.

Turkish officials say there are plans to supply electricity to cities in northern Iraq considering the energy shortage there. But they also warn that the activities of the Turkey-based secessionist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Iraq may endanger the continuation of the Turkish assistance to Iraqi Kurds. Iraqi Kurdish leadership recently warned the PKK to terminate its military presence along the Turkish border, which they said, it was triggering Turkish retaliatory air strikes in Iraq.

Selon l'hebdomadaire « Der Spiegel »

Bonn aurait offert une assistance aux services secrets iraniens

BONN

de notre correspondant

L'Allemagne a-t-elle offert une assistance technique aux services secrets iraniens? Des propos en ce sens d'un haut responsable du BND, la centrale des renseignements extérieurs allemands, sont rapportés par l'hebdomadaire *Der Spiegel* dans son édition du lundi 25 octobre.

D'après ces informations, entre-temps démenties par les autorités de Bonn, le BND aurait dépêché, en 1991, des experts à Téhéran pendant deux mois pour compléter la formation de leurs homologues iraniens. A cette occasion, ils auraient délivré gracieusement du matériel informatique. Depuis quelques semaines, Bonn est critiqué par Londres et Washington pour sa bienveillance à l'égard de Téhéran. L'Allemagne a toujours soigné ses relations avec l'Iran, dont elle est le premier partenaire commercial.

Lors d'une visite à Bonn, au début d'octobre, le patron des services secrets iraniens, Ali Fallahian, a longuement rencontré Bernd Schmidbauer, l'homme de confiance de M. Kohl en matière de renseignement. Cette rencontre était-elle

uniquement guidée par de « hautes préoccupations d'ordre humanitaire et politique », comme on l'affirme à Bonn en laissant entendre notamment que l'entremise de l'Allemagne pourrait aider à la libération d'un pilote israélien détenu par l'Iran depuis 1986?

D'après le *Spiegel*, Bonn et Téhéran ont décidé de renforcer leur coopération en matière de renseignement. A l'issue des discussions, Ali Fallahian avait parlé d'une « relation de confiance entre les services de sécurité allemands et iraniens », et souligné que ses interlocuteurs n'avaient pas abordé devant lui les questions humanitaires.

Ali Fallahian est considéré comme l'un des plus importants responsables terroristes dans le monde. La police criminelle allemande le soupçonne notamment d'être l'inspirateur d'un attentat dans un restaurant de Berlin en septembre 1992 où quatre opposants kurdes au régime iranien avaient été tués. Le procès de cinq Iraniens suspectés d'être les auteurs de l'attentat commence cette semaine à Berlin. Bernd Schmidbauer a publiquement affirmé que les autorités iraniennes n'étaient pas impliquées dans cette affaire. - (Interim.)

Le Monde. Mardi 26 octobre 1993

L'Humanité — 27 octobre 1993

Guerre au Kurdistan

Plus de 380 personnes ont été tuées le 22 octobre dans le village de Lice près de Diyarbakir, par l'armée turque, ont affirmé mardi des représentants du Front de libération national du Kurdistan (ERNK). Le village aurait été détruit en représailles à la mort d'un général turc, Bakhiyar Aydin, tué vendredi par les rebelles kurdes à Lice. L'ERNK accuse les autorités turques d'avoir tué le général Aydin pour « réaliser un massacre ». A Paris, 150 Kurdes qui manifestaient mardi devant l'ambassade de Turquie ont été interpellés.

Viewpoint

Today Palestine, tomorrow Kurdistan?

By Yona Sabar

The recent agreement between Israel and the PLO cheered many people all over the world, and rightly so, for even a local conflict affects world peace. One wishes such an agreement for peaceful co-existence, cooperation and mutual recognition of national rights — instead of mutual destruction — will be signed by other nations in the Middle East and elsewhere.

I have in mind the case of the Kurdish people in particular. Their conflict with their neighbors is as old as the Palestinians'. The 1920 Treaty of Sévres, which dismantled the defeated Ottoman Empire, clearly recognized the right of the Kurds to have their own state, and President Woodrow Wilson vigorously promoted the idea of "self-determinations" for all nationalities, "Arabs, Armenians, and the Kurds." There are several Arab states in the Middle East and North Africa, and an Armenian state, but the Kurds were robbed of this right and remain stateless until the present.

In many ways, the plight of the Kurds is much worse than that of the Palestinians. Kurdish territory and the Kurdish people are split by four states — Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria — none of which shows much sensitivity to their Kurdish citizens' national and cultural identity.

The Kurds count about 25 million, speak an Indo-European language and have an ancient culture. The Palestinians are a

couple of million and can speak and maintain their Arabic culture in Israel and anywhere in the Arab world, whereas the Kurds are not allowed to maintain and cultivate their language and culture. In Turkey, at least until recently, they were not even allowed to speak Kurdish in public.

Kurdistan has a long tradition of pluralism, because many oppressed religious sects — Muslim, Christian, Jewish — and ethnic groups escaped to the mountains of Kurdistan to find shelter from the central governments.

Saddam Hussein, who had been systematically destroying Kurdish villages until the end of the Gulf War, had made a condition that he would retreat from Kuwait if Israel would retreat from the occupied territories. He should be equally concerned, or forced to be so, about the freedom of Kurds.

Since the Gulf War, the Kurds have been practicing a true democratic government and a very open and Western style of egalitarian society. However, the Kurds still are waiting for some formal recognition and concrete support from the United States and other countries. I shudder when I think what will happen to the Kurds of Iraq if Saddam Hussein is ever allowed to gain control of them.

One also wonders why the rulers of Iran, who support so vehemently the most extreme Palestinian groups, fail to recognize the national rights of their own Kurdish citizens who

have been continuously repressed.

According to an old Arabic proverb, one should check the neighbors before buying a house. Unfortunately, nations do not have this option, and it seems that the neighbors of the Kurds do not have much goodwill to live with them as equals by recognizing their national and cultural rights.

About one-third of the Kurds live in Eastern Turkey and they have been conducting guerilla warfare against the Turkish army for years, resulting in thousands of casualties on both sides.

Yet, Kurdish leaders with whom I spoke would like very much to have a confederacy with Turkey, for that country at least has some tradition of democracy and saw many benefits resulting for both peoples, including a peaceful eastern border for Turkey.

This option was even discussed last November in the Turkish Parliament and many progressive Turks are sympathetic to it.

However, the Turkish army is entirely against any compromise with the Kurds, obviously fearing a loss of its *raison d'etre*, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Just as the United States and other countries are rightly encouraging the peace process between the Israelis and the Palestinians, so should they do with the Kurds and their neighbors.

Yona Sabar is a professor of near eastern languages and cultures.

LIBÉRATION — MARDI 26 OCTOBRE 1993

TURQUIE

La fuite en avant de la guérilla kurde

Le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, en lutte contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara, lance des offensives tous azimuts contre les militaires turcs avant l'arrivée de l'hiver. Et mise sur la lassitude de l'opinion face à cette «sale guerre».

Istanbul, correspondance

C'est une «sale guerre» d'embuscades et de ratissages, d'opérations punitives et de massacres. Un conflit toujours plus meurtrier comme en témoignent les bilans des «accrochages» entre les rebelles kurdes et l'armée turque. Chaque jour une dizaine de personnes, ou même plus, gendarmes et soldats turcs, militants armés kurdes et surtout des civils sont tués dans ces départements du sud-est de la Turquie peuplés en majorité de Kurdes. Désormais, les journalistes sont interdits de séjour et d'écriture, qu'ils soient turcs ou étrangers. Le 16 octobre, le responsable du PKK pour la zone de Diyarbakir, la capitale du Sud-Est, convoquait la presse dans la montagne, annonçant que ceux qui continueraient à travailler — ou leurs familles — subiraient des représailles.

Avant-hier, un correspondant local du grand quotidien *Milyet* était enlevé «pour avoir négligé» cette injonction. Depuis le début de l'année, 6 journalistes locaux jugés trop favorables à la cause kurde ont déjà été victimes d'enlèvements et d'assassinats par des «inconnus» ou des

groupes islamistes servant de paravent aux services de sécurité d'Ankara. L'armée turque, quant à elle, poursuit ses opérations terrestres et aériennes dans cette région, bombardant systématiquement les zones montagneuses abritant les camps des rebelles. Les bilans triomphalistes annonçant l'élimination de dizaines de terroristes, la saisie d'importantes quantités d'armes et de matériels n'empêchent pas la rébellion de perdurer et de multiplier les attaques.

Le PKK, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, qui mène la lutte armée depuis août 1984 contre le pouvoir central, semble en effet avoir choisi la fuite en avant. Il met toutes ses forces dans la bataille, avant l'arrivée de l'hiver, et lance des offensives tous azimuts contre les militaires turcs et les «gardiens de village», les milices kurdes progouvernementales. «Plus question de proclamer comme en mars dernier un nouveau cessez-le-feu unilatéral. L'armée turque l'a interprété comme un signe de faiblesse. Elle a attaqué sans cesse nos bases et les civils dans les villages et hameaux des monts de Cudi et de Tendürek. Si désormais il peut y avoir un nouveau cessez-le-feu, il doit être bilatéral. Car qui peut nous garantir que l'armée turque ne violera pas encore une fois la trêve», déclarait fin août, Abdullah Ocalan, dit Apo, le

leader du PKK. Pour le PKK, il s'agit en premier lieu de démontrer sa puissance militaire, un an après les grandes opérations lancées par l'armée turque en Irak du Nord, où auraient été démantelées une grande partie de ses bases arrière.

La superpréfecture, responsable de la sécurité des onze départements du Sud-Est anatolien placés sous état d'urgence, évalué à plus de 9000 les «terroristes séparatistes» actifs sur le territoire turc. Le PKK, du propre aveu de ses dirigeants, concentre actuellement l'essentiel de «sa force de frappe» à l'intérieur de la Turquie, notamment dans le triangle Diyarbakir-Van-Kars. «Nous avons assez de munition pour lutter encore cinq ans», déclare le commandant Shemo, responsable de la région d'Amed (Diyarbakir).

L'organisation militaro-politique des Kurdes de Turquie, qui a désormais le soutien matériel et politique d'au moins quatre à cinq millions de Kurdes, a lancé un défi ouvert contre l'Etat turc: «Je suis le vrai maître de la région. C'est moi qui collecte les taxes, c'est moi qui fait la justice, et c'est encore moi qui peut assurer la sécurité dans la région.» Le PKK espère que l'augmentation du nombre de cercueils de soldats turcs tombés

dans le Sud-Est, secouera le reste du pays. Un pari sur l'écoeurement et la lassitude de l'opinion face à une guerre ressentie comme un cancer rongant les ressources du pays et ternissant aussi son image de démocratie moderne «à l'européenne». Mais ce soutien espéré, notamment dans l'intelligentsia, est resté marginal. Pire: une frange croissante de Turcs est devenue non seulement toujours plus hostile au PKK mais aussi à l'ensemble des Kurdes.

Le gouvernement turc de Tansu Ciller mise sur la ligne dure et clame sa volonté «de briser par la force la révolte des terroristes séparatistes». La première dame turque a pris l'initiative de tenir une réunion du gouvernement en juillet dans la préfecture d'Hakkari en plein pays kurde près de la frontière irakienne. Elle se contenta alors d'annoncer le déblocage de crédits économiques pour la région affirmant: «Il n'y a pas de question kurde mais seulement un problème de sous-développement du Sud-Est.» Peu après, elle annonçait que dans les prochains mois le nombre des hommes des «forces spéciales» de la gendarmerie, fer de lance des opérations antiguérilla, serait triplé.

Ragip DURAN

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Turquie-Kurdes

31 personnes tuées par des rebelles dans l'est de la Turquie

ANKARA, 26 oct (AFP) — 31 personnes ont été tuées et 12 blessées lundi soir dans l'attaque d'un village de la province d'Erzurum (est) par des rebelles kurdes, a annoncé mardi l'agence de presse turque semi-officielle Anatolie.

Un groupe de rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) déguisés en gendarmes turcs, selon les témoignages cités par Anatolie, ont attaqué le village de Yavi vers 20h00 locales (19h00 à Paris).

Ils ont rassemblé des jeunes en majorité entre 15 et 30 ans au centre du village avant de les mitrailler et de s'enfuir à bord d'un véhicule à destination de Bingol (ouest d'Erzurum), selon le préfet de d'Erzurum Oguz Berberoglu cité par anatolie.

YM /T

AFP 261020 OCT 93

FRA0222 4 I 0270 TUR /AFP-VN86

Kurdes-Turquie

Plus de 380 morts à Lice, selon le Front de libération national du Kurdistan

BRUXELLES, 26 oct (AFP) - Plus de 380 personnes ont été tuées le 22 octobre dans le village de Lice (région de Diyarbakir, sud-est) par l'armée turque, ont affirmé mardi lors d'une conférence de presse à Bruxelles des représentants du Front de libération national du Kurdistan (ERNK).

Selon l'ERNK, le village a été entièrement détruit alors qu'il n'y avait pas de combats opposant rebelles kurdes et soldats turcs autour du village.

Les autorités turques avaient indiqué qu'un général turc, Bahtiyar Aydin, avait été tué vendredi dernier par les rebelles kurdes lors d'affrontements à Lice. Ces affrontements avaient fait, selon la préfecture de Diyarbakir, neuf morts dont cinq rebelles kurdes.

L'ERNK, lié au Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), a accusé mardi les autorités turques d'avoir tué le général Aydin. "Cette provocation a été mise en scène pour réaliser un massacre et un génocide", selon un communiqué de l'ERNK.

(A Ankara, l'agence de presse semi-officielle Anatolie a annoncé pour sa part mardi que 31 personnes ont été tuées et 12 blessées lundi soir dans l'attaque d'un village de la province d'Erzurum (est) par des rebelles kurdes.

(Un groupe de rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) déguisés en gendarmes turcs, selon les témoignages cités par Anatolie, ont attaqué le village de Yavi vers 20h00 locales (19h00 à Paris) et ont rassemblé des jeunes en majorité entre 15 et 30 ans au centre du village avant de les mitrailler et de s'enfuir.)

YM/jcc

AFP 261219 OCT 93

LE MONDE — 26 octobre 1993

Les ministres de la défense et de l'intérieur ont été remplacés

Le ministre de l'éducation turc, Nahit Mentese - membre de la direction du Parti de la juste voie (DYP) de Tansu Ciller, le premier ministre, - est devenu, dimanche 24 octobre, ministre de l'intérieur en remplacement de Mehmet Gazioglu, nommé ministre d'Etat. Un conseiller de M^{me} Ciller, Mehmet Golhan, auparavant ministre d'Etat, a été nommé ministre de la défense, en remplacement de Nevzat Ayaz, qui a été nommé à l'éducation.

Le ministre de l'intérieur sortant était très critiqué par l'opposition, la presse et même certains députés de la coalition au pouvoir pour son attitude face à l'insurrection

kurde dans le Sud-Est anatolien. Ce remaniement semble indiquer que le gouvernement a l'intention d'intensifier la lutte contre les séparatistes. Il survient après l'annonce de la mort, dans le Sud-Est, d'un général de gendarmerie (*le Monde* daté 24-25 octobre). Le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), à qui cette perte a été imputée, a cependant démenti. En retour, un responsable de la branche militaire du PKK a accusé l'armée d'avoir « commis des massacres » dans Lice, la ville où le général semble avoir été tué.

Par ailleurs, le correspondant à Tunceli, dans l'Est anatolien, du

quotidien *Milliyet* a été enlevé par des rebelles kurdes « pour avoir négligé » leur injonction adressée aux journalistes d'« arrêter toute fonction » dans la région, selon l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche du mouvement kurde, citée dimanche par le quotidien. Enfin, bien que le PKK ait interdit la semaine dernière aux journalistes étrangers comme aux autres de se rendre dans le Sud-Est, un communiqué du comité du Kurdistan de Paris invite les journalistes français à venir « constater la gravité de la situation des populations de la région ». Le comité du Kurdistan se déclare prêt à les aider pour « faciliter leurs travaux sur place ».

- (AFP, AP, Reuter.)

FRA0225 4 GI 0094 FRA /AFP-V033

Turquie-Kurdes-France

Interpellation d'environ 150 manifestants kurdes devant l'ambassade de Turquie à Paris

PARIS, 26 oct (AFP) - Environ 150 manifestants kurdes ont été interpellés mardi à Paris alors qu'ils participaient à une manifestation devant l'ambassade de Turquie, a-t-on appris de source policière.

Les manifestants, qui refusaient de se disperser, ont été interpellés pour procéder à des contrôles d'identité et à l'examen de leur situation, a précisé la même source. Ils ont été confiés à la première division de la police judiciaire.

jcc-pb/jmg

AFP 261223 OCT 93

turkish daily news — Wednesday, October 27, 1993

Çiller: Syria & Iraq source of terror

■ Deputy PM tells SHP deputies Ankara to revise strategy toward these countries

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA - Prime Minister Tansu Çiller on Tuesday pointed the finger at neighboring Syria and Iraq as a source of terrorism, while her deputy, Murat Karayalçın, told his own party group that Ankara had decided to revise its strategy with regard to these countries and Armenia.

The two statements coincided with demands by several opposition parties here to take a more decisive attitude towards foreign countries supporting the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and threaten them if need be to curb their support. Çiller, who spoke at her party's parliamentary group meeting, repeated on Tuesday that the recent terrorist activities in the southeastern region did not necessitate the declaration of martial law at this stage, but she stressed the need for an extension of the state of emergency.

Çiller said that there was no real increase in terrorism but a change of strategy by the terrorists, and that due to approaching winter, separatist terrorists in the mountains were leaving their posts in order to conduct militia actions in the cities.

