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Le 3 août le procès des députés kurdes du parti de la démocratie (DEP) incarcérés depuis début mars s'est ouvert devant la Cour de sûreté de l'État d'Ankara. Les députés kurdes prisonniers d'opinion sont accusés de «*haute trahison*» et de séparatisme. Le procureur général de la Cour de sûreté d'État d'Ankara, Nusret Demiral requiert la peine de mort contre eux, conformément à l'article 125 du Code pénal turc. La préfecture d'Ankara a pris des mesures draconiennes lors du procès, sans doute pour présenter les députés comme des «*militants dangereux*». Après la lecture de l'acte d'accusation pendant une journée et

ANKARA : OUVERTURE DU PROCÈS DES DÉPUTÉS KURDES

demie, les députés lors de leur défense ont longuement expliqué les machinations qui étaient à la base de leur arrestation et la manipulation, pour des raisons électorales, des médias et des électeurs, notamment par le Premier ministre Tansu Çiller... Ils ont précisé que le procès étant politique, l'État avait décidé d'emblée de les condamner et que du coup cette parodie de justice n'était que pure formalité. Ils ont montré comment les «*aveux de*

repentis, ex-membres du PKK», arrachés sous la torture pour leur imputer des liens et activités imaginaires étaient sans fondements et comment, en ouvrant ce procès, l'État turc piétinait sa propre Constitution et ses lois. Ils ont ensuite démonté, pièce par pièce, les preuves retenues contre eux et se sont clairement distingués du PKK en récusant la violence armée. Enfin, ils ont regretté que l'État turc n'ait su profiter de l'occasion

historique que présentait leur formation pour résoudre la question kurde qui empoisonne et hypothèque depuis plus de 70 ans la vie politique et l'avenir de la Turquie.

Une cinquantaine d'observateurs et avocats étrangers étaient présents dans la salle du tribunal. Dans une déclaration à la presse, M. Miguel Angel Martinez, président de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe s'est dit «très concerné» par ce procès. L'International Human Rights Law Group (basé aux États-Unis) a sévèrement critiqué le procès et a souligné qu'il constituait une violation de l'article 90 de la Constitution turque elle-même. Selon le *Law Group* les accusations du Parquet n'étaient nullement convaincantes ; elles n'apportaient aucun début de preuve matérielle indiquant que les députés avaient cautionné la violence. Dans une lettre

adressée aux membres du Congrès américain, Stenly H. Hoyer, co-président de la Commission Helsinki du Congrès a également dénoncé le procès. Il a précisé qu'il était «*lourd de conséquences pour la démocratie turque*». Enfin, le Parlement européen a décidé de suspendre ses relations avec le Parlement turc en signe de protestation contre le procès des députés.

Le 8 août, au terme de la présentation de la défense des députés, la Cour a ajourné le procès au 7 septembre. L'audience du 7 septembre n'a duré que quelques heures. La Cour a rejeté les demandes de citation de témoins de la défense, rejeté leur requête de mise en liberté des députés détenus et reporté au 7 octobre ce procès. (Pour plus d'information sur le procès des députés kurdes voir le numéro spécial de notre Bulletin, *Les députés kurdes prisonniers d'opinion*, août 1994, 282 p. 75 FF).

paix du Président français. Dans un éditorial paru dans le *Milliyet* du 19.09.1994, Nur Batur écrivait : «*Il n'est un secret pour personne que l'administration kurde du nord de l'Irak dérange Ankara, et ce, depuis sa mise en place. En effet, si la Turquie, appuyée en cela par la Syrie et l'Iran, ne s'était pas opposée à la création d'un État kurde, les équilibres régionaux seraient depuis longtemps bouleversés. Mais la Turquie a utilisé son poids. Le non-partage de l'Irak est le résultat de la politique turque*».

Le même jour le *Hürriyet* parlait du projet de sommet de réconciliation kurde dans des termes d'un complot visant Ankara : «*la Turquie a déjoué, en intervenant à la dernière minute, le « jeu » de Massoud Barzani et de Jalal Talabani, dirigeants kurdes, consistant à créer un État kurde au nord de l'Irak. Alors que Talabani et Barzani, s'apprétaient, le 13 septembre, à partir à Paris pour signer un projet de Constitution, principal document de la fondation de l'État kurde, lors d'une cérémonie à laquelle allait participer le président français Mitterrand, la Turquie leur a donné un avertissement : «si vous le signez, c'est la rupture*».

LA SITUATION AU KURDISTAN D'IRAK ET LE CHANTAGE D'ANKARA

LES affrontements au Kurdistan d'Irak ont continué sporadiquement en septembre et ce malgré les accords signés en juillet à Paris entre les deux forces kurdes. Les chances d'un cessez-le-feu durable et de l'application des accords signés entre les deux formations, le PDK-Irak et l'UPK se réduisent ainsi au fil des combats. Les répercussions de ces affrontements fratricides sur la population qui subit déjà l'embargo de l'Irak et celui de l'ONU sont dramatiques, tant sur le plan économique que sur celui de la sécurité des zones urbaines.

A l'issue de la réunion de juillet, le principe d'une rencontre au sommet, sous l'égide de M. François Mitterrand, entre les deux dirigeants kurdes, Jalal Talabani et Massoud Barzani avait été retenu. Ceux-ci

devaient signer l'accord prévoyant la fin des hostilités et l'organisation de nouvelles élections en 1995.

Cette initiative a provoqué la colère d'Ankara qui a immédiatement répondu par une ouverture ostentatoire en direction de Saddam Hussein et qui a refusé d'accorder des visas de transit aux dirigeants kurdes. Ankara a également fixé des conditions draconiennes au passage de la frontière turco-irakienne, contrôlée par les Kurdes. Le nouveau ministre turc des Affaires étrangères, l'ultra-nationaliste Mümtaz Soysal a expliqué qu'il ne pouvait autoriser une réunion kurde à Paris, car celle-ci reviendrait dans les faits à jeter les bases d'un État indépendant.

La presse turque a également fait écho de la colère d'Ankara contre l'initiative de

Selon le quotidien, un haut responsable du Ministère des Affaires étrangères s'était exprimé sur le sujet : «*la dernière évolution concernant le visa et notre attitude trouvent leur source dans (ce mécontentement). Leur objectif est de créer un État. Nous avons montré fermement que dans une telle hypothèse, ils assumeraient également les conséquences*».

On savait déjà qu'Ankara, obnubilé par la paranoïa de la création d'un État kurde, avait du mal à accepter l'existence d'un Parlement et d'une administration kurdes autonomes dans le Kurdistan irakien. On constate que la Turquie préfère voir cette région livrée aux combats fratricides plutôt que dotée d'institutions légitimes y assurant la paix, l'ordre et le règne de la loi.

QUAND L'ARMÉE TURQUE FAIT LA LOI...

COMME nombre de secteurs «sensibles» la justice en Turquie est fortement influencée par la hiérarchie militaire. Récemment un ministre social-démocrate turc se plaignant de l'excès de zèle et de l'aventurisme du Premier ministre Çiller avait déclaré : «le chef d'état-major des armées avait demandé la levée d'immunité parlementaire de deux ou trois députés du DEP, pour intimider et faire taire les autres, Mme Çiller, voulant se mettre dans les bonnes grâces de l'armée, en a fait arrêter 8, poussé à l'exil 6 autres, fermé leur parti et plongé la Turquie dans la plus grave crise diplomatique de son histoire». A son tour, l'ancien ministre turc de la Justice Seyfi Oktay explique dans un entretien accordé au *Turkish Daily News* (cf. p. 3 de notre Bulletin) que 300 plaintes sont d'ores et déjà portées contre la Turquie auprès de la Cour européenne des Droits de l'Homme. Il ajoute qu'Ankara risque d'être condamné dans chacun des procès, ce qui ne signifierait pas uniquement des trillions de livres de dommages et intérêts à verser aux victimes, mais encore, une perte de prestige irréparable car la Turquie est piégée par les traités internationaux qu'elle a signés et que ses citoyens kurdes persécutés commencent à présent à utiliser contre elle. Il est en effet probable que la Cour européenne devienne rapidement une instance débordée par des affaires turques.

Mais l'ancien ministre n'explique pas uniquement ses craintes. Il fait aussi des confessions. Il explique que le Conseil national de sécurité, organe non-législatif, à prédominance militaire et décidant des grands choix politiques du pays, lui avait demandé de «déterminer les limites du droit d'expression, au-delà desquelles celui-ci deviendrait un acte criminel». «Le CNS m'a demandé de limiter le droit d'expression» précise-t-il. Oktay souligne également que

les «officiers de sécurité» pourraient être considérés comme encore plus conservateurs sur ce sujet que les militaires. Finalement, l'ancien ministre raconte comment les tribunaux continuent à prononcer de lourdes peines de prison, y compris à la perpétuité, sur la base uniquement des aveux, même lors que les pièces incluses dans le dossier certifient que ceux-ci ont été arrachés sous la torture.

Dans le même temps, Nusret Demiral, procureur de la Cour de Sûreté d'Ankara, homme lige des militaires, qui avait demandé et obtenu l'arrestation des députés kurdes, s'est exprimé sur son passé de «M. anti-terreur» et sur les lois turques. Il a longuement commenté «la loi anti-

terreur» en vigueur qui assimile virtuellement chaque opinion «dissidente» à un acte de terrorisme. Selon le procureur, cette loi serait extrêmement «indulgente». Demiral s'est étonné d'observer que ceux qui se plaignaient de voir leurs opinions réprimées étaient, sans exception aucune, des défenseurs du PKK. Cela montrerait d'après lui, qu'on ne peut pas définir leurs «opinions» comme «opinions» mais comme «actions», terroristes de surcroît. Condamnant d'avance les députés du DEP dont le procès est en cours, il les a accusés d'avoir été sélectionnés par le PKK. Finalement, il a prononcé une oraison funèbre particulièrement touchante à la mémoire de son chien, «Goldy». Ses détracteurs n'auraient pas compris son chagrin, provoqué par la disparition de ce chien qui comprenait «presque 200 mots anglais». Lors de la mort de «Goldy» le Procureur s'était enorgueilli de partager un point commun avec Hitler : l'«amour des chiens».

... ET CONTRAINT DEMIREL A PROLONGER LE MANDAT DES DEUX HAUTS COMMANDANTS MILITAIRES

LE bras de fer engagé entre le Président turc Süleyman Demirel et l'armée s'est soldé par une demi-victoire pour l'un et pour l'autre. Le mandat de Dogan Güres, chef d'état major des armées, constituait le premier sujet de discord. En 1993, le mandat de ce général avait été prolongé d'un an. Le principal argument pour justifier ce précédent était de donner au général Güres le temps nécessaire pour honorer sa promesse d'en finir avec le PKK. Mais ce dispositif n'avait pas manqué de créer un malaise au sein de l'armée. En 1994, malgré l'insistance du gouvernement de Mme Çiller, Demirel s'est opposé à une nouvelle prolongation, d'ailleurs, impossible du point de vue constitutionnel. Discrédité par une polémique autour de sa

personnalité et des «affaires» liées à son fils, Güres s'est finalement résigné à abandonner la partie. Ainsi, ce militaire qui avait décidé que le «combat contre l'ennemi intérieur» serait la nouvelle orientation stratégique de l'armée, qui avait mis en oeuvre une politique de terre brûlée au Kurdistan, et qui se plaisait à qualifier de «voyous» les journalistes critiques à sa politique a laissé sa place au général Ihsan Karadayi.

Défendant l'idée de fluidité des carrières dans l'armée où «par définition aucun officier ne doit être irremplaçable», Demirel s'était également opposé au renouvellement du mandat de deux autres généraux, le général Halis Burhan, commandant de l'armée de l'Air et l'amiral Vural Bayazit, commandant des forces navales. Il avait

expliqué son refus lors de multiples entretiens accordés à la presse. Sa détermination n'a continué cependant que jusqu'à la date fatidique. Les généraux se sont rendus au Palais de Çankaya, officiellement pour une visite d'adieu de Dogan Güres. Tout indiquait cependant qu'il s'agissait plutôt d'une visite-ultimatum durant laquelle les militaires ont rappelé au Président la règle tacite du partage du pouvoir sous le régime sure d'apparence civile. Les militaires auraient

présenté le marché suivant : parapher la prolongation des mandats des hauts commandants ou signer sa démission de la présidence de la République «pour raisons de santé». Déjà renversé par deux coups d'État militaires, en 1971 et en 1980, Démirel sait qu'en Turquie on ne badine pas avec l'armée. Il s'est donc résigné à signer le décret de prolongation sans donner aucune explication publique à ce sujet.

victimes. La guerre a aussi donné lieu à des violations systématiques et massives des droits de l'Homme dans le Kurdistan. L'État, qui dispose des moyens de destruction considérables en la matière, est le principal responsable de ces violations, des massacres collectifs, des milliers d'exécutions extrajudiciaires. Le PKK participe de son côté à ces violations en s'en prenant aux villageois «pro-gouvernementaux» ou aux représentants non militaires de l'État (comme les enseignants, dont 7 viennent d'être tués par la guérilla).

SADDAM HUSSEIN ÉGAL À LUI-MÊME

Quatre ans après la sanglante invasion du Koweït qui avait abouti à la guerre du Golfe, Saddam Hussein persiste et signe. Selon sa presse, l'invasion de l'émirat était justifiée, en tout cas, constituait une leçon donnée aux frères arabes «traîtres» (cf. p. 14).

De même, Saddam reste égal à lui-même dans le domaine des Droits de l'Homme. Alors que certains pays du Conseil de Sécurité se contentent du respect des résolutions sur désarmement de l'Irak et le tracé des frontières pour «normaliser»

leurs relations avec le maître de Bagdad, Saddam met en place des pratiques de plus en plus brutales. Le décret présidentiel diffusé par les opposants irakiens et confirmé par la suite par Bagdad, prévoyant la mutilation des «criminels» et des «déserteurs» est largement appliqué. Selon ce décret, les médecins amputent l'oreille des déserteurs et marquent leur front d'une marque au fer rouge. De même, d'autres formes d'amputation, présentées par le régime comme «conformes à l'islam» sont de plus en plus fréquemment appliquées. Parmi celles-ci : l'amputation de la main droite des «voleurs».

10 ans de guerre, cela signifie aussi la destruction de plus de deux mille villages ainsi que de quelques villes moyennes par l'armée et la déstructuration du paysage humain du Kurdistan. Personne n'est en effet en mesure d'estimer le nombre de Kurdes contraints au départ, notamment vers les villes de l'Ouest. Plus personne ne compte le nombre d'assassinats perpétrés par «des tueurs non-identifiés», éliminant ainsi en masse l'intelligentsia kurde. Économiquement déjà sous-développé, le Kurdistan est aujourd'hui un pays du quart monde, où les richesses s'exilent vers l'Ouest du pays, alors que le PNB par tête d'habitant est tombé en dessous de 300 dollars.