For the first time, she named Syria and Iraq as sources of terrorism. She said that terrorists were trained in the camps in these countries before they infiltrated Turkey's borders. She also noted that terro-

rism had financial backers in Germany.

Addressing his own party's parliament group meeting, Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Chairman and Deputy Prime Minister Karayalçın referred to the same issue but more clearly. According to sources in Parliament, Karayalçın said Armenia, Syria and Iraq were supporting terrorism and that a decision had been taken at Monday's meeting of the National Security Council to change Ankara's strategy with regard to these three countries. He did not elaborate further.

On Tuesday, all parties represented in Parliament debated terrorism, in what appeared to be a dry-run for today's meeting which will be held at the request of Parliament Speaker Husamettin Cindoruk.

Cindoruk earlier called on party leaders to gather today to discuss recent developments in the Southeast.

As the politicians meet in Ankara, Turkey's generals are visiting the crisis region, apparently to overlook ongoing operations. Chief of General Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş, who following yesterday's MGK meeting left Ankara for Erzurum, arrived in Hakkari on Tuesday.

Accompanied by newly appointed Defense Minister Mehmet Gölhan, Land Forces Commander Gen. İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, Air Forces Commander Gen. Halis Burhan, Navy Forces Commander Admiral Vural Beyazıt and Gendarmerie Commander Gen. Aydın İter, Güreş continued with contacts there.

"Forget martial law. If it becomes necessary, then we will advise the government," Güreş told reporters there.

Çiller on Security:

Referring to the decisions taken at the National Security Council (MGK), Çiller said all units of the state were exerting utmost efforts to fulfil their duties. She said 120,000 soldiers, 15,000 policemen and 30,000 village guards were working against terrorists whom she said were believed to number around 5,000.

Çiller continued that the MGK did not see martial law as necessary at the current stage however it had agreed to extend the state of emergency. She said necessary changes would be made in the Anti-terror Law for determining additional measures to struggle against terrorism. She stressed that amendments would be made in the law for immediate punishment of those who carried out actions against the state, that those who spread terrorist propaganda or targeted persons in their publications would be severely punished, that the security officials who testified in court would be protected. She said that the draft for ensuring swift justice was ready and that it would be sent to Cabinet soon.

Çiller said her office had received information that terrorists pass easily through some border gates. She noted that placing mines along the borders was not sufficient. She said it had been determined that those who were trained in Iran, Syria and Iraq infiltrated Turkey via its borders. She said she and her colleagues had reached an agreement with German officials about the measures to be taken against the terrorists' financial backers in that country. She noted that a Turkish delegation would go to Germany next week in order to take the necessary initiatives for labelling the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) as an outlawed organization. She pointed out that Germany had promised very open support on that issue.

Yılmaz lashes out:

Main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) Chairman Mesut Yılmaz said that there was no room in Parliament for those who did not condemn the PKK which killed innocent people regardless of their being children, women or the elderly, nor

for those who did not advocate Turkey's territorial integrity.

Yılmaz spoke at his party's parliamentary group meeting. He said that during the terrorism summit today, he would remind Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk of his duty in that respect.

Yılmaz said: "If some people who have been sworn-in in this Parliament, who fulfil their duties according to the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, still do not raise their voices as innocent people are killed in one of Turkey's regions, if they do not condemn terrorism, if they do not clearly show that they are for Turkey's territorial integrity, if we do not take the necessary action despite the existence of court orders, if we cannot defend this in the face of America or Europe, then we do not have the right to sit in this Parliament." Yılmaz said he and his colleagues had to solve the terrorism matter even at the cost of suspending their conflict with the government. He said that the state should take the initiative in struggling against terrorism. He claimed that the state was giving the struggle only 20 percent of its capacity. He proposed that the state should be made to act in the armed struggle. He accused the government of not briefing the opposition about happenings.

Ecevit calls for trump card:

Democratic Left Party (DSP) Chairman Bülent Ecevit said Turkey was not experiencing a "Kurdish matter" in its southeastern region. Ecevit delivered a speech at a meeting organized by the Marmara Group in Istanbul. He said that the existing situation in the Southeast partially stemmed from the feudal structure in the region and that it was an externally backed problem. Noting that the PKK attacks have recently moved toward Armenia, Ecevit said Turkey failed to use two of its trump cards after the Gulf War to overcome the economic hardship after the war. He said Turkey remained silent in the face of those attacks.

Referring to some proposals put forward by some circles that Kurds should establish their own political parties, Ecevit said, as a matter of fact,

that Kurds' having their own parties is not banned in Turkey. However, establishing a party based on ethnical roots will not bring democratization but problems. He added that he is against holding local elections in the Southeast unless the existing conditions are changed.

Baykal trusts the people:

Republican People's Party (CHP) Chairman Deniz Baykal, who spoke at the CHP group, said no method other than democracy should be introduced to solve the matter in the Southeast. Baykal said not the tanks or guns, but the people's preference would help solve the problem.

Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Sivas Deputy Azimet Köylüoğlu proposed the founding of a terrorism crisis center at party headquarters. He claimed that the government and some media remained insensitive in the face of the recent terrorist incidents in the region.

Meanwhile, President Süleyman Demirel, who delivered a speech during the opening of a business center in Izmir, said Turkey is a democratic state and that all Turkish citizens enjoy the same equal rights. He asked what the fight is for.

Karayalçın says no surrender:

Meanwhile, addressing his own party group in Parliament, Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) chairman, Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın, said his party would adopt neither a "give-and-save-yourself" nor a "hit-and-save-yourself" option for the Southeast.

"We are for neither of those options. For we neither have territory to give away nor citizens to kill. We simply cannot choose either," he said.

Karayalçın added that his party would determinedly stand up against such approaches to the Southeast question. "We are the ones to solve the problem. Through democratic, brotherly, peaceful debate respectful of human rights, we are going to solve this problem," Karayalçın affirmed.

The SHP leader said that whatever was within the borders drawn at the time of the declaration of the Turkish Republic "is ours," adding "We are

going to defend them against whoever attempts to snatch them away from us."

Karayalçın advised state officials not to "fall into the trap set by terrorism," calling on security forces to show love and respect to the ordinary people "in order to isolate the terrorists."

"Love must be our most effective weapon," he added. Karayalçın said the PKK had recently targeted constitutional institutions and committed terrorist acts against ordinary people.

"Acts that involve small risks," Karayalçın said, "there are almost no risks involved when you raid villages, kill babies, ambush people travelling on highways."

He added the discussion of security aspect of the issue by the National Security Council (MGK) was normal.

"The MGK was formed to discuss that aspect. What would be worrying, however, is to take up other aspects of the issue at MGK meetings. Other aspects should be discussed by politicians. They cannot, must not, be on the MGK agenda," Karayalçın argued. The SHP chairman called for a comprehensive debate over the Kurdish question in order to come up with a solution to the problem, adding that any institution trying to bar such discussion should be opposed.

"To say that security forces are handling the issue, that there is nothing to talk about, would be falling into the trap of terrorism. When terrorist activity is over, will problems end in the Southeast?" asked Karayalçın.

He added the government was not considering only the security aspect of the problem and had not entrusted only the security forces with its solution. Karayalçın said the unemployed youth of the Southeast were being recruited by the PKK.

"Economic problem cannot be solved through promises for jobs by government officials every time they travel to the region. That practice has become something of a bribe," he said. Karayalçın urged a concerted drive for more civilian investments in the region. He added that his party did not govern the country alone, adding that its sensitivity could not thus be expected to fully manifest itself in governmental conduct.

Hürriyet: PKK declares martial law in the Southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Despite the recent debate in Ankara on whether martial law is required for the Southeast, the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has already imposed it in the region, a Hürriyet report said on Tuesday.

"Debate over whether to declare martial law in the Southeast has intensified, yet martial law in the region is already in force -- one imposed by the PKK," Koray Düzgören, one of the newspaper's most reliable reporters said from the region. "If the state declares martial law, this will only aggravate the conditions prevalent there. An exodus from the region seems inevitable unless life is restored to normal," he wrote. The following is a translation of Düzgören's article that appeared in the Hürriyet on Tuesday:

It appears that unless an appropriate reaction is shown, the PKK will impose further bans, following its bans on the press

and political parties [in the Southeast]. Perhaps they will enlarge the scope of the ban on alcoholic beverages and smoking that they have declared in certain parts of the region.

Joking aside, these bans indicate that the PKK aims to bring about a state of affairs where mercy is neither asked for nor given. Yet at the end of such an escalation of violence, the PKK may renew its call for a cease-fire. At this stage, it is futile to search for logic in the decisions made. The fact that its ban on the press and political parties could backfire does not worry the PKK much.

Martial law favorable to PKK

[The PKK] is determined to increase violence in the war. So it would welcome martial law, because this is conducive to more bloodshed.

In fact, martial law imposed by the PKK on its people has been raging for a long time. What is more, unlike ours, the PKK's

particular brand of martial law does not heed certain legal regulations. The Kurds living in the region have grown sick and tired of it.

Martial law that could be declared by the state would only aggravate the situation. The region has been oppressed by declarations of martial law and emergency rule for 12 years. And for the past four to five years, the PKK's martial law has been part of daily life.

The average Kurd, who wants to lead a happy life and secure a bright future for his children, wants the state -- the government if you like -- to come up with a solution. Unless this is done, it appears inevitable that half the population will desert the region in the near future.

What might happen

■ Newspapers cannot be distributed through normal channels in such provinces as Diyarbakır, Batman and Cizre. They are sold by police in police stations.

■ In certain provinces, a PKK ban on alcoholic beverages and smoking is in force. In Cizre and Batman, the ban is being strictly enforced.

■ In many areas, the average citizen does not refer his case to a state court. Cases are deliberated by local PKK committees.

■ Owing to PKK pressure, people do not pay their electric, telephone or water bills in many areas. The state and municipalities demand billions of lira for these bills but can take no action whatsoever to collect the money.

■ The PKK collects taxes from small businesses. Taxes are determined by local PKK headmen. Approximately 70 percent of the taxes collected are sent to the PKK headquarters. Word is that corruption has been rife within the organization with respect to tax collection.

■ The PKK is expected to impose new bans while easing its ban on the press. Sometimes public servants, teachers and imams [state-appointed prayer leaders] are asked to resign and leave the region.

■ The PKK is likely to continue with village and town raids. Such bloody acts of violence are believed to help the organization recruit more militants and serve as morale boosters.

■ Shops close earlier now, even in Diyarbakir province. Local people strive to return home before evening falls.

■ Local people try to avoid state highways in the afternoon. Unless it is an absolute necessity, they do not travel on inter-city roads.

■ Railway transportation has nearly stopped. New armored wagons are expected for the "Kurtalan Express."

■ Social activities have ceased. Wedding ceremonies are held in the mornings.

■ State investments have come to a halt. Because contractors have fled the region, almost no construction is underway, including the Batman dam.

■ Banks refuse to give loans to local people. When they do give loans, they ask people to mortgage real estate in the

western parts of the country, if possible.

■ Insurance agencies usually refuse to insure property and real estate in the region. When they do, they demand exorbitant premiums.

■ Because of burned school buildings, threatened and murdered students, educational activity in the region has become almost impossible.

PKK continues its massacres

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) attacked a coffeehouse packed with civilians watching the news on television, killing 31 people, Anatolia news agency said Tuesday. The terrorists apparently targeted the village of Yavi because many of its Kurdish residents have reportedly sided with the government in its battle to end the decade-long insurgency. The attack Monday night also coincided with a visit of Turkey's chief of staff, Gen. Doğan Güreş, to the provincial center of Erzurum, some 80 kilometers (32 miles) north of Yavi. Officials said the death toll in 24 hours of violence in southeastern Turkey was more than 45, including the recent murders.

In separate incidents, a group of Kurdish terrorists raked the occupants of a passenger-bus with automatic weapons-fire near Erzurum on Monday night, killing

four people and injuring 12.

Separatist terrorists also killed four people when they fired on the occupants of a passenger-bus on the Bingöl-Elazığ highway.

In another incident on Tuesday, PKK terrorists killed four teachers and a three-year-old child in a village in Bitlis province.

Two teachers were also killed and two others were abducted by Kurdish terrorists in Ağacları village in Diyarbakır's Kulp township.

The mayor of Muş' Serinova township, Ahmet Güven, from the ruling True Path Party (DYP), and four teachers were also kidnapped by the PKK militants in the Serinova township of Muş province.

More than 8,000 people have died since the PKK launched a campaign of violence in 1984 for self-rule in the southeastern region of Turkey.

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Turquie-Kurdes-presse

Libération d'un journaliste enlevé par le PKK à Tunceli

ANKARA, 27 oct (AFP) — Un correspondant à Tunceli (est) du quotidien turc Milliyet enlevé samedi dernier par des rebelles kurdes a été relâché mardi par ses ravisseurs, a-t-on appris de source kurde à Ankara.

Ferit Demir, 23 ans, avait été enlevé par des hommes du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) "pour avoir négligé" leur injonction adressée aux journalistes d'"arrêter toute activité professionnelle" dans le sud-est, avait indiqué l'agence Kurd-Ha, proche du mouvement kurde.

Il a été libéré par ses ravisseurs mardi dans une zone rurale non loin de la ville de Tunceli, a précisé la source kurde à Ankara.

YM/bm/jcc

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TURQUIE-KURDES**Lourd bilan à Lice**

Plus de 380 personnes ont été tuées le 22 octobre dans le village de Lice (région de Diyarbakir), par l'armée turque, selon des représentants du Front de Libération Nationale du Kurdistan (ERNK) qui donnaient une conférence de presse mardi à Bruxelles. Selon l'ERNK, le village a été entièrement détruit alors qu'il n'y avait pas de combats opposant rebelles kurdes et soldats turcs autour du village, où se serait déroulé le même sinistre scénario qu'à Cizre, au début de l'année.

Les autorités turques avaient toutefois fait état d'affrontements ces jours derniers autour de ce village, au cours desquels un général turc, Bahtiyar Aydin, aurait été tué vendredi par des rebelles kurdes (voir GAMK des 25-26 octobre 1993). Ces affrontements auraient fait neuf morts, dont cinq rebelles kurdes, selon la préfecture de Diyarbakir.

L'ERNK, lié au Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), a accusé mardi les autorités turques d'avoir tué le général Aydin. "Cette provocation a été mise en scène pour réaliser un massacre et un génocide", selon un communiqué de l'ERNK.

En réponse aux accusations de "purification ethnique" lancées par le PKK et les organisations kurdes sympathisantes, les autorités turques font état de massacres perpétrés de plus en plus fréquemment par les rebelles du PKK contre des civils. A Ankara, l'agence de presse semi-officielle "Anatolie" annonçait ainsi mardi que 31 personnes avaient été tuées et 12 blessées lundi soir dans l'attaque d'un village de la province d'Erzurum par les rebelles kurdes. Selon Anatolie, un groupe de rebelles kurdes du PKK, déguisés en gendarmes turcs, aurait attaqué le village de Yavi tard dans la soirée et aurait rassemblé des

jeunes en majorité entre 15 et 30 ans au centre du village avant de les mitrailler et de s'enfuir. Quand bien même elles seraient vérifiées, ces informations visent à discréditer une rébellion armée kurde qui jouit pourtant d'un prestige grandissant dans les régions peuplées majoritairement de Kurdes, en raison de la répression exercée par le pouvoir central d'Ankara.

A l'approche de l'hiver, qui amène traditionnellement une trêve dans ces régions très enneigées, les affrontements s'intensifient. Mais cette année, l'hiver risque d'être d'autant plus chaud dans cette région que les journalistes turcs et étrangers, après les touristes, ont été "interdits" de séjour par le PKK; ce qui ne devrait d'ailleurs pas déranger outre mesure les forces de l'ordre turques, qui n'ont jamais vraiment apprécié la présence de journalistes étrangers, témoins gênants et suspects de collaboration avec le PKK. Pris sous le tir croisé des menaces d'enlèvement du PKK et d'emprisonnement des soldats turcs, les journalistes n'ont pas vraiment le choix.

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France-Kurdes-CEE

Kurdes : La FIDH et France-Libertés adressent un message à Willy Claes

PARIS, 28 oct (AFP) - La Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme (FIDH) et la Fondation France-libertés de Mme Danielle Mitterrand soulignent "la gravité de la situation" considérée comme un "commencement de génocide" des Kurdes dans le sud-est de la Turquie, dans une lettre adressée au président du Conseil de la Communauté européenne Willy Claes.

Soulignant la "dégradation régulière de la situation des droits de l'homme" dans cette région de la Turquie, les deux organisations humanitaires demandent dans cette lettre envoyée mercredi --et rendue publique jeudi à la veille du Conseil européen-- que soit recherchée, "avec l'ensemble des partenaires européens, les moyens appropriés pour que soit mis fin au massacres en cours et, également, pour que puissent être réunies, dans de brefs délais, les conditions d'une résolution politique et pacifique du conflit".

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Thursday, October 28, 1993

Demirel to public: Don't panic

- **President says no one should even consider the idea of dialogue with PKK**
- **Signals that there will be no "privileges" for Kurds of Turkey, especially under terrorism**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- President Süleyman Demirel said on Wednesday that terrorism is the biggest problem facing the country. He added, however, that Turkey had the power to overcome this problem, and called on the public "not to get gripped with the fear of terrorism."

"No one should even consider the idea of sitting down to negotiate with bandits" he said, signalling that there is no way that a dialogue of any sort will be initiated with the outlawed Kurdistan Worker's party (PKK).

Demirel also signalled that there would be no "privileges" granted to the Kurds of Turkey, especially under the current conditions of terrorism.

"If the impression is given that some circles are receiving certain privileges under pressure, then we will have great difficulties in keeping the peace in the country and maintaining public order," Demirel said.