10 ans de guerre... cela signifie la fin d'État de droit, même dans les formes, car le Kurdistan n'est plus géré comme une partie de la Turquie, mais comme un pays conquis, avec à sa tête un «super vali», sorte de pro-consul turc ayant rang de ministre aux pouvoirs discrétionnaires et absolus. Plus de la moitié des troupes turques est concentrée au Kurdistan. La fameuse organisation de contre-guérilla, disposant d'escadrons de la mort et de forces spéciales dans l'armée et dans la police, y règne en maître absolu. Elle a été le principal facteur de l'avortement de la tentative de règlement politique, amorcée par feu le Président Turgut Özal.

10 ans de guerre... cela signifie enfin l'exaspération des passions nationalistes,

10 ANS DE GUERRE AU KURDISTAN DE TURQUIE

Une guerre de guérilla lancée par le PKK le 15 août 1984 entre dans son onzième année. La guérilla, composée à l'époque seulement de quelques dizaines de militants, s'est répandue au fil des répressions militaires. Des jeunes Kurdes frappés dans leur famille ou leurs villages par la brutalité de la répression turque ont, au fil des ans, rejoint les rangs de cette organisation.

10 ans de guerre... cela signifie avant tout plus de 14.200 morts selon le gouvernement, 34.000 morts dont 17.151 soldats et gradés de l'armée et 7.524 membres de la police, des forces spéciales et des protecteurs de villages, selon un porte-parole du PKK cité par AFP, le 12 août. Mais les combattants du PKK et les soldats turcs, souvent d'origine modeste, envoyés à la mort par les généraux d'Ankara, sont loin d'être les seules

un retour brutal au repli communautaire et aux méfiances comme on l'observe au fil des affrontements kurdo-turcs en Turquie et en Europe, et l'impasse. Dix ans après, la lutte armée menée par le PKK se perpétue sans pouvoir réaliser ses objectifs. Mais la guérilla n'est pas la seule à être dans l'impasse. L'armée renouvelle, d'échéance en échéance, sa promesse d'en finir avec le PKK. Mais son échec est également patent et le pays entier se trouve à bout de souffle. La guerre condamne la Turquie à une immobilité totale dans un environnement mouvant et à une paupérisation sans précédente de sa population. Elle coûte plus de dix milliards de dollars, somme gigantesque pour un pays du Tiers monde dont le déficit annuel du commerce extérieur oscille entre 7 et 14 milliards de dollars. Elle fragilise aussi la «démocratie turque», en transformant les

militaires en arbitres, voire en maîtres de la vie politique, et en remplissant des prisons par des intellectuels. Enfin, elle condamne le pays entier à la position peu envieuse de paria des nations, sans cesse à l'ordre du jour international, unanimement stigmatisé par des organisations humanitaires et de plus en plus critiqué par des instances internationales, et même, par les alliés les plus fidèles d'Ankara tels que la RFA et les États-Unis.

Beaucoup de Turcs, y compris des responsables politiques, sont conscients de cette impasse et du naufrage progressif du pays, mais face à la toute puissance de l'armée la classe politique manque de courage et de dirigeants d'envergure pour stopper cet engrenage destructeur et jeter les bases d'un règlement politique du problème kurde.

UN NOUVEAU LEADER POUR LE LIBÉRALISME TURC

NOMBREUX sont ceux qui en Turquie demandent désormais publiquement la fin de cette guerre ruineuse et un règlement pacifique du problème kurde. Cem Boyner, ancien président de la puissante organisation d'hommes d'affaires turcs, ayant eu par le passé des démêlés avec la justice pour avoir exprimé ses opinions, vient de lancer son *Mouvement de nouvelle démocratie*. Résolument hostile aux pratiques gouvernementales, ce nouveau politicien de 38 ans prône une «perestroïka turque» qui en finirait avec le dogmatisme kémaliste et qui réaliserait une véritable ouverture. Parmi les points qui différencient son mouvement, soutenu par une bonne partie de l'intelligentsia turque, des politiciens classiques, figure le problème kurde : suivant les traces du feu président Turgut Özal, Boyner propose l'abandon de la solution militaire,

soutenue, selon lui, par le lobby des «linceuls». Il propose l'ouverture des négociations avec une représentation que les Kurdes éliront librement. Dans un discours dont certains passages sont repris par le *Monde*, Boyner explique que «*le problème kurde est un problème turc. Nous devons leur accorder leurs droits, et cela ne serait que le remboursement tardif de notre dette à l'égard des Kurdes*».

L'émergence de ce mouvement qui semble d'ores et déjà occuper une place grandissante dans l'échiquier politique est le signe clair d'une volonté de changement et de solution politique qui se fait sentir dans l'opinion publique. La sensibilité des milieux d'affaires à ce message est un élément nouveau. Reste à connaître la réaction de la Cour Constitutionnelle, la Cour de Sûreté d'État et l'armée qui considèrent la question kurde comme leur chasse gardée.

CHRONIQUE DE LA GUERRE AU KURDISTAN DE TURQUIE

1^{er} août

Tahir Güvenç à Silvan et Hasan Keles à Hasankeyf ont été abattus par des tueurs non-identifiés. A Bismil, Gültekin Ateç, 10 ans, a trouvé la mort lors d'un attentat à la bombe. Trois autres personnes ont été blessées.

4 août

A Batman Abdullah Baskin, détenu depuis le 23 juillet par la police, a trouvé la mort lors de son transfert au tribunal. Les parents accusent la police de l'avoir torturé.

5 août

Haci Albayrak, 3 ans, et Hasan Demiralp, 13 ans, ont trouvé la mort à Elazığ à la suite de l'explosion d'une mine.

6 août

Dalyan Yay et Ikram Sarigüzel ont été assassinés à Diyarbakir par des tueurs non-identifiés.

8 août

Raif Ariktekin a été assassiné par un protecteur de village dans le village de Merkez à Bingöl. Les bijoutiers Musa Baris et Sedat Demir ont été assassinés à Batman par des tueurs non-identifiés. Abdülkadir Bilge a trouvé la mort à Nusaybin lors d'un attentat similaire.

9 août

L'armée a attaqué une maison dans le village de Yolalti (Diyarbakir) et exécuté deux personnes, accusées d'appartenir au PKK. A Suruç, un tueur non-identifié a assassiné Erkan Küçük, 7 ans, et blessé deux femmes. A Viranşehir Ali Sur a été victime d'un attentat politique. Selon les sources d'Ankara, 14 combattants du PKK ont été tués lors des opérations menées par l'armée.

11 août

Hasan Akin et Mehmet Baser ont été assassinés à Batman par des tueurs non-identifiés. Selon les sources turques, reprises par l'Agence France-Presse; 27 personnes, dont 24 combattants du PKK, ont été tués lors des affrontements dans les régions de Mus, Bitlis, Batman et Sirnak.

12 août

L'armée a bombardé le village de Kumuklu (Kulp) et tué deux femmes, Mûmine Zûmrüt et Netice Coskun. 8 personnes autres ont été blessées lors de cette opération. Le même jour, le berger Abdurrahman Aras a été retrouvé mort à Batman et Hasan Ertas a été assassiné à Nûsaybin.