He nevertheless tried to emphasize that no one should think that this problem can not be solved within democracy. Reading out a prepared text prior to answering questions, Demirel said that for the 10 years of separatist terrorism 2270 security officers and 3144 citizens had been listed as killed as of 20 October 1993.

"The state is under attack and as any state that is under attack it is its duty to counter this, make it ineffective and restore peace and stability" Demirel said.

He said that the fact that 4517 terrorists had been killed and (barring the ones that had been killed in cross border operations) and that 2811 of them had been placed under arrest testified that the state was doing its duty.

Demirel emphasized that the state remained within the bounds of its laws in doing so and expended the utmost care not to hurt its citizens.

"The state remains on its job with all its institutions. Now the responsibility of the Turkish citizen is not to panic, to retain a coldblooded stance in the face of what is happening... and to continue supporting the forces of the state" Demirel said.

Demirel said it should not even be considered that the Turkish Republic is incapable of overcoming this problem.

"The aim of those who are instigating and carrying out this bloody terror. The minute you ask 'how many ways are there to overcome this' then the state will be enfeebled" Demirel said. President Demirel said there was only one way to overcome this problem and that is "to incapacitate

te this gang of killers that are trying to lift the sovereignty of the state."

"No solution which will lead to the splitting up of the nation should be considered a solution. That would be surrender" Demirel said.

Demirel said that they would also not allow a certain group of people to use democracy as a shield in order to divide the country.

"Democracy is not in the service of dividing the country. To the contrary it is the solution to unifying the country," Demirel added.

Demirel called on the public, parliament, the press and all other organizations to continue to help the state in order for its struggle against terrorism to take on the appearance of an all out struggle.

Demirel answered questions put to him after ending his prepared address.

Reminded that shortly after coming to power as Prime Minister in 1991 he had told reporters while visiting Diyarbakır that he "recognized the Kurdish reality," and asked what he understood from this statement, Demirel said "there are people who are of Kurdish origin in Turkey."

"In Turkey there are people who say 'I am a Kurd.' As opposed to this there is no grounds for saying 'No you are not a Kurd.'" Demirel said.

He added that the important thing is for the Kurd to know that he is a citizen of this republic and that he has equal rights with those who say they are not Kurds.

"To those who say 'I am a Kurd' we say of course you are a Kurd. This is what I am saying. If I wanted to say any more than this I would have done so. Since that day (in Diyarbakır) this is all I said (about the Kurdish reality). I did not say anything else. No one will get a comment from me which will lead to the division of Turkey. Not a word" Demirel said. Asked what he meant when he said that Brigadier General Bahtiyar Aydın, who was shot dead in the township of Lice in the Southeast recently, had been killed by an accidental bullet Demirel said his statement was based on information he had received from the military.

"After the incident I went to the Chief of Staff's office. What was said to me in connection with the incident was that this was not a bullet that had been shot as a result of someone having taken an aim. This bullet is defined as a stray or an accidental bullet."

Indicating that this incident was a matter of coincidence Demirel said it was clearly not planned.

"There is no way for anyone to have known the General was going to be there or climbing the stairs that he was climbing

when he was shot" Demirel said.

The military had said that General Aydın, who was the commander of the Gendarmerie forces in Diyarbakır had been assassinated, during clashes between security forces and PKK militants in Lice.

Demirel's statement to the effect that Aydın had died as a result of an accidental bullet had led to confusion and speculation in the media as to the real cause of the general's death.

Demirel was then asked if the presence of the so called multinational "Hammer Force" in Southeast Turkey had enabled PKK militants to use Northern Iraq for striking Turkey.

Hammer force is the name by which "Operation Provide Comfort" is known in Turkey. This operation is a leftover from the time of the Gulf War and was first set up to protect northern Iraqi Kurds against Iraqi forces.

Demirel denied such speculation and pointed out that it was Turkey which had first asked for the allies to come to Turkey and embark on this operation.

"In northern Iraq there are 2.5-3 million Kurds, Turcomans, and people of Arab origin. These people have relationship ties with the people on our side of the border. Our leaving these people to their own fate will lead to new massacres. We consider all the people there as our brothers. We don't want them to be left facing massacres again" Demirel said. Asked about the involvement of the countries in the region in PKK terrorism in Turkey Demirel said that this was of second priority.

"Our problem is not with just Iraq, Iran or Syria. First it is in our own mountains. They are there too and I am not underestimating (the problem with neighboring countries). But first we must incapacitate the bandits in our own mountains," Demirel said.

Asked if there was a possibility of martial law being declared in the Southeast, President Demirel pointed out that the National Security Council had met just a few days ago and had not recommended martial law.

He added, however, that martial law was a constitutional measure and could be decided on in a democracy according to procedures laid down in the Constitution and according to whether there was need for declaring it or not. As for the current rumors about a coup Demirel said that military coups had not done a service to Turkey because they had interrupted the development of democracy in the country and had tarnished the country's image abroad.

He said that if the former coups in Turkey had done any good then the problems being faced by the country would not have existed.

Kurdish issue**SHP takes stand against hardliners**

- **Karayalçın urges "democratic solutions" on Kurdish issue in addition to military security methods**
- **Possible SHP-CHP merger may strengthen the social democratic stand for a different handling of the problem**

By Murat Yetkin

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The junior coalition partner Social Democratic People's Party (SHP) has taken a stand against hardline solutions to the Kurdish problem, as Ankara opts for more military options.

The difference in opinion between SHP and senior coalition partner True Path Party (DYP) is reportedly growing. The dissension follows recent decisions by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) to ban the media and political activities in parts of the Southeast, as well as the incidents in Lice and Erzurum. The majority of DYP deputies in Parliament are ruling out all but military means in dealing with the Kurdish issue.

They have recently supported a proposal by the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) to lift the parliamentary immunities of the pro-Kurdish Democratic Party (DEP) deputies, accusing them of being extensions of the PKK

in Parliament.

But the SHP preferred to send a high-ranking investigative team to the Southeast on Wednesday to find out what really happened in Lice and Erzurum.

SHP leader Murat Karayalçın voiced his party's stand in a speech he gave in Parliament on Tuesday. Karayalçın said that the SHP would adopt neither a "give-and-save-yourself" nor a "hit-and-save-yourself" option to the Kurdish problem. He also said that a solution could be found through a "democratic, brotherly, peaceful debate, respectful of human rights." Karayalçın's words contradicted those of President Süleyman Demirel and Chief of Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş.

President Demirel said on Tuesday that Turkey's stability will be disrupted if the impression is given that "some circles receive certain privileges under pressure." The term "to give privileges" is often used in reference to debates that give Kurds in Turkey the right

to have radio and TV broadcasts in Kurdish and receive education in their own language. Taking a clearer and harder stand, Gen. Güreş said in Diyarbakır on Tuesday that the militant and logistics units of the PKK should either "surrender or die."

"It's a pity that most of them are mislead youths," Güreş said. "But there is no other way out of this problem. This is my last warning to them to give themselves up."

Highlighting the need to struggle against terrorism, Karayalçın questioned the validity of "only a military" option in dealing with the Kurdish issue and asked whether the problems of the dominantly Kurdish-populated Southeast will end if terrorism is defeated.

Pointing at efforts toward a merger between the SHP and the Republican People's Party (CHP), political observers in Ankara underline that such a merger may strengthen the social democratic stand to promote political, social and economic ways to solve the Kurdish problem and military methods against the PKK to maintain security.

SHP has 53 seats, while CHP has 20 seats, in the 450-seat Turkish Parliament. The CHP split from the SHP in 1992, weakening SHP's position in the coalition government.

Turkey prepares stronger measures against terrorism*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Turkey is moving toward introducing longer jail terms and higher fines on terrorism crimes, in a major amendment to the counter-terrorism law. The law will also deliver a serious blow to press freedoms. The decision was made on Monday at a meeting of the National Security Council (MGK).

The amendments, as listed by *Hürriyet* newspaper on Wednesday, are in the form of bans on the freedom of speech and expression of opinion. Government sources say once it is introduced, it will be enforced to the fullo letter of the law.

Hürriyet newspaper summarized the new articles as below:

- Those who establish clandestine organizations shall face imprisonment of up to 10 years and be fined up to TL 500 million. Those who commit crimes in the name of such organizations shall pay fines of up to TL 300 million as well as serving prison terms. Those who aid and abet, propagate or extend financial assistance to such organizations shall receive sentences of three to five years imprisonment and be fined up to TL 100 million. If financial assistance is extended to such organizations by associations, political parties, labor unions or the like, they shall be closed down and their property confiscated.

- Owners of newspapers or magazines that promote outlawed organizations shall pay fines of TL 200 to 500 million. Editors and owners shall

be fined half the amount but shall also serve prison terms of six months to two years. Furthermore, their newspapers and magazines shall remain closed for periods ranging from three days to one month. In cases where the crime is repeated, fines and sentences shall be doubled.

- Those who spread printed or verbal propaganda or attend demonstrations aiming to topple the secularist state apparatus or violate the territorial integrity of the country shall be sentenced to the maximum five years imprisonment and fined the maximum TL 100 million.

- The number of lawyers acting for those suspects being tried for terrorist crimes shall be limited by the judge. Until public prosecution starts, the judge shall be authorized to forbid notification of the suspect, if need be, of certain details pertinent to his individual case. The judge shall be present at meetings where the suspect consults with his lawyer.

- Security officials who interrogate suspects and determine the nature of the crimes committed shall, if the judge deems it necessary, testify at secret sessions.

- Suspects convicted of terrorist crimes shall serve their sentences in maximum security prisons with rooms for one to three prisoners. Convicts shall not be allowed privately to meet visitors. They shall be prevented from contact with other

prisoners and the exchange of information amongst them shall be prohibited. Those who become entitled to certificates of good conduct halfway through their terms shall be eligible for transfer to other prisons.

- Priority in employment shall be given to soldiers disabled in action. The spouses, children, or siblings of those martyred in action shall also enjoy priority employment.

- Prison terms of one to three years shall be given to those who aid and abet outlawed organizations and participate in protest action on their behalf. Those who close their shops as part of such protest shall be forbidden to reopen their businesses for a period of six months. Those taxi drivers who participate in protest action by refusing to carry passengers shall be barred from circulation for up to six months.

- Prison terms for those who make statements detrimental to state interests shall be increased.

- The detention period of those detained on suspicion of involvement in terrorist activity shall be increased.

- All property belonging to terrorist organizations shall be confiscated.

- An Anti-Terrorism Fund shall be established. Allocations from other funds, the budget, the National Lottery, and similar organizations shall be used to finance the project.

- Security officials wounded in action and the spouses and children of those killed in clashes with terrorists shall receive a monthly income.

- Those members of outlawed organizations who surrender to security forces, having otherwise committed no crimes, and inform the security forces of the activities of their organizations shall not be convicted. The so-called Repentance Law, extended every two years, shall thus be accorded permanent status.

Prince Charles condemns Iraq, calls for understanding of Islam

Reuters

OXFORD, England- Prince Charles accused Iraq on Wednesday of repressing southern Marsh Arabs but called for Western understanding of the Islamic world as a whole. In a rare and outspoken foray into foreign policy issues, the British royal heir expressed outrage at Iraq's reported crack-down on its own people and called for international action to avert a "total cataclysm" in their southern marsh environment. Iraqi opposition groups accuse the forces of President Saddam Hussein of launching several offensives against the Marsh Arabs since they provided refuge to minority Shiite rebels after the Gulf War.

The prince's appeal came in a wide-ranging speech in which he paid tribute to the historical importance of Islam and warned Westerners against equating it with extremist fundamentalism. "I confess that for a whole year I have wanted to find a suitable opportunity to express my despair and outrage at the unmentionable horrors being perpetrated in southern Iraq," he declared.

Speaking in the university town of Oxford, he said the draining of the marshes was deliberate repression of the southern people, dismissing Hussein's claim that the operation was agricultural. "How many more obscene lies do we have to be told before action is taken?" he asked.

"Even at the 11th hour it is still not too late to prevent a total cataclysm. I pray that this might at

least be a cause in which Islam and the West could join forces for the sake of common humanity," he said. He did not elaborate on the form of action he was seeking.

The Iraqi government has denied reports that its forces have launched attacks on the area.

The prince, 44, pays an official visit to the Arab world in 10 days' time, touring states that joined the U.S.-led Gulf War alliance against Iraq over its invasion of Kuwait. It is rare for a top-ranking royal to broach foreign policy in public as the British monarchy traditionally stays out of politics. The international community has come under criticism for not setting up safe havens for southern Iraqis like the protective zones established for the northern Kurds, a target of Iraq's army.

Prince Charles also called for greater tolerance and understanding between the West and the Arab world to contain a threat of increasing civil conflict like the three-way battle in former Yugoslavia between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. Speaking as patron of the university's Islamic Studies Center, he said: "We must not slide into a new era of danger and division because governments and peoples, communities and religions cannot live together in a shrinking world. "Our understanding of Islam has been grossly distorted by taking extremes to be the norm," he added, accusing the media of promoting "unthinking prejudice" in reporting the Muslim world.

President Demirel: Trust the state

Says 11,000 killed in 10 years, calls for calm , warns against any concessions to terror

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Marking the 70th anniversary of the Turkish Republic, President Süleyman Demirel said on Thursday that around 11,000 people had been killed in 10 years of separatist violence in the Southeast region. His death toll for 10 years of terrorism was even higher than the total number of Turks killed in the War of Liberation, which led to the establishment of the Turkish Republic. He said, however, that no one should panic and confidence in republican order should continue.

In a speech he made on the national radio and television, the president called on all citizens to continue to believe in Turkey and to have trust in their future.

He noted, however, that terrorism was the country's priority issue and that what everyone should do now is to be calm, not panic and defend democracy.

Demirel said that in 10 years of violence in the Southeast, a total of 2,270 security personnel, 3,144 citizens and 4,517 terrorists had been killed. He said the terrorist death toll did not include those killed in cross-border operations. Demirel added that 2,811 terrorists had been captured, wounded or had surrendered.

"The Turkish Republic will overcome this problem by protecting democracy," the president said. "There is no deficiency of strength in the democracy."

He warned, though, that no measure which would lead to the division of the country would be accepted and criticized those attempting to divide Turkey under the mask of democracy. "I say this openly ... no one should even consider bargaining with the terrorists. No one should even think of concessions in the form of measures which will lead to division. Or no one should even think that this problem cannot be overcome within democracy," Demirel said. "No one should think democracy will divide this country," he added.

The president appealed to the whole nation and all institutions to support the state in its battle with terrorism. In his national address, Demirel also emphasized the achievements of Turkey under republican order and said the target for per capita income was \$5,000 in the year 2000. He said to achieve this, Turkey's growth rate had to be over 5 percent and that the population increase rate had to be pulled back to 1 percent. Demirel also emphasized the state's determination to renew itself in all fields, including national defense.

turkish daily news

Friday, October 29, 1993

Here's a Better Road for Turkey to Travel

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — She is intelligent, personable and articulate. Turkey's new prime Minister, Tansu Ciller, an economist trained in the United States, wowed 'em on television and in private meetings here on her recent visit to America. Unfortunately, the central message that she and her advisers brought to the White House was unworthy of the proud Turkish people.

It is this: The cutoff of the oil

Prime Minister Tansu Ciller wants to do business with Saddam.

pipeline to Iraq, part of the world's sanctions on Saddam Hussein, is costing Turkey billions. Mrs. Ciller wants the United States, as the chief Desert Stormer, to arrange to recompense Turkey for this cost.

Otherwise — and here's the zinger that shows how little this Turkish government understands alliances — Turkey might not extend its agreement to permit its airfields and supply routes to be used to protect and feed Iraqi Kurds in Operation Provide Comfort.

Although not presented as a quid pro quo, the point was blunt: Pay us the money, and we let you keep on preventing Saddam Hussein from slaughtering the Kurds beginning to build an autonomous democracy on the dictator's land.

That goes beyond realpolitik to real blackmail. But an ally whose cooperation is for sale is available for alliance to a higher bidder, and other nations know that. Relationships that rely on immediate mutual back-scratching never become "special."

In her hard sell, the prime minister went further. Saddam, she told one and all, is growing more popular in Iraq day by day. The sanctions are not working. She wants to do business with him, and never mind the regional threat.

President Bill Clinton and his

advisers did not express irritation at being presented with a big bill for continued parking in Turkish airports. That is because Turkey is the secular Muslim nation that stands in contrast to Iran's fanatic fundamentalism, and those two models are battling for the future of the Turkic-speaking nations along Russia's southern rim.

The West needs Turkey for a related reason: The Russian reformers are in danger of creating a Yeltsin-Grachev regime. The Russian president, in debt for his political existence to the chief of the armed forces, is letting the former Red Army reach into the former Soviet empire to re-establish Moscow's control, ostensibly to enforce order or to protect Russian "near-abroads."

Turkey's stability would be vital if Containment II comes to pass. But an alliance is a two-way street; Turkey's leaders are as worried as

Washington is about a resurgence of Moscow imperialism.

Underlying Mrs. Ciller's programmed pleas for appeasement of Saddam is her own military's decision to escalate the crack-down on the PKK — terrorist Kurds in Turkey who demand instant independence.

One Turk in six is a Kurd; the great majority want to live as citizens of Turkey, free to express their Kurdish cultural heritage and speak their own language. But the shortsighted army leaders, by overreacting to the terrorists, by suppressing the Kurdish identity of all Turkish Kurds, by raiding Kurdish villages in Iraq while restraining hot pursuit of the PKK in Syria, Iran or Armenia — are making the classic mistake of driving moderates into the radical camp.

The democratically elected Prime Minister Ciller, mindful of past army takeovers, told me deter-

minedly: "There will be no more coups in Turkey." Let's hope not; but as Kurds and their supporters see it, Ankara's military has already taken control of this government's Kurdish policy. Mrs. Ciller's recent predecessors were harder for the army leaders to push around.