13 août

Sehmuz Kizmaz a été victime d'un attentat politique, perpétré par des tueurs non-identifiés.

14 août

Les manifestations de commémoration d'onzième anniversaire de la guérilla du PKK se soldent par des nombreuses arrestations au Kurdistan, mais aussi dans des villes turques comme Adana.

15 août

Les forces turques ont attaqué une maison à Diyarbakir et assassiné deux personnes non-identifiées. Le même jour quatre enfants, Ahmet Olgaç et Mehmet Akdemir à Kulp et Çelebi Özgüç et Ishak Özgüç à Savur ont trouvé la mort à la suite d'explosion de mines.

16 août

Le chef du village de Tilozak (Viransehir), Naif Ummaz, a été retrouvé mort à Hilvan (département d'Urfa). Ummaz, membre du DEP, avait été enlevé le 7 juin.

17 septembre

Ibrahim Kizilkaya a trouvé la mort lors d'un attentat politique à Bismil.

18 août

Nombreuses arrestations des membres du DEP ou HADEP dans les villes kurdes.

19 août

A Saruhanli, les tueurs non-identifiés ont mitraillé un café fréquenté par les Kurdes. Cebrail Signiç a été assassiné, trois autres personnes ont été blessées.

21 août

A Diyarbakir, le commerçant Seyithan Aktas a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés. Nouvelles arrestations des membres du DEP, notamment à Istanbul.

22 août

Mehmet Ali Parilti, blessé le 19 août lors d'un attentat, est décédé à Diyarbakir. Arrestations des membres présumés du PKK à Adana.

24 août

Attaque au mortier de l'armée contre le village de Çayüstü (Diyarbakir) se solde par la mort de six enfants : Savas Ates, Halit Günes, Vedat Balta, Ibrahim Balta et Isa Can.

25 août

Cihat Akkum, détenu depuis le 10 août à l'école de Police de Diyarbakir, a été retrouvé mort dans sa cellule. La famille accuse la police.

26 août

A Nûsaybin, des tueurs non-identifiés ont abattu Sadik Yildirim. Selon les informations d'Agence France-Presse, les affrontements entre l'armée et les guérilleros du PKK dans les régions de Hakkari, Batman et Sirnak se sont soldés par la mort de 23 combattants kurdes et 11 soldats.

28 août

A Batman, Haci Selim Çiftçi a trouvé la mort lors d'un attentat politique. Mehmet Özalp a été assassiné lors d'une attaque de l'armée dans la ville de Mazgirt. Deux autres personnes ont été blessées. A Kozluk, Mehmet Emin Çelik a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés.

29 août

Niyazi Tekin et Hüseyin Gûya ont été assassinés par des tueurs non-identifiés, respectivement à Yüksekova et à Dicle. Dans le village de Baspinar (Batman), Mehdi Bilgin (65 ans), a été assassiné par une patrouille militaire.

1er septembre

Nombreuses arrestations lors de célébrations de la Journée mondiale de la paix. Le même jour, des tueurs non-identifiés ont abattu Fuat Akgül et blessé trois autres personnes à Diyarbakir.

3 septembre

Ancien prisonnier Metin Balaba a été abattu par des tueurs non-identifiés à Diyarbakir.

4 septembre

Nurettin Doruk, blessé le 1.09, est décédé dans un hôpital de Diyarbakir.

5 septembre

Etudiant de l'université, Mehmet Ali Arslan, enlevé cinq mois plutôt, a été retrouvé mort à Diyarbakir.

7 septembre

Servet Arslan et Sabahattin Latifeci, tous deux membres du SHP (de la coalition gouvernementale), ont été retrouvés morts à Diyarbakir. Leur corps portaient des traces de torture.

8 septembre

Nombreuses arrestations, notamment à Besiri.

12 septembre

Abdülaziz Bilgin a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés à Diyarbakir;

13 septembre

Abdullah Çitak, enlevé la veille, a été retrouvé mort à Yüksekova. Le même jour Ihsan Almas a trouvé la mort lors d'un attentat politique. Selon la Préfecture de Diyarbakir, les opérations de l'armée ont provoqué la mort de 3 soldats et de 46 combattants kurdes.

14 septembre

A Uludere le chauffeur Abdullah Demir a trouvé la mort lors de l'explosion d'une mine placée par l'armée.

17 septembre

L'explosion d'une mine placée par l'armée a pulvérisé un minibus à Eruh. 9 personnes ont été assassinées, 7 autres blessées. Selon un communiqué de la Préfecture de Diyarbakir, repris par l'*Agence France-Presse*, les affrontements entre l'armée et la guérilla dans les régions de Bingöl, Hakkari, Tunceli et Sivas ont fait 35 morts, dont un civil.

18 septembre

L'explosion d'une mine a provoqué la mort de deux femmes : Gül Alp et Azime Uysal. Le même jour, le chef du village Kadi a été retrouvé mort dans un commissariat de police à Diyarbakir. La famille a accusé la police de l'avoir torturé à mort. Toujours dans la même ville, Aziz Oguz et Kemal Küçük ont été assassinés par des tueurs non-identifiés.

19 septembre

A Dicle, l'explosion d'une mine placée par l'armée a provoqué la mort de Mme Fatma Baspinar. Trois autres personnes ont été blessées.

20 septembre

Nuri Aktas à Besiri et Mehmet Emin Odabasi à Siverek ont été assassinés par des tueurs non-identifiés.

21 septembre

Nombreuses arrestations visant les membres du DEP.

27 septembre

A Midyat, l'explosion d'une mine a provoqué la mort de Ali Arbas. A Cizre, Hursit Altin a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés.

28 septembre

Mehmet Sait Sabuttekin, responsable de

HADEP, a été assassiné à Adana par des tueurs non-identifiés. A Besiri, Seyithan Kara a trouvé la mort à la suite d'un attentat à la bombe.

29 septembre

Selon les sources turques, 7 soldats et 4

protecteurs de village ont trouvé la mort lors d'une attaque du PKK.

30 septembre

Siddik Etyemez et Ahmet Ceylan ont été retrouvés morts sur la route Ergani-Diyarbakir. A Batman Ahmet Özalp a été victime d'un attentat politique.

EN BREF, LA REVUE DE PRESSE

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Iraq Plans Higher Oil Output

By Paul Lewis

New York Times Service

BAGHDAD — Expressing confidence that the United Nations embargo on Iraqi oil exports will be lifted by early next year, the Iraqi oil minister said he was preparing to triple oil output over the next few years from an initial 2 million barrels a day.

Revenue from the increasing oil production could offset the cost of the reparations that Iraq must pay for its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. But it could also put pressure on world oil prices, unless demand keeps growing and production declines elsewhere.

In an interview, Safa Hadi Jawad, the oil minister, estimated that Iraq would have the capacity to export slightly more than 2 million barrels of oil a day after the embargo is lifted.

But he said Iraq intended to raise production to its quota

within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries of 3.6 million barrels a day, the same level as Iran, within 10 to 14 months, once it obtains the parts needed to repair oil installations damaged during the Gulf War. Iraq was producing an estimated 3.3 million barrels a day before the war.

In the next six to eight years, the minister said Iraq would almost double this level of output, increasing production to 6 million barrels a day by developing new oil fields in the south of the country in joint ventures with foreign companies. Southern Iraq's undeveloped oil reserves are estimated at 20 billion to 30 billion barrels.

Iraq's hopes have been bolstered by recent movement within the United Nations toward relaxing the embargo on Iraqi oil exports.

Although the Security Council agreed not to remove the trade sanctions when it reviewed them recently, several countries, led by Russia and France, made clear that they would like to see sanctions relaxed early next year if Iraq continues to cooperate with U.N. disarmament efforts.

Mr. Jawad's projections come at a time of rising oil prices. In the United States, crude oil for current delivery has surged above \$20 a barrel from \$14.50 in late March.

To ensure that Iraq's return to the oil market did not depress prices, Mr. Jawad said he expected Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to accept lower OPEC production quotas.

In the longer term, he predicted that Iraq's plans to raise oil production would not weak-

en oil prices because rising Iraqi exports would merely fill the gap left by expected production declines in Algeria, Indonesia and the North Sea.

If Iraq succeeds in pushing up its oil production sharply, and if oil prices do not plunge because of increased supply, by the end of the century Iraq may offset the economic consequences of invading Kuwait.

It would be pumping enough new oil to compensate itself for the 30 percent slice of oil revenue that it must pay in reparations under the Security Council's terms for the Gulf War cease-fire.

Assuming Iraq can produce 6 million barrels of oil a day, it will be required to hand over the revenue from 2 million barrels a day to the Kuwait compensation fund, but it will still retain control over the other 4 million barrels a day.

That would give it oil revenues comparable to those it had before the war, assuming oil prices remain unchanged.

turkish daily news

Monday, August 1, 1994

Are Turkey and US on collision course?

Officials in Ankara do not see anymore the 'counterbalancing influence' of the US administration over Congress in terms of 'anti-Turkish lobbies'

By Semih D. Idiz

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Recent developments which indicate a growing interference by the United States in Turkey's specific domestic and foreign policy issues by means of direct or indirect pressure have raised the question of whether the two countries are not currently on a collision course.

Analysts are pointing out that the "period of rediscovery" the two countries enjoyed in terms of their bilateral relations during and immediately after the Gulf crisis appears to have gradually disappeared over the past year.

Washington, of course, still maintains its traditional "important ally in a key part of the world" type of argument vis-a-vis Turkey, they say.

But officials in Ankara are more and more

aware of the fact that the "counterbalancing influence" of the U.S. administration over Congress in terms of "anti-Turkish lobbies" in Washington is just not there the way it was under previous administrations. In other words, while the "important ally" position is read off

by rote by the Clinton administration, Ankara is seeing less and less of the supporting arguments and initiatives in terms of this position that would perk up Turkish confidence in ties with Washington.

The fact that Turkish foreign policy is currently in the hands of Professor Mümtaz Soysal, perhaps one of the most headstrong of foreign ministers to have filled this post to date, is being taken as an added indication that the course

embarked on by the two capitals may lead to a collision.

Not known as someone who is willing "to pander" to the United States, let alone "be browbeaten" by Washington into taking a specific line on a certain issue, Professor Soysal is expected to "call American bluffs" as they are made.

Sources who support the hard-line position Soysal is expected to take talk about a "concert of interests" and indicate that genuine relations are based on "a convergence of mutually benefi-

cial factors."

"If one side perceives its interests elsewhere, then the chances are it will exert pressure on the other side, with whom it purportedly had 'vital interests' until not so long ago, in order to serve its new interests," one well placed source, who wished to remain anonymous because of his position, said. "What Ankara's new line in response to this will probably be is to pursue a rigid course dictated by its own interests, and to give a message in this way to the other side," he added, referring to ties with Washington although not mentioning it by name.

It was noteworthy last week that almost as if to pre-empt the arrival of a foreign minister who is generally expected to take a firm line in relations with the United States, Washington should have expressed its displeasure at Turkey's attempts at a wide ranging rapprochement with Iran.

Referring to President Süleyman Demirel's visit to Tehran early last week, a U.S. official in Washington who wished to remain anonymous told Turkish reporters: "It is not an easy thing for us to understand if anyone is seeking to somehow work with Iran without reference to Iran's position on issues of peace and terror."

Officials in Ankara say that regardless of where Washington's interests in terms of Iran continue to lie, Turkey's interests are increasingly focused on the need to halt the "dialogue of the deaf" with this country and to start a "real dialogue and cooperation process."

They say this is especially important on issues pertaining to security and terrorism — something from which Turkey has suffered and continues to suffer from more than many other countries, including the United States.

Trying to compound Washington's pressure on this point, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher himself, while addressing the House of Representatives last week, castigated "appeasers of Iran," thus leaving little doubt as to where his country stood on this issue.

Last week also saw the whittling down even further of U.S. military aid to Turkey and the attachment of a "human rights and Cyprus" condition on 10 percent of the aid.

This means Turkey will initially receive \$328 million instead of \$364 million, which already represented a reduction of what the administration wanted allocated.

It is expected that this development will spur on the

arguments of those who have been supporting a rejection of U.S. aid altogether — much of it repayable credits with interest — seeing as the sums involved are increasingly irrelevant in terms of Turkey's current earning capacity.

Even chief of general staff sources, who initially balked at the notion of rejecting these credits, are said to be coming around to the logic of saying "thanks but no thanks" to Washington on this score.

To refuse aid, though, will be akin to severing one of the major umbilical chords Turkey has with the United States and thus expediting the drifting apart of the two countries. "While there is a significant U.S. economic interest in Turkey, it is the military aid issue that has provided the basis for Turkish-American relations. Sever this and you automatically have a new period in ties," one official told the Turkish Daily News.

Although Prime Minister Çiller has pronounced, and vocally at that, the possibility of refusing the aid on a few occasions, this official concedes that it would still take a significant amount of political courage to do so.

"The chances are, however, that with Foreign Minister Soysal at the helm, and given his powers of persuasion, this may not be such a remote prospect today," he said.

Although the U.S. administration has recently appeared to be supportive of some of the arguments provided by the Turkish side on Cyprus, its general silence during the attachment of a "Cyprus condition" to aid to Turkey by the Congress is taken as a clear sign that Washington's policy remains on the whole "accusative" as far as the Turkish side is concerned. Given the U.S. opinion that the Turkish side must be the prime mover for progress on Cyprus, Prof. Soysal's expertise on the Cyprus issue, and the increasing desire by Turkey to stick by the Turkish Cypriots, "against Greek machinations egged on by the West," analysts expect this to be another of the points of collision between Ankara and Washington.

Relations with Iraq, and specifically the issue of Turkey's continuing losses from the embargo on this country; the situation in the Caucasus, where traditional Western sympathy for the Armenians is acting almost as if to legitimize the invasion of Azerbaijan by Armenia; and the means by which Turkey is combatting Kurdish separatism in the Southeast are listed among the other reasons that signal the possibility of a collision between the two capitals in the coming period.

Tuesday, August 2, 1994

turkish daily news

The MGK wanted me to set the limits of freedom of expression

Oktaay tells TDN, "Three hundred lawsuits alleging human rights abuses have been filed against Turkey at the European Human Rights Commission. It is most probable that Turkey will lose all these cases."

Oktaay, who does not want to rank Turkey in terms of human rights, freedom of expression and democratization under the existing circumstances said, "If I do, this may be used as a tool against Turkey in the lawsuits filed at the European Human Rights Commission."

By Hayri Birlir

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Ankara Deputy Seyfi Oktaay, who resigned as Justice Minister last week, said 300 cases alleging human rights abuses had been filed against Turkey at the European Human Rights Commission. Oktaay said most probably Turkey would lose in all those cases.