Strange, how this ancient, homeless Kurdish people — 20 million in a half-dozen countries — is again at the nexus of geostrategy. The Turks worry that if the Iraqi Kurds build a democratic state, Turkish Kurds may want the same, so Turkey sends the United States an intolerable bill for helping save Iraqi Kurds from genocide.

Wrong. If Mrs. Ciller reverses course and helps Iraqi Kurds achieve prosperous autonomy — and by so doing encourages their ethnic brethren to be loyal Kurdish Turks — the first female Turkish prime minister will be remembered not as a clumsy ally-for-sale but as a new Atatürk.

The New York Times.

LE MONDE — 29 OCTOBRE 1993

Accrochage à la frontière turco-iranienne : 67 morts

Soixante sept personnes — cinquante-sept rebelles kurdes et dix soldats turcs — ont été tuées, mardi soir, dans un accrochage à la frontière turco-iranienne, quand un groupe de séparatistes a attaqué un poste de la gendarmerie.

L'accrochage qui a éclaté par la suite a fait 17 morts dans les rangs des rebelles qui ont perdu quarante autres des leurs dans une chasse-poursuite de l'armée turque, selon un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir, responsable des provinces sous état d'urgence de l'Est et du Sud-Est anatoliens.

TURQUIE

La rébellion kurde aurait fait 10 000 morts en neuf ans

Le président de la République turque, Suleyman Demirel, a affirmé, mercredi 27 octobre, que, de 1984 à octobre 1993, près de 10 000 personnes

(3 144 civils, 2 270 membres des forces de sécurité et 4 517 rebelles) ont été tuées dans les régions de l'Est et du Sud-Est anatoliens à majorité kurde, où les séparatistes mènent une guérilla contre l'armée. M. Demirel, qui s'exprimait à Ankara à l'occasion du soixante-dixième anniversaire de la République de Turquie, a déclaré qu'« il existe un seul moyen », face au Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) : « Anéantir cette bande d'assassins ». « Personne ne doit songer à des concessions qui entraîneraient l'éclatement du pays », a averti M. Demirel, qui s'est opposé à l'autorisation de l'enseignement en kurde. Par ailleurs, le journaliste turc enlevé samedi dans l'Est par le PKK (*le Monde* du 26 octobre) a été libéré. — (AFP.)

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Turquie-Kurdes

Le conflit armée turco-kurde, l'un des plus sanglants de la région par Yurtsay MIHCIOGLU

ANKARA, 29 oct (AFP) - Le conflit armé dans le sud-est anatolien est devenu l'un des plus sanglants de la région, des Balkans jusqu'au Caucase, faisant plus de 25 morts par jour depuis deux mois avec nombre de civils pris entre les rebelles kurdes et les forces de sécurité turques.

Déclenchés par la rébellion séparatiste kurde marxiste-léniniste de Turquie en 1984 les affrontements ont fait plus de 10.000 morts en neuf ans et plus d'un millier depuis début septembre.

Les rebelles kurdes et les militaires turcs s'accusent mutuellement d'atrocités, avec des massacres de villageois "pour l'exemple" ou par représailles dans des opérations punitives effectuées par les deux camps, selon les témoignages recueillis par l'AFP ces derniers mois dans des villes et villages ravagés.

Des centaines de villages de montagne auraient été rasés par l'armée cet été, selon les rebelles qui accusent les forces turques d'exactions par la "contre-terreur" sur le modèle de la "pacification" de Sirtak. Cette ville de 30.000 habitants avait été désertée après avoir été mitraillée par des forces de l'ordre pendant plus de 48 heures, avait constaté l'AFP en août 1992.

Dans leurs opérations, les forces turques évitent les zones montagneuses, laissant le champ libre au Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) qui a souvent répliqué ces derniers mois par des attaques de villages "collaborateurs".

Exécutions sommaires

Le PKK, qui a mis en demeure la presse et les partis politiques de cesser leurs activités, s'en prend aussi aux "représentants de l'Etat", dont dix instituteurs abattus dans différents incidents la semaine dernière.

Après des exécutions sommaires de plusieurs dizaines de passagers de bus attribuées aux rebelles, la presse et les partis ont cédé à la menace.

Depuis, les "exactions" des forces de l'ordre dénoncées par les rebelles ont lieu sans témoins. Les "exactions du PKK" ne sauraient servir de prétexte illimité à Ankara pour continuer sa sale guerre" avait estimé en septembre la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme qui a de nouveau dénoncé jeudi la "gravité de la situation des Kurdes dans le sud-est considérée comme un commencement de génocide".

La démarche du PKK critiquée par les Kurdes en exil a réussi à décourager les observateurs que les autorités turques n'avaient pu encore empêcher de se rendre sur place.

"L'armée turque n'aura pas besoin de fermer la région pour la raser complètement sans faire de distinction entre les Kurdes, homme de la rue ou le petit commerçant, et celui qui prend sa Kalachnikov pour rejoindre le PKK dans la montagne", a affirmé un universitaire turc qui a requis l'anonymat.

L'escalade du conflit a suivi une période de calme au printemps dernier après un cessez-le-feu unilatéral déclaré par le PKK dans l'espoir de contacts avec le gouvernement.

Alors que l'armée n'avait pas cessé ses opérations de "nettoyage", les rebelles ont repris le combat fin mai donnant raison aux faucons anti-kurdes pour lesquels il s'agissait d'une ruse pour arrêter la chasse aux "terroristes".

Le gouvernement turc a affirmé cette semaine maintenir avec fermeté sa position sur le "réglement du problème par des voies militaires", écartant à nouveau toute éventualité de paix négociée avec la rébellion dans cette région où la population affirme souvent qu'elle ne veut plus "avoir à choisir" entre les deux parties.

ym/pl

AFP 291554 OCT 93

LES KURDES CONTRE L'IRAN

La communauté kurde de Paris organise ce matin à 11 heures une conférence de presse en présence de Danielle Mitterrand pour attirer l'attention sur les violations des droits de l'homme au Kurdistan iranien. Une manifestation devrait suivre samedi. Aujourd'hui, les Kurdes de Paris devraient cesser la grève de la faim qu'ils ont entamée le 26 octobre. Symbolique, leur action leur permet d'organiser une conférence de presse destinée à sensibiliser l'opinion internationale sur l'offensive militaire iranienne au Kurdistan débutée voici six mois. Il y a eu un rapprochement objectif entre Bagdad et Téhéran sur la question du Kurdistan, explique le porte-parole de l'organisation. «Aujourd'hui, le pays est asphyxié. Nous voulons un retrait total des troupes iraniennes.» Un appel entendu par Danielle Mitterrand, la présidente de France Liberté, qui devrait participer en personne à la manifestation. Samedi, la communauté kurde de Paris organisera également une manifestation à 15 heures place de la Bastille. P.B.

Téhéran accusé: procès à haut risque à Berlin

L'Iran avait commandité l'assassinat de quatre leaders kurdes.

Cinq hommes accusés d'avoir abattu des responsables de l'opposition kurde iranienne comparaissent depuis hier à Berlin, dans un procès à risque pour Téhéran, directement mis en cause, et qui gêne les efforts de dialogue du gouvernement allemand avec le régime islamique. Deux Allemands sont actuellement détenus en Iran, dont un condamné à mort pour espionnage. Le procès est entouré de mesures de sécurité exceptionnelles.

Les accusés sont quatre Libanais et un Iranien. Installé en Allemagne depuis 1982, l'Iranien, Kazem Darabi, est considéré comme le cerveau du commando qui a abattu à l'arme automatique quatre responsables du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan ira-

nien (PDKI), dont son secrétaire général Sadegh Sharafkandi, le 17 septembre 1992.

Pour la première fois dans un pays occidental, l'acte d'accusation du parquet fédéral de Karlsruhe, compétent pour les affaires de terrorisme, affirme explicitement que les services de renseignement du régime islamique ont commandité l'attentat et que Darabi est un de leurs agents.

Dès l'ouverture du procès, les avocats des cinq meurtriers présumés ont demandé sa suspension, estimant que le gouvernement allemand n'avait pas dit tout ce qu'il savait sur cette affaire. Ils se sont référés à des propos tenus récemment par le coordinateur des services secrets allemands, Bernd Schmidbauer.

Il avait affirmé que «si la justice savait ce que je sais, l'acte d'accusation serait tout autre».

Le procès se déroule alors que le ministre iranien des Renseignements Ali Fallahian, indirectement accusé par la justice d'avoir commandité le quadruple meurtre, a rencontré début octobre Bernd Schmidbauer à Bonn, provoquant l'irritation des Etats-Unis, d'Israël et surtout de la Grande-Bretagne.

Le procureur Hans-Joachim Kuhrt a indiqué devant le tribunal que le parquet avait voulu ouvrir une information judiciaire contre Fallahian, lors de sa visite à Bonn, mais que la chancellerie avait refusé, en arguant de l'immunité dont bénéficiait le ministre en tant qu'hôte étranger.

AFP/LNQ

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS - 29 octobre 1993

Allemagne : Iran en accusation

L'organisation d'opposants iraniens, les Moudjahidin du peuple, a affirmé hier que l'Iran avait fait pression sur l'Allemagne pour tenter d'empêcher la tenue d'un procès très embarrassant pour le régime islamique, qui s'est ouvert dans la matinée à Berlin. Cinq hommes comparaissent en effet pour le meurtre de quatre responsables de l'opposition kurde au régime de Téhéran, le 17 septembre 1992, dans un restaurant berlinois. Pour la première fois dans un pays occidental, les services secrets de Téhéran sont directement mis en cause dans l'acte d'accusation.

Libération - 30 octobre 1993

Protestation contre l'agression de l'Iran au Kurdistan d'Irak

Vingt-cinq Kurdes ont entamé depuis mardi une grève de la faim au Trocadero. Ils dénoncent «le silence de la communauté internationale» devant la poursuite des attaques iraniennes contre le Kurdistan d'Irak. Depuis mars, la république islamique bombarde la zone frontalière qui bénéficie pourtant de la protection des alliés français, britanniques et américains. «L'objectif est d'empêcher la création d'une entité kurde en Irak», ont affirmé hier lors d'une conférence de presse des représentants de la communauté kurde de Paris. Ils se sont également inquiétés «du rapprochement entre la France et l'Irak» après le séjour à Paris du vice-Premier ministre irakien Tarek Aziz.

Par ailleurs, Daniel Jacoby, président de la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme, et Danielle Mitterrand, de France-Libertés, ont souligné jeudi «la gravité de la situation» des Kurdes dans le sud-est de la Turquie «qui peut légitimement être considérée comme un commencement de génocide». Dans une lettre au ministre belge des Affaires étrangères, Willy Claes, ils appellent la Communauté européenne à prendre «toute initiative appropriée pour obtenir d'Ankara qu'il soit mis fin aux massacres (...) et pour créer les conditions d'une médiation» entre le gouvernement turc et les séparatistes kurdes du PKK. Ch.B.

Turkey asks neighbors to stop PKK

Ankara asks Damascus, Baghdad, Tehran and Yerevan to decide whether they are friends of Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA-Turkish government is taking new measures to stop the anti-Turkish activities of the secessionist Kurdish militants based in neighboring countries, officials in Ankara say. As a first step, an official Turkish delegation is expected to go to Syria "soon" to renew Turkey's demand to stop the activities of the secessionist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in that country.

"As a result of contacts established between Ankara and Damascus, the PKK activities in Syria were reduced to a minimum," a government source told TDN. "But from late May on we observed a reactivation of the PKK in that country, which disturbs us."

The source pointed out that the resumption of PKK activities coincided with the termination of the PKK's unilateral cease-fire. The cease-fire was broken by a PKK raid

May 24 near Bingol in eastern Turkey. More than 30 unarmed soldiers and five civilians were killed in the raid.

PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan is known to have been living in Syria since he escaped from Turkey in 1980.

Government sources also say there are preparations to take additional measures against other neighboring countries in which the PKK finds shelter.

Government sources in Ankara say the measures have been planned in a context ranging from indirect diplomatic moves to on the spot "intervention" against the presence of the PKK in neighboring countries. Sources, who ask not to be named, tell TDN that the "intervention" may go as far as assassinations of the PKK leaders based in other countries.

Following a security summit in Ankara on Thursday, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller said that Turkey's cooperation with Armenia, Iran, Iraq and Syria was "extremely important" in Ankara's struggle with terrorism.

"Terror(ist organizations in Turkey) were fed from outside for many years," Çiller said. "Turkey can no longer turn a blind eye to this."

"Now our neighbors must decide: They are either Turkey's friends, or they are not. Those who feed the terrorists outside Turkey are doing this on purpose, or it's out of their control. If it's out of their control, then we can deal with the situation ourselves. We can then help them (the countries in which the PKK finds shelter) as well. We can no longer be a spectator to the feeding of terrorists who kill innocent citizens of Turkey."

Besides Syria, the PKK has a strong presence in Iraqi Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq.

Despite an agreement between the Turkish government and the Iraqi Kurdish leadership about a joint struggle against PKK activities in Iraq, Ankara complains about increasing PKK activity there.

Security sources report that the PKK has military camps in Iran and Armenia as well.

turkish daily news

İSMET G. İMSET / ANALYSIS

Turkey has started a countdown to launch what may be its biggest crackdown on Kurdish uprisings since the 1938 repression of the Dersim (Tunceli) rebellion, sources close to the government say.

Preparations coincide with indications from senior state officials that Ankara agrees it is at war in the troubled Southeast region, and for this reason is heading for wartime measures.

This week, returning to Ankara from a visit to the region, National Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz told journalists: "I'm coming from the front. I was happy to find our soldiers on the front confident of themselves. Their morale was high." The same day, Turkey's Prime Minister Tansu Çiller declared: "This war is not a war waged by the state. This war is one that special crack teams will wage against the terrorists. And we will succeed."

Earlier, President Süleyman Demirel had referred to the Southeast incidents

Turkey gears up for all-out war on PKK

as an uprising, defending Turkey's position that "uprisings have to be crushed."

On Friday, *Hürriyet* newspaper's Editor in Chief Ertuğrul Özkök said that senior officers, security directors and government officials had evaluated in a secret meeting what Turkey had done in the early years of the republic to suppress "Kurdish uprisings."

Ankara's motive this winter is to destroy completely the leadership and grassroots of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) as promised earlier by Chief of Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş.

There has been speculation that, if necessary, this will be in the form of Israeli-style attacks on PKK leaders

abroad: mainly those in Europe, Armenia, Syria and Iraq.

The operational decision for full-scale war was taken this week after a series of meetings in Ankara, with the latest held on Thursday. It reflects determination on the Turkish part not only to kill PKK senior staff but also to give no chance to the organization's militia.

"Either surrender or die," Gen. Güreş warned the militia on Wednesday.

Ankara this week once again warned Armenia, Iraq and Syria, saying they should stop their support to terrorism. Sources say there will soon be extensive cooperation with Tehran to crack down on the PKK camps in Iranian territory,

Saturday, October 30, 1993

mainly in the vicinity of Urumiye province. Western diplomats say that under pressure from Turkey and northern Iraqi Kurds, PKK militants have transferred at least one major training camp into Iran.

Iranian sources, on the other hand, point out that they are fully willing to cooperate with Turkey on this issue, because that country faces its own problems with the Kurdistan Democrat Party of Iran. Despite Tehran's news blackout on security developments, regional sources say the KDP-I is increasingly bothering the Iranian regime.

Of the three other countries involved in supporting Kurdish separatism, Armenia is at the top of Turkey's list, especially since recent massacres in the Eastern region are believed to have been conducted by Armenian militants along with Kurds. On one hand there is increased pressure on the government, from within its own ranks as well as from the opposition, to hit PKK camps in that country. On the other, in a recent press conference in Moscow, the Kurds of the Commonwealth of Independent States have declared full support for the PKK, showing how dangerous the situation is.

"These countries have to decide whether they are friends with us or not," Prime Minister Tansu Çiller said after a meeting of her security summit in Ankara on Thursday. She was also referring to Syria and Iraq.

"If they are aiding the terrorists of their own accord," she added, "they should not do so. If this is happening against their will, we will then help them to solve this issue."

Çiller stressed that "Turkey has no patience. We have been patient for a long time, but after this we will not turn a blind eye to this."

The Turkish government is currently acting according to the "advice" of a meeting of the National Security Council (MGK) on Monday, and is to implement another major operation in northern Iraq in the near future.

To place more pressure on Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) leader Jalal Talabani, Turkish television has recently targeted him as a "liar" saying that he was supporting the PKK. Unknown to the media, two senior commanders of the PUK and the Kurdistan Democrat Party (KDP) are currently in Ankara to plan the operation.

As for Syria, talk of using "the water card" against that country, and even going to the extent of cutting the water supply there, is underway. As part of a deterrent move, Turkey may soon build

up troops on its borders both with Armenia and Syria.

Meanwhile, serious measures are also being implemented to deal with separatism within the country's borders. This week, after a PKK attack, the town of Lice in Diyarbakır was torn apart with gunfire. Pro-Kurdish activists claim it was Turkish forces that did this to retaliate — just like the attack on Şırnak city center in August 1992.

As part of the MGK's decisions, Ankara has now issued orders not to reconstruct or restore schools in the Southeast which are attacked by the PKK. It will keep them closed. A num-

Ankara counts on Western understanding to repress uprising, sources say investments, incentives to Southeast being stopped

ber of teachers are being withdrawn as a result of the PKK's gunning down of 54 teachers up till now.

Parliament sources say that since Çiller returned from her visit to the United States last week, there has been a major decline in incentives issued for the Southeast region, and all allocations for new investments are also being halted. Speculation is that Ankara has decided against plans for regional economic improvement — for the time

being — despite Çiller's earlier promises for the region.

If this takes place, a wartime economy will be taking shape for the Southeast.