Noting that the National Security Council (MGK) had asked him, when he was Justice Minister, to determine the steps required to punish people for expressing their opinions, Oktaay continued, "It is said that there is democracy in Turkey. In democracies, however, there is not an offense called "thought crime," the MGK wanted me to determine the limits of freedom of expression beyond which this becomes a criminal act."

Oktaay said that under the existing circumstances, he did not want to grade Turkey in terms of human rights, freedom of expression and democratization, "If I grade, this may be used as a tool against Turkey in the lawsuits filed against Turkey at the European Human Rights Commission."

Oktaay, who served as Justice Minister for 32 months since the foundation of the True Path Party (DYP)-SHP coalition government, told the TDN of the problems he had experienced during that period and of the progress made towards democratization. Recalling that both the coalition protocol and the gov-

ernment program included the democratization issue, Oktaay said that as a first step, he and his colleagues had examined the 1982 Constitution.

Pointing out that the Constitution was very undemocratic both in terms of the way it had been prepared and from the point of view of content, Oktaay said, "The Constitution is based on the understanding that the state will suffer if powers are shared. For this reason, it increases the powers of the state in every field while leaving less space for individual freedom. It represents a negative understanding."

Noting that it was difficult to guarantee the democratic rights and freedoms of individuals with the existing Constitution, a special commission had been set up by the coalition partners to examine a new version prepared by the Justice Ministry, Oktaay said that the coalition partners had reached an agreement on the

**Exclusive interview with
former Justice Minister
Seyfi Oktaay**

amendment of nearly 120 articles. He said despite their agreement the coalition government had not been able to pass the changes through Parliament.

"We have seen that making a new constitution is a utopian dream today," Oktay said.

Prime Minister Demirel: Let's not tackle that issue now

Oktay said he and his colleagues had not given up hope when the proposed constitutional changes did not materialize. He noted that they had tried to make changes in the legislation governing the criminal procedure — a system which indicated whether a country was democratic or not. He continued, "We thought to examine the process step by step, starting with the security officials' summoning an individual to the police station, the stage at the prosecutor's office, the trial stage, the punishment stage and the step when the individual is released back to society. The skeleton of that system was the Criminal Trial Procedure Law (CMUK). However CMUK was not adequate by itself. If you grant the security forces, who work under the supervision of the ruling party, the power to carry out judicial investigation, it is very hard to apply the laws in an objective way. In order to remove the danger of making judicial investigation according to the tendency of the ruling party, it is necessary that investigations are carried out only under the supervision and direction of the prosecutor's office." Oktay went on to say that his office had prepared a draft bill regulating the duties and the powers of the judicial police and presented it to the Cabinet.

Oktay said, "Süleyman Demirel who was then prime minister said, 'we better not tackle this issue now'. In fact, Mr. Demirel's personal view was not to postpone the issue but I think the Interior Ministry and security officials did not agree to the proposed system." Noting that the view of the security establishment had not changed since then and that they still opposed the new system believing that "the state will sink if powers are shared." Oktay argued, "If Mr. Demirel wanted, he could have convinced the security officials and the DYP parliamentary group in that regard, because at that time, there was more open, more apparent and strong political will. Unfortunately, such a political will does not exist today.

For example, at that time, Mr. Demirel had exerted very serious efforts for the legislation of the changes in CMUK. If it was for his colleagues, those changes would not be passed in Parliament. At that time some DYP ministers expressed their views that there was no need for these changes. Because of Demirel's insistence, the CMUK changes were passed in Parliament. For this reason, I think the proposed changes in the judicial police system could have been passed in the Cabinet if Mr. Demirel had exerted adequate effort in that respect. I think Demirel wanted to gain time and have that issue solved later and for that reason the formation of the judicial police system did not come into existence."

Ministers who said, "We won't give rights to Communists"

Oktay recalled that many draft bills such as the bills amending the execution of punishments law, the attorney's law, the law governing prisons and detention centers, the press law and the bill amending the Juvenile Courts had passed in Cabinet and had been sent to Parliament. He noted that these draft bills had been debated and accepted by the parliamentary committees and that they were still on Parliament's agenda. "Unfortunately, they have not yet been passed," Oktay said.

Oktay continued, "They were all parts of the package which contains universal and modern values which aim to bring profound changes to our criminal procedural system. This package is also called, "the democratization package." As a government, we were determined to pass them, however, economic issues have always been the government's priority demands from Parliament."

Claiming that the coalition partner DYP parliamentary group did not have much confidence in such issues, Oktay said, "For example, when the issue of security clearance arrived on the agenda, the DYP members argued that the country would sink if the practise of security clearance was abolished. Furthermore, those who had made that argument were not only from the DYP parliamentary group but from the DYP wing of the coalition government as well. We have exerted very intensive efforts to avert all those arguments.

Recently we have brought up a new proposal to the Cabinet which will allow reinstatement of the personal rights of the people who had been dismissed from their posts in accordance with the powers granted to the martial law commanders under the Law 1402.

Some of our DYP ministerial colleagues, arguing that 'they cannot grant any rights to communists, deleted that suggestion from the draft text. Stating that the changes in CMUK were the main step on the road to democratization, Oktay recalled that the criticisms against the CMUK changes had centered on two arguments which he said were "If the powers of the police force are limited, this will weaken the state," and "CMUK has not introduced any new change. It is the ordinary criminals who benefit from CMUK." Whereas Oktay argued that the law had contained most advanced rights among the similar legislations in Europe. He noted that the only deficiency in the law was the fact that it could not directly be applied in terrorist crimes.

CMUK can also be applied in terrorist crimes

Pointing out that some CMUK provisions can be applied to terrorist crimes and that the jurisdiction of the state security courts (DGM) which look into such offenses have been narrowed, Oktay said, "As social democrats, we are against the existence of these courts. However they are mentioned in the Constitution and since we cannot alter the Constitution, the only thing we could do was to trim the duties and the jurisdiction of these courts. This is what we have done."

Oktay explained the provisions of CMUK applicable to terrorist crimes which he believes have missed the attention of public opinion.

Oktay said, "As a matter of fact torture was banned and this law has clarified the punishment prescribed for torture. Also acts like mistreatment, leaving suspects thirsty and hungry have been included in the definition of torture. In general, since torture allegations are made in respect of suspects who are tried on charges of terrorist crimes, such legal changes favor people who are accused of committing terrorist crimes

MGK enquires about criminal limits of freedom of expression

Oktay said he had to cope with the reaction of people who were blocking the democratization process. He said, "When the number of the lawsuits filed against Turkey at the European Human Rights Commission began to increase and when Turkey's foreign policy started to be harmed, they

decided to reconsider the issue." Within this framework, Oktay said he had been summoned by the National Security Council.

"They wanted me to determine the criminal limits of freedom of expression. This statement belongs to them. Can you imagine how critical an event this is... It is said that there is democracy in Turkey. In democracies, however, there is no offense called 'crimes of conscience', the MGK wanted me to determine the criminal limits of freedom of expression."

Upon this request, Oktay said, a special committee consisting of professors was set up at the Justice Ministry. He said that the report prepared by the committee was even worse and that if that report was taken into consideration, the situation would be worse than it was at the present time. For that reason Oktay said he had worked himself and presented the result of his studies to the MGK during its subsequent meeting.

Oktay said, "I explained to the MGK how Article 8 of the Antiterrorism Law had limited freedom of expression and what could be done to correct that in a way displaying the criminal limits of the freedom of expression. I said limitation on thought could only be imposed on the issue of separatism and racism but that all the separatist and racist thoughts could not be banned, that the criteria in that respect could be the situation whether that thought damaged the national security and public order. I also explained that the situation whether there was danger that thought would turn into action in near future. Otherwise I said a limit could not be imposed on thought and that people could not be blamed for expressing their opinions."

Oktay said that after his speech, President Demirel had also explained his views and that later Demirel had asked if any one had any view to express. Since no one had taken the rostrum, Demirel had stated that everyone in the meeting shared the same view for that reason the government should take the necessary action.

"However the same Demirel stated that there was not a crime called 'crime of conscience' in Turkey. That is to say, they are happy with the current situation in Turkey and there is no need for a legal change in this respect. Let me tell you openly that during that meeting I had got the impression that the military wing of the MGK approached the issue positively but that the security officials were not in favor.

In response to a question, Oktay said he did not want to openly judge Turkey under the existing circumstances in terms of human rights, freedom of expression and democratization said, "If I do, this may be used as a tool against Turkey in the lawsuits filed against Turkey at the European Human Rights Commission. From my words, you have perhaps understood how I rank Turkey in this respect."

Oktay concluded as follows, "CMUK is applied in all police stations in Turkey but there is no understanding of the principles on which it is based. There is no cultural potential in this regard. Europe is certainly prejudiced about Turkey, no one can deny this fact. However a prejudgement cannot be made for events which have become the subject of a court dispute. The issue as to how much those events conform with the universal understanding of democracy may be discussed. For this reason, I think most of the decisions in those more than 300 cases will be against Turkey. This situation will continue so long as the state fails to understand the meaning of democracy."

Also if the testimony of a terrorist suspect is taken with a method which will affect his free will, under the CMUK changes, the judge is prevented from basing his ruling on such a testimony. CMUK has also stopped evidence from being collected by unlawful

means."

Oktay gave the following example when explaining CMUK's link with terrorist crimes:

"CMUK became effective on December 1. On December 10, the general panels of the Military High Appeals Court made a ruling. The criminal file of a defendant who had been sentenced to life imprisonment contained a document which showed that person had been tortured. The trial court had not taken that document into consideration and based its ruling on testimony taken under torture. In line with the relevant provision of CMUK, the general panels of the Military High Appeals Court reversed the lower court's decision.

That is to say, CMUK can also be applied to terrorist crimes and that it is not completely inadequate." Noting that all the measures mentioned in the coalition protocol and the government program regarding the democratization process had been completed by his office and for that reason he thought of himself as someone who had done his job, Oktay said, "Unfortunately, a significant number of these measures have remained at the ministry. If the press had fanned the wind of democratization it could not have been resisted and most of our measures would have been passed by Parliament."

Turkey faces 300 lawsuits

Oktay said that the passage of the proposed changes in CMUK had considerably lessened the accusations which the West, and particularly Europe, directed against Turkey in terms of human rights violations and undemocratic practises. However he noted that the criticism and accusations had lately started to increase again.

Oktay noted that the crux of the problem was Article 8 of the Antiterrorism Law which came into effect during the Motherland Party (ANAP) rule. Asked why the government did not change that article, Oktay said, "Let alone correcting the article, it has been suggested to expand its scope and to further increase the penalties.

The request came to us through the office of the Interior Ministry. Certainly we opposed it but the National Security Council (MGK) has announced that it shares the same view."

Oktay noted that he had briefed his audience both at the Cabinet and the MGK that the inclusion of harsher penalties in the law would certainly yield negative results for Turkey and that he had told them the problems which that law had created for Turkey.

Oktay continued, "Three hundred lawsuits have been filed against Turkey at the European Human Rights Commission for human rights violations and convictions based on expression of opinion. The number of these lawsuits is increasing and there may soon be another 300 cases. It is most probable that Turkey may lose those cases and may end up paying compensation amounting to trillions of lira. Apart from the monetary aspect every one of these lawsuits is a blow to the dignity and prestige of Turkey. I have explained all of this.

I have explained this to our coalition partner. I have also explained this to the military. In the end, we have only managed to prevent the expansion of the

scope of the Antiterrorism Law." Asked what the reactions of the coalition partner and the military when he had made those explanations, Oktay said they had all reacted negatively by telling him, "Don't worry Mr. Oktay. No one can interfere in our business..." Oktay said such statements were regrettable and were food for thought.

Persecution of Christians Mounts in Iran

By Chris Hedges

New York Times Service

TEHRAN — The Islamic government of Iran, which has often been criticized by human rights groups for its treatment of religious minorities, is mounting the fiercest campaign since the 1979 revolution against the small Christian minority here, church leaders and Western diplomats say.

Three Christian leaders have been killed since the beginning of the year. Churches have been shut down. Scores of young Christians, many converts from Islam, have been imprisoned and tortured, especially in the cities of Gorgan and Kermanshah, church officials say. And pastors have been expelled from parishes or are under surveillance.

"Even by the standards of Iran, the current crackdown is extraordinary," said a senior Western diplomat.

Iranian officials deny mistreating Christians and other religious sects.

They blame an Iraqi-based opposition group, the People's Mujahidin, for the killings of the churchmen, and have presented to reporters three women who say they belonged to the organization and carried out the killings. The opposition group denies the charge.

Iranian officials contend that evangelical churches here have other agendas besides worship.

"We consider them to be a political organization," said M. Jarad Zarif, an Iranian deputy foreign minister.

Under the Islamic government, life has never been easy for Iranians who do not belong to the Shiite Muslim majority. Christian schools were taken over by the

government after the revolution. The publication of Christian texts, while legal, rarely receives the necessary approval. Positions in the government, state-owned businesses, and even universities are reserved for those who uphold strict "Islamic values."

In a population of roughly 62 million people, Iran's religious minorities include 3.5 million Sunni Muslims, 350,000 followers of the Baha'i faith, 80,000 Christians, and 30,000 Jews, according to official statistics. The Baha'is have seen over 200 of their followers executed since the revolution, according to human rights groups.

Tens of thousands of Christians, as well as Jews and Baha'is, have fled Iran in the last 15 years.

Armenians, who have largely avoided contact with the evangelical groups and hold their church services in Armenian, have come under less pressure than the some dozen evangelical denominations that preach in Persian.

The Assemblies of God church, which has 8,000 members in Iran and is headquartered in Springfield, Missouri, is the most active in the evangelical movement and is the main target of the crackdown.

"A lot of young Iranians, embittered by the austerity and control imposed by the Islamic

clerics, see conversion as one of the most potent forms of protest," an Assemblies of God seminarian said in his church in Tehran on July 24.

Church leaders say Iranian officials forced them a few days ago to ask a delegation of Western clergymen not to come to Iran to investigate the deaths of the Christian leaders. The delegation had been invited by the government.

One of those killed was Mehdi Dibaj, an Assemblies of God leader who was imprisoned for nine years and sentenced to death for apostasy. He was freed in January but disappeared in June. On July 3, the police delivered his mutilated body to his family.

Another was Bishop Haik Hovsepian Mehr, head of the Evangelical Council of Pastors in Iran, who had campaigned relentlessly for Mr. Dibaj's release from prison.

He disappeared three days after Mr. Dibaj was freed, and, 11 days later his body, covered with stab wounds, was turned over to his family.