At the same time, wartime regulations and laws are to be introduced under the guise of special steps against terrorism. This will include a blackout on the reporting of the crisis as well as increased penalties and fines.

State officials agree that the campaign to be put underway is a mobilization of all forces, including the press and the Foreign Ministry. Thus Turkey will begin a propaganda effort in foreign countries to curb PKK existence there, even in the form of legal associations. Özkök claimed Friday that Ankara had reached an agreement with a renowned international justice expert who was now preparing a Turkish case against the PKK to be used abroad.

There is also speculation that Turkey wants to complain of the PKK to the CSCE, although a counter-argument is that this would be a mistake, giving the impression that the PKK is a counterpart of the Ankara government.

What everyone is asking now is when this expected crackdown will begin, how far it will go, and what kind of an impact it will have on the future the government. Çiller and Demirel are often at odds with each other on what to do to combat terrorism.

Meanwhile, both parties in the coalition are distancing themselves from each other, as their leaders are engulfed in efforts to maintain part unity. These differences are also bound to have an impact on Turkey's upcoming anti-PKK strategy.

8 die in custody under Çiller rule

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Eight people have died while in police or gendarmerie custody in Turkey since Prime Minister Tansu Çiller took office, Turkish human rights sources said on Friday. She came into power in June 1993, and her Cabinet was approved in July.

According to the records of the Ankara-based Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, six of the deaths took place in July and August.

Human rights sources speculate that the deaths might be a result of torture or mistreatment the detainees may have suffered during their interrogations. They are:

- Rıza Ürün, died on July 2 in Ankara. - Sıdıka Öncü, died on July 8 in the Çınar township of Diyarbakır. - Hacı Ramazan Sınığ, died on July 21 in the İdil township of

Şırnak. - Yücel Dolan, died on Aug. 2 in the Hazro township of Diyarbakır. - Selahattin

Dörtbudak, died on Aug. 3 in the Nizip township of

Gaziantep. - Baki Erdoğan, died on Aug. 21 in Aydın. - Şerif Kaplan, died on Sept. 8 in the Hizan township of

Bitlis. - Hacı Şansak, died on Oct. 3 in Şırnak. In addition to this list, Harun Çetin died in Istanbul on

Sept. 6, allegedly because of torture he suffered while in police custody in Istanbul in March 1993.

According to the TIHV figures with the latest deaths, a total of 36 people have died while in police or gendarmerie custody in Turkey since the True Path Party (DYP) - Social Democratic People's Party coalition came to power in November 1991.

Kurdistan

L'HUMANITÉ — 30 OCTOBRE 1993

Un commencement de génocide

La communauté kurde et la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme dénoncent « un commencement de génocide » au Kurdistan de Turquie et l'étouffement délibéré de l'autonomie kurde en Irak. Une manifestation de protestation est prévue samedi à Paris.

DES représentants de la communauté kurde de Paris tentent depuis quelques jours d'attirer l'attention de l'opinion publique et des autorités sur la gravité de la situation vécue par le peuple kurde, en Iran, en Irak et surtout en Turquie. Vingt-cinq Kurdes ont observé une grève de la faim de cinq jours, du 26 au 29 octobre, sur l'esplanade du Trocadéro, et une manifestation de protestation contre les massacres perpétrés au Kurdistan aura lieu samedi 30 octobre à 15 heures de la République à la Bastille (1).

Au cours d'une conférence de presse donnée vendredi matin à la fondation France Libertés, que préside Danielle Mitterrand, le secrétaire général adjoint de la Fédération interna-

tionale des droits de l'homme, M^r William Bourdon, a dit son indignation devant « le cynisme de la communauté internationale, qui se désintéresse du sort des Kurdes, victimes de la politique agressive de Bagdad, de Téhéran et d'Ankara ». Il a noté que la résolution 688 de l'ONU, adoptée à la fin de la guerre du Golfe pour protéger les Kurdes des massacres entrepris par l'armée irakienne était maintenant quotidiennement violée, sans que cela provoque la moindre réaction des « alliés » occidentaux censés assurer la protection de ces populations.

Les représentants de la communauté kurde et du gouvernement kurde d'Irak ont confirmé l'existence d'un accord secret entre Bagdad, Téhéran, Ankara et Damas pour écraser le mouvement kurde et faire échouer l'expérience d'autonomie en cours depuis 1992 dans le nord de l'Irak. Selon eux, « au cours de réunions entre les gouvernements de la région, mission a été donnée à l'Irak de lancer des actions militaires pour déstabiliser le gouvernement kurde d'Irak et faire partir les Occidentaux » : depuis six mois, les forces iraniennes multiplient les bombardements aériens et terrestres contre les populations kurdes d'Irak, contraignant à l'exode des milliers de villageois dont les maisons, une première fois détruites par l'armée de Saddam Hussein,

venaient juste d'être reconstruites. Depuis avril, la région de Pendjwin est carrément occupée par les forces iraniennes.

Mais c'est surtout au Kurdistan de Turquie que la situation est devenue dramatique ces derniers jours : la ville de Lice est, depuis le 22 octobre, encerclée et pilonnée par l'armée turque. Il y aurait au moins une centaine de morts. Près de 400 maisons et magasins ont été détruits. Journalistes et parlementaires se sont vu interdire l'accès de la région. Des armes chimiques auraient été utilisées. La situation est telle que la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme dénonce « ce qui peut être légitimement considéré comme un commencement de génocide ». Son président, Daniel Jacoby, et M^me Danielle Mitterrand viennent d'adresser une lettre ouverte au ministre belge des Affaires étrangères, Willy Claes, qui préside le Conseil des ministres de la CEE. Ils demandent aux gouvernements européens et à la communauté internationale de « prendre les initiatives appropriées pour obtenir d'Ankara qu'il soit mis fin aux massacres et pour créer les conditions d'une médiation, afin que soient réunies dans les plus brefs délais les conditions d'une solution pacifique du conflit ».

Les représentants kurdes ont également fait part de leurs inquiétudes face au rapprochement en cours entre les gouver-

nements européens — et notamment le gouvernement français — et le régime de Bagdad. Ils ont fait état de rumeurs persistantes, reprises par la presse israélienne et par certains milieux diplomatiques proches de l'ONU, faisant état d'une rencontre à Paris entre le ministre irakien des Affaires étrangères, Tarek Aziz, et des Israéliens : Bagdad aurait proposé de récupérer les réfugiés palestiniens de 1948 et de leur donner la nationalité irakienne en échange de la levée de l'embargo contre l'Irak. Un montage surréaliste et sans doute peu sérieux, mais dans lequel les Kurdes voient surtout le signe d'un rapprochement qui se ferait à leurs dépens.

Les représentants de la communauté kurde ont demandé aux représentants du Parti communiste et du Parti socialiste, présents à la conférence de presse, de faire en sorte que des députés des deux groupes posent au ministre des Affaires étrangères des questions orales sur les violations de la résolution 688 de l'ONU et sur la répression en Turquie.

FRANÇOISE
GERMAIN-ROBIN

(1) La manifestation est soutenue par la LDH, la FIDH, la Cimade, France Libertés, le PCF, le comité Solidarité avec le peuple Kurde, Agir Ici, Peuples solidaires, Maison du monde, Terre des hommes, Médecins du monde, Aide médicale internationale.

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Kurdes-manifestation
Manifestation kurde à Paris

PARIS, 30 oct (AFP) — Environ 200 membres de la communauté kurde de Paris, selon les chiffres communiqués par la police, ont manifesté samedi pour alerter l'opinion publique française sur les bombardements iraniens contre les populations kurdes d'Irak.

Cette marche de protestation, qui s'est déroulée sans incident de la Place de la République à la Bastille, s'inscrit dans le cadre de diverses actions de la communauté kurde, dont une grève de la faim symbolique sur le Parvis des droits de l'Homme, place du Trocadéro, qui ont reçu l'appui d'organisations humanitaires telles la Ligue des droits de l'Homme (LDH), la Fondation France-Libertés, Terre des Hommes, Médecins du Monde.

SZB/chm

AFP 301710 OCT 93



Un peintre kurde manifeste contre la violence dans son pays

Il est artiste peintre, poète et musicien, Kurde réfugié en Suisse depuis cinq ans. Mustafa Yildirim, alias Musto, a peint un de ses tableaux en noir, hier, devant le Château d'Ouchy. Un geste doublement symbolique, puisque le 29 octobre 1923 fut proclamée la République turque, et que c'est au Château d'Ouchy à Lausanne, en juillet 1923, que fut signé l'accord qui établissait la Turquie dans ses frontières actuelles. Musto entendait, par ce geste de

protestation, dénoncer les massacres d'enfants, d'intellectuels, de journalistes et de particuliers, qui continuent d'être perpétrés en Turquie et au Kurdistan. Politiquement, il ne se réfère ni au PKK ni aux Turcs, et son geste, contre la violence, est purement artistique. Il réclame simplement la paix et le droit au respect pour le peuple et la culture kurdes. «J'ai appris une chose, dit-il, la guerre efface la culture.» — (E. Sr.)

Philippe Urzich-d

L'UNION PACIFISTE - OCTOBRE 1993

I.C.O.M.

Pourquoi un groupe de travail sur le problème kurde ? par Groskun

De nos jours, nous traversons une crise qui affaiblit le monde entier et qui voit ressurgir le nationalisme, le racisme et l'hystérie de la guerre. C'est particulièrement évident en Bosnie-Herzégovine et en Somalie. La mise à feu de ces conflits ponctuels devient une habitude dont l'initiative revient aux Etats-Unis.

Il est évident que cet état de faits est exponentiel et menace le monde.

La Turquie, au centre du Moyen-Orient, entre les Balkans et le Caucase, régions critiques s'il en est, est assise

sur un baril de poudre. La question kurde est un problème crucial dont l'intensité ne varie pas depuis l'établissement de la République de Turquie.

Historiquement, l'Empire ottoman, qui représentait un mélange ethnique et religieux considérable, n'a pas réussi à préserver sa diversité. Les dirigeants ont choisi toutes les opportunités qui se présentaient pour diriger le pays vers un Etat nationaliste, en dépit des différences essentielles de sa trame et, même, en les utilisant. Dans quelle mesure sont-ils parvenus à leurs fins reste un sujet de débat. Cependant, la nation kurde n'a jamais accepté l'humiliation et l'assimilation.

En dépit des milliers de morts, de prisonniers, d'exilés et de leurs nombreuses révoltes, les Kurdes s'obstinent à exiger que leurs droits soient reconnus et, malheureusement, le problème en est

arrivé à la mise à feu du baril de poudre.

Le problème dépasse désormais la simple notion de confrontation entre l'Etat turc et les nations kurdes. L'équilibre est précaire. La moindre étincelle peut faire éclater une guerre plus meurtrière que celle de Bosnie-Herzégovine. Si l'on envisage qu'une guerre civile puisse éclater entre Kurdistan d'Irak et d'Iran, il est bien évident que le danger ne se restreint pas à l'échelle nationale turque, mais prend une dimension mondiale.

En conclusion, la question kurde est non seulement un problème régional, mais aussi une menace pour les Turcs, pour les Kurdes et pour la paix mondiale. Nous devons lui trouver une solution pacifique.

C'est pourquoi je propose un groupe de travail sur cette question.

Des Kurdes en Auvergne

Fuyant la guerre, 90 Kurdes vivent aujourd'hui à Vic-Le-Comte, dans le Puy-de-Dôme.

Il y a cinq ans à peine, ils étaient traqués par l'armée de Saddam Hussein, là-bas, dans ce Kurdistan qui pourtant ne figure sur aucune carte. Fuyant les bombardements chimiques du dictateur de Bagdad, échoués dans l'enfer d'un camp de réfugiés en Turquie, ils vivent désormais à Vic-Le-Comte, bourg du Puy-de-Dôme. A l'origine de cet exode, la volonté d'une femme : Danielle Mitterrand, présidente de la Fondation France-Libertés. Confrontée aux conditions de vie misérables du camp qu'elle visitait en août 1989, elle offre alors à ceux qui le désirent le choix de l'exil en France. Pour plus d'une centaine d'entre eux, las de l'entassement (16 000 habitants au km²) et de l'hostilité des autorités turques, c'est le grand départ.

L'Auvergne est une terre d'accueil, cela on le savait. Mais rien n'est simple quand on doit se charger subite-



ment de personnes malades et déracinées. Après trois mois passés à Bourg Lastic, un camp militaire transformé pour l'occasion en centre d'hébergement, la fondation France-Libertés part en chasse de véritables logements et fait appel à la solidarité des villages.

Un début d'occidentalisation

«Nous n'étions pas dans l'enthousiasme délirant, mais face à l'urgence, nous ne pouvions qu'accepter.» avouera plus tard M. Bertrand, le maire de Vic-Le-Comte. A l'appel de France-Libertés, les Vicomtois répondent présent et se mobilisent.

Au mois d'octobre 1989, 90 Kurdes s'installent enfin dans le bourg. En coopération avec les associations

Hawra et Julien, fiers d'être copains



humanitaires locales (dont l'Association Franco-Kurde de Vic-Le-Comte créée pour l'occasion) M. Bertrand s'attelle à la difficile tâche d'intégrer ces nouvelles familles dans le tissu social local. «Au départ, nous les avons logées plutôt sommairement, mais très vite, nous avons débloqué des crédits afin de rénover les appartements disponibles à Vic-Le-Comte » explique-t-il.

Si selon lui, «des choses ont été mal faites», les efforts en matière de logement n'en sont pas moins soutenus. Pour preuve, l'acquisition toute récente par la municipalité d'une maison qui devrait permettre de loger très bientôt des familles en situation prioritaire.

Quatre ans après l'arrivée des Kurdes, les habitants ne font plus la différence. Ainsi cette commerçante pour qui «tout se passe pour le mieux entre eux et nous». Côté kurde, Ahmed Saïd, un des responsables de la communauté, ne tarit pas d'éloges sur ses hôtes : «l'accueil des gens a été très bon, il n'y a rien à redire» affirme-t-il.

Cela n'a malheureusement pas été toujours le cas. L'affaire dite "du foulard islamique" reste encore gravée dans les mémoires. Comme partout en France, le climat est à l'époque tendu. On découvre alors des inscriptions sur les murs injuriant le maire, certaines rumeurs vont bon train... pour finalement s'éteindre, faute d'arguments. En effet, Ahmed et les siens offrent bien peu de prise aux sentiments anti-islamiques. «Ils ont toujours fait un effort de discrétion» note le maire à propos de ses concitoyens musulmans. «S'ils pratiquent, c'est uniquement dans le cadre familial. Quant aux femmes kurdes, nombreuses sont celles qui ont cédé aux charmes de la coquetterie française. Et je vous mets au défi de les reconnaître dans la rue ! »

Le rêve du retour

La palme d'or de l'intégration revient pourtant aux enfants kurdes. Contrairement à bon nombre de leurs parents, ils parlent parfaitement le français, se sentent totalement chez eux. Regroupés dans une classe spéciale de mise à niveau pendant la première année, ils suivent aujourd'hui une scolarité normale. M. Laffon, le directeur de l'école primaire ne cache d'ailleurs pas sa satisfaction : «ils veulent souvent plus s'en sortir que les Français» affirme-t-il, peut-être en pensant à cette élève qui cette année, et quatre ans seulement après son arrivée en France, vient d'entrer au collège tout proche.

Mais dans une région qui, pas plus qu'une autre, n'échappe à la réalité de la crise économique, l'intégration par le travail est une denrée rare que beaucoup d'adultes kurdes ne peuvent goûter. Anciens combattants pour la plupart, à la difficulté de la langue vient s'ajouter souvent le manque de qualification. Alors, de stages de formation en CES (certains sont RMIstes), ils attendent comme les autres une éventuelle reprise.

Et malgré l'exil, malgré toutes les difficultés du quotidien, les Kurdes de Vic-Le-Comte partagent encore un même rêve : «Quand la guerre sera finie, je veux retourner dans mon pays.»

A Vic le Comte, les plus anciens restent les gardiens de la tradition

J.L. Bataller

MOSAIC

A silent scream

Leyla Zana was the first Kurdish woman to become a member of the Turkish parliament. In this exclusive interview for *The Middle East* she talked to **Chris Kutschera** about some of the tragic and traumatic events which formed her political beliefs, including her arranged marriage to her cousin Mehdi, who was later to become the leader of the Socialist Party of Kurdistan, her torture in a Turkish prison and the eventual realisation that even as an elected member of parliament as a woman and a Kurd she still had no voice.



Flight of the Kurds. A truckload of children heading for a safe haven Northern Iraq.

I was born in May 1961 in the village of Silvan near Diyarbakir. My father was a minor employee with the water distribution authority who had six children, five daughters and a son.

I started primary school at an early age but my father, a traditional and conservative man, later forced me to give up my studies and although I didn't want to stop I could not go against his will.

When I was 14 years old my father decided to marry me off to my 35 year old cousin Mehdi. I did not remember Mehdi although I was told I

had met him years earlier when he visited my village campaigning for his party (the Communist Party of Turkey). Mehdi had been arrested in 1971 and spent three years in prison. On his release his mother asked for my hand for her son, and my father agreed.

I was very distressed but despite my objections he gave me to Mehdi. I did not choose my husband and I knew that my life from then on would be a difficult one. We were so different, I was a child, he was a mature man, working as a tailor, even so at

the beginning of 1975 we were married.

Your husband became the leader of one of Turkey's Kurdish nationalist organisations, what did you think of his political activities?

At the time we were married there was no Kurdish nationalist movement. The militants of that generation were communists. All my family were very traditional therefore I was anti-communist, as they were.

So what happened?

I began to change gradually I had been living in a small world suddenly, I was

transported to a far bigger one. When I married Mehdi I was full of contradictions, until then I had no say in choosing my own life, somebody else had done the choosing for me. For the next five years it was the same, it was still not my own life, it was controlled by Mehdi. I was somebody to please Mehdi.

In 1980 Mehdi was arrested and sentenced to 35 years in prison, where he eventually spent the next ten years. I was just 20 years old, I had a small son and I was pregnant. For the first year after his arrest I did not stop crying, I didn't know how I was going to survive, my family was not rich, I was not financially independent, the situation seemed hopeless.

When I went to visit Mehdi, at the gate of the prison I met many very different people. Little by little I began to change, to question my own identity and to wonder exactly who I was. Until then I had no interest in the fact that I was a Kurd. The ideal was to be a Turk. The Turks were openly saying 'the Kurds are bullshit' or 'the Kurds have tails' (like the animals), and we put up with it, it was the official ideology To



The reality of the Kurdish camps.

be a Kurd was a disgrace.

I remember being taken to Diyarbakir's by my mother when I was just a small girl. She was wearing her Kurdish peasant clothes and I was aware that because of who we were we were badly taken care of. It is one of my earliest memories.

Were you influenced politically by Mehdi?

Not directly. Until 1980 the politicians of Mehdi's generation did not mix their family life with their political life, afterwards that changed.

You say you began to change gradually, in what way?

Well, for example the issue of torture. I had known it was going on since 1979 but then when Mehdi was imprisoned they began to torture him and his friends. I saw it as a personal thing then. "I began reading political books...I didn't understand all the words."

For six months I was not allowed to see him, during this time they were torturing and beating him. Every week I would go to the prison to see him to be told 'no visit'. About that time I began reading the books.

The first one, I remember, was *The Partisan's Daughter*. In those days I did not speak

Turkish well and could not understand all the words, it was difficult reading. After that I read *The Red Stones*, a book on the history of the Chinese communist party. It told the story of communists against the system, there were fascists and there were heroes who were thrown into jail. I compared it to our own, the Kurdish, situation.

By 1984 I had begun taking part in political activities. I went on various demonstrations and took strike action in front of the prison.

How did it feel to be actively involved?

It was tremendous. I had changed, become different, I had an identity. It was terrific. In 1984 I was able to tell myself, 'Here I am. I do exist'. There continued to be conflict between Mehdi and myself. He wanted me to be politically involved, to do things but for him. He was not happy when I did something for me.

Was this sort of behaviour typical?

Everywhere in the world women are ill treated by men but amongst the Kurds it is especially bad. A woman is not even treated as a servant, she is a thing, almost an animal. At home for example, my father slept from the

morning through to the evening when he would wake, eat and go out to see his friends to chat with them. Meanwhile, my mother spent the whole day working, taking care of the animals. When she returned home in the evening to prepare food and take care of the family he would regularly beat her. He believed she should do everything he wanted, just like a slave.

"For a Kurd the birth of a girl is nothing."

For the first 12 years of their married life my mother did not bear children. Then she had four daughters, in quick succession. Nobody talked to her, especially not my father's family. If one of my little sisters would awaken and cry in the night and disturb my father, he would take my mother and the child and throw them outside, whatever the weather. She would stay there until she felt he was asleep and it was safe to creep back inside.

For a Kurd the birth of a girl is nothing. Not long ago my father visited me and said: 'I want your brother to marry'. When I asked him why he told me it was because he

wanted a grandson in case one day we succeed and there is a free Kurdistan. I replied 'But you already have a grandson, my son'. 'No', my father replied, 'your son is not interesting, he does not carry my name.' I am fond of my father, even though when he comes back home he brings with him the violence he sees outside, the violence of the gendarmes and of the policemen.

Have you ever discussed these things with your mother?

No, we saw her very little. When we were younger she was working all day and now she is in very poor physical condition. My mother is like a very old woman.

Did your feelings of personal change continue?

Yes, gradually until in 1988 I was arrested. The change had been little by little until then when everything became clear. I was kept in custody for seven days during which time I was interrogated and after that I spent a further 50 days in jail.

Why were you arrested?

I had gone to visit Mehdi. There were a lot of people in front of the jail. It was July and quite hot. Many of the women there were with babies and young children, there were also old women. There was no water and everybody was very uncomfortable, especially the young and the elderly. They took us into a garden where it was



A bright future for Kurds?

MOSAIC



Leyla Zana: "I told myself a woman is also a human being."

announced that we would not be allowed to see the prisoners.

Then, on the other side of the wall we heard them beating the men we had come to see. We just revolted, we began shouting and throwing stones. I was arrested with another 83 people. A soldier said that I had tried to take his gun and finally I was accused of inciting people to revolt.

What was the experience of prison like?

The first seven days in custody were terrible. They subjected me to all kinds of torture. I was blindfolded and led into the interrogation room where I was stripped completely naked by a number of interrogators, all men.

They hit me, I collapsed and they splashed me with cold water to bring me round. After that they gave me back my clothes and took me back to my cell. They also tortured me with electricity.

Where?

On the sexual... (Leyla Zana, who until this point had remained smiling throughout the interview, became distressed and was obviously

about to burst into tears. Although she did not say it, friends of hers revealed that she had been stripped and paraded naked in front of male prisoners held in the same jail. For the young peasant woman from Silvan it was too much). Still today I have nightmares about those days.

Who were you with in prison?

I was sharing a cell with common prisoners, thieves, prostitutes and drug addicts but eventually they became friends. We cooked together, we ate and slept together, all kinds of people in the same situation.

It was about that time that I began to be a political activist, and when I learned there were Kurdish women fighting with guns I was moved to action. This changes everything, I told myself, a woman is also a human being.

Why did you decide to become a member of parliament?

It was not me who decided it. All through my life it has not been me who has decided. It was the people who wanted it.

You could have refused couldn't you?

Not really when people were telling me that to do so would be to run away from my responsibilities. I have never accepted the idea that I should be a slave, be passive. When I was only nine years old I attacked my 45 year old uncle for beating my aunt. I have always been a combatant.

"I was not brave enough to scream and shout."

It did not show when you were following your husband quite obediently in the late 1970s, did it?

I was in the middle of those contradictions I spoke about. When I was a young married woman I felt I ought to please Mehdi. I was not brave enough to scream and shout, the age difference was too big. But inside myself I was screaming and shouting as I have always been.

Despite or perhaps because of your earlier struggles you became a member of the Turkish parliament. How many women deputies are there in the parliament?

There are eight of which I am the only Kurd and the first ever Kurdish woman deputy. I was elected on 20 October 1991 with 45,000 votes.

How did you feel when you knew you had been elected?

I never imagined I could lose.

Which solution do you advocate for the Kurdish problem?

With 20 friends from the SHP (social democratic party) I prepared a report, a statement that we submitted to the leader of parliament, Erdal Inonu. In short the statement said the State should

accept our Kurdish identity. The State gave us a lot of hope but at the same time began massacring the Kurdish people they had implied they would try to help.

The first day, when taking the oath, I spoke a sentence in the Kurdish language, translated it means: 'Myself, I accept this constitutional ceremony in the name of the fraternity between the Turkish and Kurdish peoples'. It created a scandal. The ceremony was broadcast live by television.

All the deputies yelled out, comments like: 'We have a terrorist in the parliament', 'Dirty Kurd', and 'Get out, this is not your place'. The next day they forced me to resign from the SHP. Since then I have not spoken in the parliament.

I tried to give press interviews about the situation. Although the Turks had spoken of achieving fraternity, clearly it was not what they really wanted. As a result I was treated as a second rate citizen.

I said that if we were brothers we should be equals. I was threatened and I was also told that unless I worked within the system and did as I was told then I would have no future in the Turkish parliament.

Will you run for the next parliament?

I no longer believe in the Turkish parliament. Its role is to cover up the action of the State, to conceal the misdeeds of the the army and the police.

The people who take the decisions in Turkey are the members of the national security council.

Members of parliament are like notaries, they merely register the decisions. In fact, it is against everything I believe in, I do not have a voice. No, I will not run again. ■

« Carte blanche »

NEUFS mille morts en neuf ans, tel est le bilan de la lutte armée déclenchée le 15 août 1984 par le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) en Turquie. Commencée dans les provinces du Sud-Est, elle s'étend maintenant à l'est du pays et vise des objectifs touristiques. Pourtant, le gouvernement d'Ankara a rejeté les offres de négociation du PKK et mise avant tout sur la répression. Il tente aussi, par de vastes projets hydro-électriques, de consolider son emprise sur l'économie du sud-est du pays (*lire ci-dessous l'article de Christian Chesnot*).

Par MICHEL VERRIER*

La guerre a repris au Kurdistan de Turquie. L'armée et le gouvernement d'Ankara ont rejeté toutes les offres de négociation du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) formulées au printemps dernier et décidé d'intensifier la lutte pour éradiquer le « terrorisme ». Le 11 juillet 1993, l'état-major puis M^{me} Tansu Ciller, nouveau premier ministre, réunissaient les responsables des principaux organes de presse - à l'exception de ceux considérés comme suspects - afin de dégager un « consensus national » pour « lutter contre le terrorisme et donner une carte blanche à l'armée (1) ». Un journaliste notait que la semaine précédente le cabinet turc avait accordé son soutien politique total aux forces armées et que les prochaines opérations n'avaient pas pour seul objectif les militants et les guérilleros du PKK, mais tous ceux qui aidaient le mouvement soit... 375 000 personnes, un adulte sur dix des provinces concernées (2) ! 500 villages ont déjà été évacués, mais l'armée reste pourtant insatisfaite et réclame encore plus de moyens et le droit d'utiliser toutes les armes, y compris le napalm.

C'est le 17 mars 1993 que M. Abdullah Ocalan, dirigeant du PKK, annonçait un cessez-le-feu d'un mois, dans l'espoir d'ouvrir des négociations avec le gouvernement turc. Il exigeait notamment la levée de l'état d'exception en vigueur dans onze provinces kurdes du sud-est du pays depuis mai 1987 ; une amnistie générale ; la reconnaissance constitutionnelle de l'identité kurde ; la légalisation des partis politiques kurdes et de leurs activités ; la possibilité pour les Kurdes expulsés ou exilés de retourner sur leurs terres et dans leurs villages ; la prise en charge par l'Etat des victimes de la guerre (3).

Même s'il refusait de négocier directement avec le PKK, dénoncé comme organisation terroriste, le gouvernement turc aurait pu choisir d'autres interlocuteurs qualifiés : le Parti populaire du travail (HEP), qui compte une vingtaine de députés et qui s'est toujours posé en médiateur ; M. Jalal Talabani, un des chefs des Kurdes irakiens, dont les relations avec Ankara depuis la guerre du Golfe sont bonnes. Le HEP comme M. Talabani avaient participé aux conférences de presse de M. Ocalan, celle du 17 mars, où le dirigeant kurde avait formulé ses propositions, et celle du 16 avril, durant laquelle il avait prolongé le cessez-le-feu.

La mort du président Turgut Ozal le 17 avril et son remplacement par M. Suleyman Demirel ont-ils contribué à bloquer tous pourparlers ? Le premier était en effet relativement ouvert sur la question kurde. Peu avant sa disparition, il avait consulté plusieurs personnalités - dont certaines proches du PKK - pour trouver une issue honorable à la guerre. Sollicité lui aussi, le célèbre écrivain Yachar Kemal résumait sa réponse au chef de l'Etat : « *L'armée turque peut balayer Abdullah Ocalan ; on peut aussi juguler près de quinze millions de Kurdes... [Mais] mener la guerre contre les Kurdes, ce sera de plus en plus mener une guerre contre l'opinion publique mondiale. Et cette guerre-là, on ne la gagne pas. Voyez la chute des Américains au Vietnam, celle des Soviétiques en Afghanistan (4).* »

A supposer qu'il l'ait voulu, Turgut Ozal aurait difficilement pu faire passer ce message à l'état-major de l'armée, qui a la haute main sur la conduite des opérations au Kurdistan.

Après les élections législatives du 20 octobre 1991 et la victoire d'une coalition menée par le Parti de la juste voie de M. Suleyman Demirel et par le Parti populaire social-démocrate de M. Erdal Inonu, les vainqueurs ont vite renié leur engagement de trouver une solution politique (5). Comme le notait le journaliste Ismet G. Imset, le nouveau gouvernement « *a décidé d'étendre la guerre au Kurdistan, contrairement aux promesses faites. De nombreux observateurs ont remarqué que le rejet par M. Demirel de toute solution politique avait suivi une réunion du tout-puissant conseil national de sécurité (6)* », dominé par les principaux chefs de l'armée et sur lequel le pouvoir politique n'a aucune autorité. Selon la Constitution, imposée par les militaires, l'état-major échappe même au contrôle du ministère de la défense. Non sans humour noir, le journaliste concluait qu'on avait donc décidé de traiter la rébellion actuelle comme les vingt-sept précédentes : elle serait noyée dans le sang !

Dans les provinces du Sud-Est, l'annonce du cessez-le-feu, à la veille du nouvel an kurde, le 22 mars, avait soulagé la population. « *Le nombre de morts et d'assassinats va diminuer, nous assurait alors un avocat, responsable de l'association des droits de l'homme du Cizre. La population espère, même si elle est inquiète des réponses d'Ankara aux propositions de la guérilla.* » Car la peur et la tension restaient vives dans cette région, en ce printemps 1993, au rythme des contrôles de la gendarmerie militaire, des ratissages, des destructions de villages, des quadrillages par les forces spéciales. Selon un porte-parole du PKK en Europe, entre le 20 mars et le début du mois de juin, 44 villages ont été détruits, 165 personnes abattues et 3 500 arrêtées.

Malgré ces exactions, le PKK maintenait le cessez-le-feu et réaffirmait sa volonté de négocier. Et puis, le 24 mai dernier, des guérilleros abattaient une trentaine de soldats désarmés, dans la région de Bingöl. M. Ismet Sezgin, ministre de l'intérieur turc, en tira immédiatement la conclusion que les offres du PKK n'étaient qu'une manœuvre, et l'armée entamait des opérations de représailles contre les villages de la région : selon le gouvernement, 733 personnes ont été tuées entre le 10 mai et le 10 août dernier. Cette embuscade tombait au plus mauvais moment pour le PKK, ce qui alimenta la thèse d'une provocation des forces spéciales de l'armée turque ; pourtant, l'action fut revendiquée.

LES GRANDES MANŒUVRES DU RÉGIME D'ANKARA à l'armée turque au Kurdistan

certes du bout des lèvres, par M. Ocalan.

Dans un message adressé le 29 mai 1993 à des dizaines de milliers de Kurdes qui manifestaient à Bonn, celui-ci n'évoquait pas la rupture de la trêve. Il fallut attendre le 8 juin pour qu'il prenne cette mesure, avertissant le gouvernement d'Ankara qu'il étendait ses opérations à tout le territoire et priant les touristes d'éviter de prendre leurs vacances sur les bords du Bosphore. La guerre reprenait de plus belle, marquée notamment par l'enlèvement de plusieurs touristes étrangers dont quatre Français pris en otage le 24 juillet et libérés le 10 août. Le 15 août dernier, le PKK s'empara d'autres estivants, prêtant aux accusations de terrorisme dont il cherche pourtant à se défaire (7).

L'escalade se traduisait également par les attaques des autorités contre les expressions légales du mouvement kurde. Le 17 juillet 1993, la Cour constitutionnelle interdisait le Parti populaire du travail (HEP), accusé de mettre en cause l'intégrité de la République en soutenant les « séparatistes ». C'était l'aboutissement d'une longue suite de procès, d'arrestations, d'intimidations contre une formation représentée au Parlement. Pour contourner cette dissolution, les cadres du HEP ont fondé le Parti démocratique (DEP) à son tour menacé de dissolution.

Cette évolution est d'autant plus regrettable que les propositions faites par M. Ocalan lors de sa conférence de presse du 17 mars confirmaient un inflexionnement de la stratégie politique du mouvement. Il envisageait de négocier avec Ankara non plus l'indépendance du Kurdistan mais la création d'une fédération turco-kurde. Cette perspective n'était pas nouvelle puisque, dès le début de l'année 1992, le dirigeant du PKK affirmait : « On peut dire que les Kurdes sont pour une union libre plutôt que pour la séparation. Mais on ne peut penser cette union que sur la base de l'égalité et de la liberté (8). » Cette option fédéraliste était également proposée à l'échelle du Proche-Orient comme moyen de résoudre la question des minorités en Iran, en Irak, en Syrie, au Liban, etc.

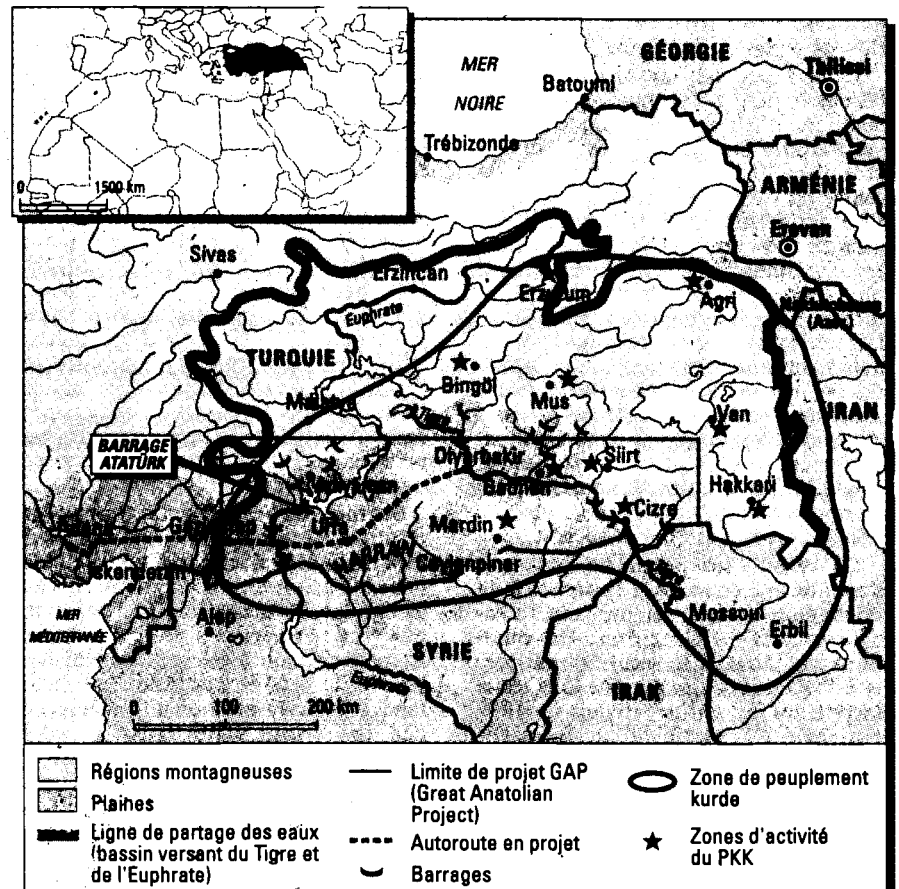
Ces mutations stratégiques sont allées de pair avec la signature par le PKK d'un accord le liant au petit Parti démocratique kurde (PDK) de Turquie, proche du dirigeant kurde irakien M. Massoud Barzani, et surtout au Parti socialiste du Kurdistan (PSK) de M. Kemal Burkay, lequel des années durant, avait condamné le « terrorisme ». M. Acar Ziya, son représen-

tant à Paris, s'explique : « Pendant dix-neuf ans, nous avons voulu régler la question kurde par des voies pacifiques. Aujourd'hui, nous n'écarterons plus la lutte armée pour que le gouvernement turc comprenne que sa politique va lui coûter cher. Nous savons qu'il n'y a pas de solution militaire ; nous restons partisans d'un cessez-le-feu entre les deux parties et, l'ouverture de négociations pour un règlement politique. »

Cette alliance marque une étape vers la constitution d'un front de libération nationale qui rassemble déjà une dizaine de partis, communistes et islamistes modérés compris. Cette entente entre des partis qui se sont violemment affrontés depuis une dizaine d'années a été rendue possible par la place éminente que tient désormais le PKK et par son enracinement populaire : venu de l'extrême gauche turque des années 70, il est en train d'achever sa mutation en un parti national, éloigné du discours marxisme-léniniste de ses origines.

L'expérience et la politique mises en œuvre par les Kurdes d'Irak depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe ont incontestablement eu un effet d'entraînement sur tous les Kurdes de la région, notamment ceux de Turquie. Le Parlement d'Erbil, capitale du Kurdistan irakien, fonctionne ; le pluralisme va de pair avec la liberté d'expression ; chaque parti possède ses journaux et souvent sa radio. Le gouvernement a mis en place une police et une armée d'environ 30 000 hommes qui réunit les peshmergas des diverses formations politiques. Certes, l'ampleur des problèmes économiques, le blocus imposé par le gouvernement de Bagdad, peuvent conduire à l'échec de l'expérience, mais pour l'instant elle est un point de mire.

Pourtant, les relations du PKK avec les Kurdes d'Irak ont été rien moins que faciles. Lors de l'insurrection contre le régime du président Saddam Hussein en mars-avril 1991, le PKK choisit d'abord de se joindre aux pesh-



PHILIPPE REKAŒEWICZ

mergas ; mais, devant l'ampleur de la contre-offensive de Bagdad, il changea son fusil d'épaule et dénonça la « trahison » de MM. Talbani et Barzani, « leaders féodaux ». Malgré cette lourde erreur politique, le PKK installa des bases arrière au nord du Kurdistan d'Irak, quand l'armée de Bagdad fut contrainte d'abandonner le terrain. La coexistence entre militants du PKK et peshmergas kurdes irakiens fut difficile ; en octobre 1992, sous la pression d'Ankara, ces derniers s'attaquaient aux bases du PKK, et les combats fratricides firent plusieurs centaines de victimes.

Après la signature d'un cessez-le-feu permettant aux guérilleros du PKK de se réfugier au Kurdistan d'Irak s'ils renonçaient à toute opération contre la Turquie à partir de cette base de repli, les autres ont décidé de tour-

ner une page, enclenchant un processus de rapprochement illustré par la présence de M. Jalal Talabani aux conférences de presse de M. Abdullah Ocalan. Les incursions probables de l'armée turque poursuivant les combattants du PKK sur le territoire irakien mettront sans doute cette solidarité à rude épreuve. Le Kurdistan d'Irak subit déjà attaques et bombardements de l'armée irakienne contre ses propres Kurdes. Le jeu des puissances régionales pèsera encore longtemps sur les tentatives d'unifier la lutte des Kurdes.

A l'occasion du neuvième anniversaire du déclenchement du combat du PKK le 15 août 1984, M. Ilunur Cevik, rédacteur en chef de *Turkish Daily News*, remarquait : « Nous entendons chaque semaine des déclara-

tions d'officiels à tous les niveaux annonçant que cette année serait celle de l'écrasement définitif du PKK. Nous avons déjà entendu cet air depuis neuf ans et, au lieu de l'écrasement du PKK, nous avons vu se créer une situation plus compliquée en Turquie, marquée par une lutte entre Turcs et Kurdes qui, c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire, est très dangereuse pour la République (9). » A terme, c'est bien l'unité même de la République qui est en question.

MICHEL VERRIER.

- (1) *Turkish Daily News*, 12 juillet 1993.
- (2) *Ibidem*.
- (3) Sur la question kurde, lire notamment, Christiane More, « Les Kurdes, un enjeu oublié du Proche-Orient », *le Monde diploma-*

tique, octobre 1986, et Kendal Nezan, « Privés d'Etat, les Kurdes ne peuvent oublier les leçons de l'histoire », *le Monde diplomatique*, juin 1991.

(4) *Le Monde*, 13 juillet 1993.

(5) Lire Michel Verrier, « La guerre s'étend au Kurdistan », *le Monde diplomatique*, janvier 1993.

(6) Ismet G. Imset, *The PKK, a Report on Separatist Violence in Turkey*, Turkish Daily News Publication, Ankara, 1992.

(7) Dans un rapport publié au mois d'août dernier, Amnesty International stigmatise les méthodes des forces spéciales turques mais reproche également au PKK l'assassinat arbitraire de prisonniers afin de dissuader les villageois de rejoindre les « gardiens de villages » une milice armée par Ankara.

(8) *Kurdistan Rapport*, avril 1992.

(9) *Turkish Daily News*, 16 août 1993.

* Journaliste



LE VILLAGE DE KOCERIAN DÉTRUIT PAR LES SOLDATS
Une stratégie de la « terre brûlée »

FRITZ MEIJST - VU/HOLLANDESE HOOGTE

Les objectifs cachés du Grand Projet anatolien

Par
**CHRISTIAN
CHESNOT ***

A quelques encablures de la frontière syrienne, les paysans de la plaine d'Harran s'apprêtent à vivre de profonds bouleversements socio-économiques. L'antique cité d'Harran, située jadis sur la célèbre Route de la soie, se trouve au cœur du Grand Projet anatolien (Great Anatolian Project, GAP), qui doit, selon les vœux des autorités turques, transformer radicalement l'agriculture du Sud-Est. Traditionnellement organisée autour de cultures sèches (blé, avoine, pistaches, lentilles, olives...), l'agriculture locale est promise à une diversification accélérée avec l'introduction massive de cultures irriguées, principalement des fruits et des légumes. Une métamorphose rendue possible grâce à l'eau emmagasinée par le barrage Atatürk. Dans les champs, les canaux d'irrigation

quadrillent déjà la plaine d'Harran, prêts à irriguer par étapes, dès 1994, plus de 150 000 hectares, lorsque la réalisation des tunnels jumeaux d'Urfa qui achemineront l'eau à partir du barrage Atatürk, sera achevée.

La mise en valeur de cette région fait partie des treize projets du GAP qui couvrent les provinces d'Adiyaman, de Diyarbakir, de Gaziantep, de Mardin, de Siirt, d'Urfa, de Cizre et de Batman (1). Dans le cadre de cette renaissance du sud-est anatolien, dont la population est majoritairement kurde, 22 barrages et 17 centrales hydroélectriques seront construits sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre. L'objectif poursuivi par les autorités étant de parvenir à irriguer 1,7 million d'hectares (1,1 million d'hectares à partir des eaux de l'Euphrate et 600 000 hectares grâce à celles du Tigre). Selon M. Olcay Unver, président du GAP, l'ensemble du projet sera achevé vers 2010-2015 et aura coûté 32 milliards de dollars.

Toutefois, le pari d'Ankara n'est pas seulement économique. En arrière-plan de cet impressionnant

programme de développement planifié sur plus de vingt ans, se dessine une vaste entreprise de reprise en main de la région par l'Etat. Les investissements d'Ankara dans le sud-est du pays, les plus importants jamais entrepris, visent dans une large mesure à désamorcer les velléités d'autonomie des populations kurdes et surtout à marginaliser les militants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) dans des zones montagneuses. « Dans la philosophie générale du GAP, note un diplomate occidental, on retrouve l'idée du plan de Constantine (2) selon laquelle un effort de développement économique peut contribuer à résoudre les questions politiques. »

Jusque dans les régions les plus reculées, les travaux d'infrastructure vont bon train. Ainsi, à Ceylanpinar, ville frontière avec la Syrie, située sur le fleuve El Khabour, une vingtaine d'ouvriers s'échinent dans la chaleur accablante de l'été à poser des conduites d'égouts. Jusqu'à présent les villageois rejetaient l'eau domestique usée directement dans les rues, comme le prouvent les innombrables rigoles qui serpentent autour des habitations. L'ingénieur turc responsable du chantier explique qu'une station de traitement sera bientôt construite afin de permettre une réutilisation des eaux usées dans l'agriculture.

Comme tient à le souligner M. Olcay Unver, « les investissements bénéficieront à tous, et pas simplement aux agriculteurs, car nous voulons bâtir aussi un secteur industriel fort. Au total, le GAP va permettre la création de 3 millions d'emplois ». Cet effort considérable sera accompagné d'un plan de développement des voies de communication. Une super-autoroute à six voies, baptisée autoroute transeuropéenne, reliera les villes d'Adana, Gaziantep, Urfa et Diyarbakir. Elle sera couplée à une nouvelle ligne de chemin de fer. En effet, les autorités ont décidé de démanteler à terme celle qui longe la frontière avec la Syrie, jugée peu sûre. Un aéroport international est prévu à Urfa. L'installation de cet ensemble d'infrastructures et la bonification des terres agricoles près de la frontière syrienne constitueront un bon moyen de contrôler la région. Un réseau serré de voies de communication peut aussi servir à faciliter le déplacement des forces de sécurité tandis que la maîtrise de l'approvisionnement en eau de l'agriculture locale représente un puissant levier d'encadrement des paysans entre les mains des autorités.

Officiellement, le GAP vise à fixer la population sur place en lui fournissant du travail dans l'agriculture, l'industrie et les services. « Si les Kurdes sont occupés à travailler, ils n'auront plus le temps de se battre », résume crûment un agronome turc installé à Urfa. Actuellement, les inégalités de niveau de vie entre le sud-est anatolien et le reste de la Turquie sont criantes : alors que le revenu annuel moyen par tête avoisine les 2 000 dollars en Turquie, il ne dépasse pas les 500 dollars dans les zones kurdes. Pour les responsables turcs, ce fossé socio-économique constitue un terreau propice à la propagation des thèses du PKK au sein d'une population locale, longtemps abandonnée à un sous-développement chronique.

La mise en place d'une agriculture mécanisée devrait accentuer l'exode rural déjà en cours : les petits paysans seront alors peu à peu contraints de vendre leurs lopins de terre et d'aller travailler dans les grands centres urbains de la région (Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Urfa,...) afin de fournir la main-d'œuvre au secteur industriel (agro-alimentaire, textile, mécanique,...). Ces départs constitueront alors autant de relais en moins pour le PKK dans les campagnes, progressivement vidées.

Par ailleurs, des villages et des vallées seront inondés. Déjà, le barrage Atatürk a provoqué,

selon M. Necmettin Sasaoglu, responsable du service d'information au barrage, la destruction de 116 villages, forçant ainsi près de 55 000 personnes à quitter la région. Une partie d'entre elles ont été relogées dans de nouveaux villages construits par les autorités comme à Samsat ; les autres ont reçu un pécule pour s'installer ailleurs. Pour M. Ibrahim Aksoy, secrétaire général du Parti démocratique (DEP), favorable aux revendications kurdes, « ces opérations visent à détruire le patrimoine historique kurde, comme à Hasankeyf, qui sera complètement submergé. L'Etat turc, devant ce processus de destruction, veille soigneusement à changer le nom des villages ».

Certains milieux officiels espèrent même susciter à terme un mouvement migratoire de populations de souche turque de l'Ouest du pays vers le sud-est anatolien, promis à un regain d'activité. « Pourquoi un entrepreneur d'Izmir ne pourrait-il pas créer une entreprise à Diyarbakir et s'y installer avec ses ouvriers ? », s'interroge M. Yaçar Yakiç, sous-secrétaire d'Etat adjoint pour les affaires économiques, qui poursuit : « Imaginez qu'un Breton en France ne puisse pas s'implanter dans le Midi ! Je crois donc que des courants d'émigration vont s'établir de manière naturelle en direction des régions du GAP. »

Sédentariser les tribus

DES programmes de sédentarisation des tribus nomades kurdes sont aussi prévus : entre 20 000 et 50 000 personnes seraient concernées. « Nous avons mené des enquêtes sur le terrain, explique M. Ibrahim Tugrul, sociologue travaillant au GAP ; ces populations veulent se fixer dans des villages construits en dur, car leurs conditions de vie se sont considérablement dégradées ces dernières années. L'augmentation des surfaces cultivées et l'urbanisation ont rétréci leur territoire de migration. Leur mode de vie ne convenait plus aux évolutions actuelles, eux-mêmes en sont d'ailleurs conscients. »

Mais les plans de développement, qui visent finalement à remodeler le tissu socio-économique de la région et à arrimer solidement le sud-est anatolien à la mère patrie, embarrassent les responsables des organisations kurdes. Signe révélateur, les rebelles du PKK n'ont jamais pris pour cible les installations liées au GAP, alors qu'ils n'ont pas hésité à s'attaquer au secteur touristique.

Pour expliquer cette réserve du PKK, plusieurs explications sont possibles. D'abord les populations locales seraient les premières victimes d'attaques contre les systèmes d'irrigation, les barrages ou les centrales hydroélectriques. En outre, les ouvrages « lourds » du GAP, comme le barrage Atatürk ou les tunnels jumeaux d'Urfa, ne se situent pas dans les zones d'activité du PKK, situées beaucoup plus à l'est, et sont protégés par des mesures de sécurité très strictes. Un diplomate occidental évoque enfin un « souci des rebelles kurdes de ménager la bourgeoisie kurde et les grands propriétaires fonciers qui seront les premiers bénéficiaires du développement agricole et industriel. Une manière de ne pas se mettre à dos cette partie influente de la société kurde, dont le PKK pourrait avoir besoin ultérieurement ».

(1) La superficie du GAP, 73 000 kilomètres carrés, équivaut à près de deux fois et demie la surface de la Belgique.

(2) Lors d'un discours prononcé le 3 octobre 1958 à Constantine, le général de Gaulle annonçait un plan quinquennal de développement économique et de promotion culturelle et sociale de l'Algérie, alors territoire français.

Turkish Probe October 5, 1993

Human Rights Diary

Mehmet Balamir, a distributor of the pro-Kurdish daily *Özgür Gündem*, is attacked by two as yet unidentified men in the southeastern province of Diyarbakır. He is severely beaten.

(*Özgür Gündem*, Sept. 27)

Turkey's Human Rights Association (IHD) is seeking to launch a symbolic trial against five former generals who staged a coup in 1980 and ousted the country's democratically elected government and parliament. IHD chairman Akın Birdal says they plan to hold the first hearing by the end of 1993 and have established contact with various international bodies such as the Paris and New York bar associations as well as Helsinki Watch.

(*Newspapers*, Sept. 28)

Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) says they will strike at Western interests, tourists and economic targets across Turkey in retaliation for Ankara's crackdown against their struggle for autonomy. Öcalan says the violent campaign he plans to launch could kill up to 50 people a day. His guerrillas, he says, will launch "attacks against Turkish forces, tourists, economic targets and Western interests in Turkey. We will not be responsible if 50 people die in such attacks in one day."

(*Newspapers*, Sept. 29)

Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yılmaz says that following the recent terrorist attack on Doğubeyazıt, tanks fired indiscriminately. During the incident, ANAP Ağrı Deputy (a former health minister) Yaşar Eryılmaz's house in Doğubeyazıt was crushed by tanks. "We will raise this issue in Parliament," Yılmaz says, adding, "Eryılmaz's father, the occupant of the house, is a person adamantly opposed -- maybe more adamantly than the state -- to the PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party). Yet his house too has been destroyed. We must protect the people caught between the two sides in this fight."

(*Newspapers*, Sept. 30)

A group of Turkish deputies petition the Grand National Assembly for a parliamentary investigation to be launched into the Sept. 4 assassination of Kurdish MP Mehmet Sincar in the province of Batman. The appeal calls on Parliament to act in a decisive way for those behind Sincar's killing to be caught and brought before the law.

(*Newspapers*, Oct. 1)

Police detain 15 people suspected of involvement in the murder of a Kurdish member of parliament. A statement from the emergency rule regional governor's office in Diyarbakır says the 15 detained in the

southeastern town of Batman had taken part in the September 4 murders of Mehmet Sincar, an MP for the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP).

(*Newspapers*, Oct. 1)

The PKK raids the Beşkonak village, in Batman province, killing seven people, two of them children. An indefinite curfew is imposed in the town of Hizan on Wednesday night after PKK militants fire on soldiers, killing a soldier and a civilian. Many buildings were damaged and six vehicles are set on fire during the clash. Two school teachers are killed and five wounded in a PKK attack on a teachers' club building in Birecik, in Şanlıurfa province. Unidentified gunmen shoot dead a university student in Diyarbakır.

(*Newspapers*, Oct. 1)

In retaliation for an informal ban by local security forces on the sales of pro-Kurdish publications in southeastern Turkey, the PKK bans kiosks and distributors in Diyarbakır from selling any Istanbul-based newspapers.

(*Turkish Daily News*, Oct. 1)

A German state government on Friday urges the release of a translator for a German human rights group who has been detained by military authorities in Turkey. Nilüfer Koç, who was travelling in Southeast Turkey with a group based in the German state of Lower Saxony, disappeared on Tuesday, a lawyer for the group, Thorsten Rueckold, told Reuters. She was being held by military authorities in Şırnak. Koç, a Turkish citizen who grew up in Germany, travelled with a delegation to interview journalists, trade unionists and human rights workers.

(*Newspapers*, Oct. 1)

Kurdish militants set fire to a house in the village of Altiova in Muş' Hasköy township, killing nine villagers including seven children. In another development, Kurdish militants kill a civilian and wound nine others in a roadblock in Kahramanmaraş' Elbistan village. Meanwhile, two more people are gunned down by unidentified assailants in southeastern refinery province of Batman.

(*Newspapers*, Oct. 2)

Turkish audiences flock to the first showing in the country of Kurdish director Yılmaz Güney's film "Yol", banned for 12 years. "Yol" (Road) shared the prestigious Golden Palm award at the 1982 Cannes film festival with Costa Gavras' film "Missing" but was banned in Turkey and copies of it were burned for its alleged Marxist and Kurdish separatist content.

(*Newspapers*, Oct. 2)

Turkish Probe October 12, 1993

Human Rights Diary

■ Thirty-one people are killed in southeast Turkey in two separate minibus attacks, blamed on the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). A minibus travelling between Kayalar and Kayalıpınar villages in Mardin province hits a land mine. Twenty-six people, including nine children and five women, are killed. In another development, five civilians are killed in the Mutki district of Bitlis province when their minibus comes under fire from PKK terrorists.

(Newspapers, Oct. 4)

■ PKK militants attack a village and two hamlets in the Southeast, massacring 33 villagers and wounding 25 others. There are eight women and 10 children among the dead. This series of PKK attacks is said to be in retaliation for a Turkish military offensive over the weekend to wipe out guerrilla bases some five kilometers (3 miles) inside northern Iraq.

(Newspapers, Oct. 5)

■ The Motherland Party (ANAP) repeats claims that tanks opened fire on a house owned by the father of a party deputy and says an official statement issued by the Prime Ministry on the issue is stretching the truth. ANAP Ağrı Deputy Yaşar Eryılmaz, whose house was attacked, says that his family has supported the state for years, and has given no support to the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Eryılmaz's announcement follows a statement by the Prime Ministry claiming that a tank fired two salvos on the house and a nearby building only after separatist militants, stationed inside, opened fire on a military barracks.

(Newspapers, Oct. 6)

■ Turkish military authorities release a student, working as a translator for a German human-rights group, who was detained last week while travelling in southeastern Turkey. Nilüfer Koç, a Turkish citizen who grew up in the German city of Bremen, disappeared in the town of Şımak on September 28. The group's lawyer, Thorsten Rueckold, says Koç disappeared after receiving threats from the military, and adds that she turned up at a hotel in Diyarbakır province. The state governments of Bremen and Lower Saxony, along with parliamentary president Rita Suessmuth, had urged Turkey to secure Koç's release. Lower Saxony State Justice Minister Heidi Alm-Merk said she feared Koç might be tortured. Turkish authorities give no reason for Koç's detention.

(Newspapers, Oct. 6)

■ The bodies of two teachers, one of them a woman, are found two days after they were seized by the PKK from Ovacık town in Tunceli province. Unidentified attackers shoot dead two civilians in the

town of Silvan in Diyarbakır province.

(Newspapers, Oct. 7)

■ The Turkish Human Rights Association (IHD) says 729 southeastern villages have been emptied since Turkey's general election in October 1991. Villages that refuse to take guns from the state to fight the PKK or that are suspected of giving food to the guerrillas are frequent targets of intimidation, the IHD says.

(Newspapers, Oct. 8)

■ State Security Courts (DGM) take steps to imprison three of the country's most prominent activists and writers on the Kurdish issue. Yaşar Kaya, in prison in Ankara for the past three weeks, is charged with "separatist propaganda," which carries a term of up to five years. İsmail Beşikçi, a Turkish sociologist-author of many books on the history and culture of the Kurds, is targeted by a police search warrant with a court order for his arrest. Another DGM prosecutor demands the imprisonment of pro-Kurdish author-columnist Yalçın Küçük as well. Meanwhile, Günay Aslan, a writer who has won the prestigious Yunus Nadi literature award for her book "33 Bullets," is arrested in Istanbul. (Turkish Daily News, Oct. 8)

■ The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights urges Turkey to put an end to police torture that includes electric shocks to the genitals, beatings, vaginal and anal rape, and death threats. "Suspects of both political and ordinary crimes, children as well as adults, are routinely and systematically tortured," a written statement released by the organization reads.

(Newspapers, Oct. 8)

■ PKK militants shot dead four elementary school teachers in the Pirinçli village of Pertek, Tunceli. Earlier in the week, the PKK issued a statement demanding that all teachers resign from their positions and all schools close down in Tunceli. The statement said those who refused would be placed among the "revolutionary targets" of the organization, namely that they would be killed.

(Newspapers, Oct. 9)

■ Two international human rights groups, Helsinki Watch and Physicians for Human Rights, say that the world has remained indifferent as incidents of torture, assassinations and other abuses have surged in Turkey. The complaints are made in letters sent to officials of the Council of Europe, convening for a summit in Vienna on October 9-10.

(Newspapers, Oct. 9)

Turkish Probe October 19, 1993

Human Rights Diary

■ Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Hakkari deputy Esat Cenar claims on a public affairs TV program that Turkish troops are burning down and evacuating Kurdish villages in the Southeast. Cenar, also a member of Parliament's investigative commission on the Southeast, tells the 32. Gün (32nd Day) program that the situation in the region is desperate and most village raids are in fact conducted by security forces.

(32nd Day, Oct. 11)

■ Separatist Kurdish terrorists ambush a bus carrying discharged soldiers in Bingöl province, killing five and wounding 23 others.

(Newspapers, Oct. 12)

■ Democracy Party (DEP) Şırnak Deputy Mahmut Alınak distributes copies of a letter prepared by the office of the chief prosecutor of the state security court (DGM), requesting that his parliamentary immunity be lifted so can be tried on penalty of capital punishment. At a press conference in Parliament, Alınak says the prosecutor wants to file a case against him for a speech he made during the DEP convention. Alınak is charged with "spreading separatist propaganda threatening the integrity of the country and nation."

(Newspapers, Oct. 13)

■ Government troops armed with heavy weapons and transported in armored personnel carriers have raided two villages in the southeastern province of Mus and set them aflame, pro-Kurdish DEP Deputy Sırrı Sakık says, adding all of the villagers, including women and children, were forced into a nearby forest at gunpoint.

(Turkish Daily News, Oct 13)

■ The villagers detained by troops on the previous day after their villages were torched have been released, DEP Deputy Sırrı Sakık tells the TDN.

(Turkish Daily News, Oct. 14)

■ A high-school student is killed by a gunman in Şanlıurfa's Siverek district. The Erzurum police say a cab driver has been found dead in his car.

(Newspapers, Oct. 14)

■ An Icelandic woman goes on a hunger strike to force Turkish authorities to allow her to see her two daughters, awarded to her ex-husband in a bitter custody wrangle. I am determined to see my girls, and I will apply to the Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg if I have to," Sophia Hansen, 34, on a three-day hunger strike, tells reporters.

(Newspapers, Oct. 14)

■ A member of a Parliamentary investigative commission on the Southeast says security forces in the region have in many incidents opened fire on settlements and are responsible for the recent death of three civilians.

Algan Hacaloğlu, Istanbul deputy of the Republican People's Party (CHP), says that their fact-finding mission to the region has revealed there is no local confidence in the state and the people are shifting their support to the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) out of fear.

(Newspapers, Oct. 15)

■ The PKK says it has kidnapped an American and a New Zealander in eastern Turkey, where at least 16 tourists have been abducted this year. The German-based Kurd-Ha news agency quotes a PKK statement as saying that PKK militants have seized the two men at a roadblock on the main road between the eastern cities of Erzincan and Erzurum on October 9.

It says the American, named as Patrick Connor, and the New Zealander, identified as Ernis Dougar, are being held until their governments officially contact the PKK.

(Newspapers, Oct. 16)

■ Turkey's Christians, unnerved by PKK activity and government counter-activity, are reported to be abandoning their homes in the Southeast. Only 3,000 Christians still inhabit the southeast, home to most of the 250,000 who lived in Turkey just after World War One. They are drifting away, partly for economic reasons but also for fear of anti-Christian sentiment and the surging conflict.

They say community members have been arrested and tortured by security forces battling the PKK. Some have been murdered.

While hardly any Christians have joined the PKK, government charges that Armenians are fighting along with the organization have put all Christians under suspicion, residents say. "Here, there is only the military in control, there are no freedoms or human rights. You can't be a Christian, you can't be a Kurd, you can only be a Turk."

(Turkish Daily News, Oct. 16)

■ Main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yılmaz says that Turkey must use military force against neighboring countries that support terrorism, if peaceful deterrent measures fail in the future.

Yılmaz says "a rebellion" is what is happening in the Southeast, and the only measure against a rebellion is "for the state to use force against it."

(Newspapers, Oct. 16)

Turkish Probe October 26, 1993

The Week in Perspective

OCT. 18 The outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) declares Southeast Turkey area off-limits to the foreign press as well, following Friday's warning to the local media to shut down their offices.

■ The Turkish commander of the U.N. peacekeepers in Somalia, Gen. Çevik Bir, says the announced withdrawal of U.S. troops will doom the whole relief operation. "The United States is running the show in logistic support, intelligence, communications and hardware. If they pull out, the operation will come to an end," he warns.

■ Iran has told Turkey that Kurdish separatist militants have no bases on its territory, the Iranian news agency IRNA reports.

■ Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, on an official visit to the U.S., says a U.N. embargo on Iraq is aggravating unrest in southeastern Turkey sparked by the PKK which seeks an independent state. She adds the U.N. embargo is hurting Turkey more than it is Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

OCT. 19 Turkey and Iran have agreed to cooperate on terrorism, border security and drug smuggling, says Interior Minister Mehmet Gaziöğlü. A 10-point security protocol is reported to have been signed between Iranian Interior Minister Ali Mohammad Basharati and Gaziöğlü at the end of Gaziöğlü's three-day visit to Tehran.

■ The offices of five big national dailies in southeastern Turkey are shut after journalists heed a Kurdish rebel threat to stop reporting.

OCT. 20 Swedish Foreign Minister Baroness Margaretha af Ugglas arrives in Ankara to pay the first high-level official visit from that country to Turkey by a foreign minister.

■ Alluding to the conflict and bloodshed in Georgia, the Turkish Foreign Ministry's acting spokesman Ferhat Ataman says Ankara hopes the combatants will promptly start negotiating for a peaceful solution to the conflict.

OCT. 21 The Ankara State Security Court (DGM) prosecutor charges five years for each of the 106 defendants of the controversial July 2 Sivas fundamentalist riots that left 37 people dead.

■ The PKK raids the Derince village of Siirt's Baykan town and massacres 22 civilians, including 15

children and seven women.

■ As a gesture of solidarity with journalists whose activities have been banned by the PKK, over 150 journalists representing 23 press organizations fly Thursday morning to Diyarbakir.

■ The PKK orders the closure of the Southeast offices of government and opposition parties. Politicians defying the ban are warned they will become targets.

OCT. 22 The PKK kills a general of the gendarmerie forces in the Southeast. Brigadier General Bahtiyar Aydın, commander of gendarmerie forces in Diyarbakir area is shot to death by PKK sniper fire in Diyarbakir's Lice town while conducting an operation against PKK militants attacking the town. Heavy fighting breaks out in the town after an attack by the PKK on military and public buildings.

■ Political parties in Parliament denounce the separatist ban on their activities in the Southeast and say they will not give in to terrorist demands.

■ A former American ocean liner considered an environmental hazard because of its asbestos insulation sails under tow Friday to be refurbished in Russia. The Bosphorus is temporarily closed to maritime traffic as the SS United States is towed to the Black Sea on its way to Sevastopol.

OCT. 23 Soldiers conduct house-to-house searches Saturday and cordon off Lice where a Kurdish uprising killed a general. Erdoğan Şahin, the governor of the provincial center of Diyarbakir, says a curfew went into effect at midnight and troops are in full control in Lice.

OCT. 24 Four ministers of the Tansu Çiller Cabinet are reshuffled: Interior Minister Mehmet Gaziöğlü is appointed state minister. Education Minister Nahit Menteşe becomes Interior Minister. State Minister Mehmet Gölhan is the new defense minister. Former defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz is appointed the new education minister.

■ Labor unions, vocational organizations and associations issue a joint communique stressing that the ruling True Path Party (DYP) and the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) have not fulfilled the pledges which they had made prior to the 1991 elections.

■ The body of Brigadier General Bahtiyar Aydın, is buried following funeral ceremonies held in front of the gendarmerie headquarters and Ankara's Kocatepe mosque.

Turkish Probe October 26, 1993

Human Rights Diary

The Association of Contemporary Journalists (CGD) urges the government to issue an amnesty for the press, for the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Republic of Turkey. Mustafa Ekmekçç, the general director of the Association says: "We believe that a general amnesty for editors who are still being fined hundreds of millions of liras or are imprisoned while the publications they headed have ceased to exist, would contribute greatly to freedom of thought in our country."

(Newspapers, Oct. 19)

Press freedom activists continue to condemn the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)'s recent decision to ban national and foreign press activities in southeastern Turkey. The International Federation of Journalists (FIJ) says recent PKK tactics to threaten journalists only show "how empty their promises on press freedom and democracy are." The organization's Secretary General Aidan White appeals to the PKK to withdraw its ultimatum to the press and not to threaten journalists working in the region. Journalist associations throughout Turkey and in Northern Cyprus also condemn the PKK ban. In another move, journalists working for foreign news organizations in Ankara sign a joint letter that condemns the PKK ban. "We deplore this attempt to muzzle reporting of the Kurdish conflict in the region, just as we would deplore any government attempt to block or censor news from the area," it says.

(Newspapers, Oct. 20)

Two people die in Mardin's Savur district when a bus hits a mine planted by PKK militants. In Urfa's Suruç district, two civilians, part of a group of 12 people recently kidnapped by the PKK, are found murdered.

(Newspapers, Oct. 20)

Referring to recent bans imposed by the outlawed PKK on political parties and news organizations in the predominantly Kurdish populated southeast, pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) spokesman Remzi Kartal says that pressure on press and parties in the region are not new. He says that the pro-Kurdish daily Özgür Gündem and the DEP have been under constant pressure, adding "the press has not backed freedom of communication. It has attended the briefings by the Office of the Turkish Chief of Staff, and has acted in line with National Security Council (MGK) decisions," Kartal claims.

(Newspapers, Oct. 21)

The international human rights group Amnesty International (A.I.) claims increasing evidence has come to light that since 1991 that Turkey's security

forces have engaged in a campaign of extrajudicial executions, and killed a number of civilians by firing indiscriminately on demonstrators and residential areas. "Unarmed civilians have been killed by security forces firing indiscriminately on demonstrations, in random firing on Kurdish residential areas in retaliation for PKK attacks on troops, or in other recklessly excessive uses of lethal force," it adds. Amnesty also says the PKK, has committed "gross atrocities and has claimed thousands of lives."

(Newspapers, Oct. 21)

Yaşar Kaya, the leader of the pro-Kurdish DEP, is sentenced in Turkey to two years in prison for making separatist speeches. The Ankara State Security Court (DGM) finds Kaya and two other party officials guilty for speeches deemed threatening to Turkey's national unity. The three made the speeches at a convention of the disbanded People's Labor Party (HEP) three years ago. Authorities disbanded the party earlier this year. Kaya, who is also publisher of Özgür Gündem, was arrested in September in connection with a speech he made in Kurdish-held northern Iraq.

(Newspapers, Oct. 21)

The PKK raids the village of Derince in Siirt's Baykan town and massacres 22 civilians, including 15 children. Ten others are injured in the attack. The PKK claims the women and children were government paid village guards.

(Newspapers, Oct. 22)

The PKK will ban Turkish political parties from southeast Turkey, the Dusseldorf, Germany based KURD-HA news agency reports. The agency also says the PKK has kidnapped the local chairman of Turkey's junior coalition partner, the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP), in Diyarbakır.

(Newspapers, Oct. 22)

The KURD-HA quotes a PKK military chief claiming "hundreds of civilian casualties after government tanks and artillery fired indiscriminately at mosques, coffeehouses, shops and houses" in Diyarbakır's Lice town which was attacked Friday by an 250-strong PKK group.

(Newspapers, Oct. 24)

The PKK kills eight workers and injures three in an attack on a mine in the Yayladere district of Bingöl province.

(Newspapers, Oct. 24)