On June 29, the Reverend Tatavous Mikaelian, a prominent Presbyterian minister who succeeded the bishop as head of the council, disappeared. His bullet-riddled corpse was turned over to his son on July 2.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1994

Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace — 2 août 1994

COURRIER

Minorités

M. Marc Haag, Illkirch-Graffenstaden :

«Aujourd'hui, six députés kurdes, démocratiquement élus, sont interdits de tribune au Parlement d'Ankara et menacés de la peine de mort pour haute trahison, car ils veulent obtenir, par des moyens démocratiques, le droit de s'exprimer publiquement en langue kurde, l'arrêt de la politique turque - d'intégration - des kurdes par le kidnapping linguistique de leurs enfants à l'école

pour en faire une génération de turcophones, la reconnaissance de leur identité kurde ainsi qu'un statut d'autonomie culturelle et linguistique.

Mais la Turquie, héritière d'Atatürk, se prétend «une et indivisible», c'est-à-dire sans minorités, laïque et jacobine, avec comme seule «langue de la République», le turc imposé à tous par l'école, sur le modèle de l'Etat-Nation français. Pour protéger les minorités linguistiques régionales, face à la tentation criminelle des Etats à vouloir les assimiler, le Parlement européen a élaboré une Charte des droits de l'hom-

me pour la défense des minorités linguistiques régionales, que la Turquie ainsi que la France refusent catégoriquement de ratifier. M. Dumas, ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères et avocat, s'est porté à la défense des députés kurdes, ce qui l'honore, pourtant il a lui-même appartenu au gouvernement français qui refusa de ratifier cette charte de reconnaissance des droits des langues régionales sous prétexte que la France, elle non plus, ne reconnaît pas la notion de minorité sur son territoire. La France défend donc à l'étranger ce qu'elle rejette sur son propre sol !».

Trial of DEP deputies begins amid international attention

Former Democracy Party deputies are due in the State Security Court on Wednesday as claims made of ill treatment under detention

By Sinan Yılmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Former deputies of the Democracy Party (DEP) — which was banned by the Constitutional Court — who have come to be seen as “Kurdish thorns in the side of Turkish politics,” will appear in court on Wednesday for the first time, after having been in detention for five months.

Supporters of the former deputies, as well as various human rights groups, are said to be engaging in intense preparations to ensure a large turn out in support of the deputies. Security forces are reportedly preparing to take extraordinary precautions in front of the State Security Court in Ankara, where the first hearing is due to be held.

An estimated 400 lawyers have applied to defend the former deputies, with pro-Kurdish sources indicating this figure could swell to over 600, by the time the case gets underway. A large number of foreign parliamentarians, jurists and human rights activists are also expected to come to Ankara to follow the trial of the former DEP deputies.

The parliamentary immunity of these deputies was lifted on March 2 by a vote in the Turkish Parliament, followed by the immediate arrests of two of the deputies, Orhan Doğan and Hatip Dicle.

On March 4, Sırrı Sakık, Ahmet Türk, Leyla Zana and Mahmut Alınak were detained and following an appearance at the State Security Court on March 17, were formally arrested. Mahmut Alınak, who left DEP to become an independent deputy at the time of his arrest, still retains his Parliamentary membership, although his immunity was lifted along with the other pro-Kurdish deputies.

Unlike Alınak, the Parliamentary membership of these remaining deputies has been revoked because their party was banned by the Constitutional Court, the highest legal authority of the land. The concern among lawyers defending these former deputies, whose trial is expected to command wide ranging attention in the West, is the possibility that the cases will be heard in closed sessions, from which the press will be barred.

The court has the right to seek closed hearings, banning the press and observers from following the trial. They can also ban the publication of articles and news reports concerning the progress of the case.

The case against the former deputies has been prepared by State Security Court Chief Prosecutor Nusret Demiral, and prosecutors Talak Saik, (Major) Ülkü Çoşkun, Tefik Hancılar, Kemal Ayhan, Nuh Mete Yüksel, Ali Rıza Konuralp, and Dilaver Kahveci. The case has been laid out in a 452 page indictment. The former deputies are also said to have presented personal defense statements to present to the court at the beginning of the trial. The collective defense of the former deputies,

on the other hand, will be carried out by defense lawyers. This collective defense has been prepared by a team of legal experts, according to sources close to the case.

According to the indictment prepared by the Court Prosecutors, the defendants are being accused of having links with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The PKK is currently waging a bloody separatist war in

Southeast Anatolia, and the deputies are accused of carrying out political activities on behalf of this organization.

Citing article 125 of the Turkish penal code — which includes treason — the prosecutors are seeking the death penalty for the defendants.

Commenting on the 452 page indictment, lawyers sympathetic to the deputies' cause told the Turkish Daily News “there was no need for such a lengthy indictment.” According to these experts “a prosecutor who knows his job” would have reduced all of the charges being made in this case to 10-15 pages. They also claim that the indictment is “politically motivated,” and contains “many factually wrong sentences.” They contend that this is the result of the “lack of knowledge of the prosecutors who have prepared the indictment, in many instances on the basis of hearsay.” The central theme of the indictment is Turkey's territorial integrity and all the charges brought against the former deputies are aimed at proving this is what they are ultimately interested in harming.

The charges against the former deputies, on the other hand, are based on their election speeches and include the manner in which they took the Parliamentary oath after their election. They also include their telephone conversations with Abdullah Öcalan (the head of the PKK), confessions of repentant PKK members, addresses made by the former deputies and aid given to PKK militants.

The first charge against the former pro-Kurdish deputies of the Turkish Grand National assembly dates back to Nov. 6, 1991, when they took the parliamentary oath while carrying green, yellow and red handkerchiefs and headbands. The Prosecutors claim that these are the colors of the PKK flag.

Defense lawyers deny this saying, these are the “national colours” of the Kurds and do not represent the PKK flag which does not include these colors.

Defense lawyers also maintain that many of the charges levelled against the former deputies come under the title of “crimes of conscience” and say this is accepted by the State Security Court Prosecutors.

Basing their case on the "crimes of conscience" argument, the defense lawyers are said to be concentrating on the following points in putting forward their case; The defendants expressed their opinion by saying they did not recognize the 1982 Constitution, further remarking that they took the Parliamentary oath only because the Constitution requires it.

That the telephones of the former deputies were tapped illegally is admitted to in the indictment. Therefore evidence secured by this means must be discounted.

Also indicating that Chief Prosecutor Demiral engaged in a "forced exercise" during the preparation of the indictment, these lawyers argue that the sole purpose of this exercise was to prove that

the former DEP deputies were linked to the PKK. Defense lawyers say they are going to argue that this case is "a purely political case" and that the indictment prepared against the former pro-Kurdish deputies "is nothing more than a document which aims to deny Kurdish identity."

Meanwhile, it has been said that former DEP deputy for Diyarbakır, Orhan Doğan, and the former chairman of DEP, Hatip Dicle, were mistreated while under police custody at the Ankara Directorate for Security after their arrest.

According to these claims, the two deputies were stripped naked at the Department for Combatting Terrorism, and were subjected to insults. Pro-Kurdish sources close to the former DEP deputies, said the two were subjected to this

treatment in a special cell for nearly two hours.

The two deputies who had not mentioned this fact before, said they had not complained because the stripping naked of detainees was "normal procedure" and they "did not want to upset their families."

They further said, "in view of the fact that people have been subjected to physical torture for years in this country, it seemed trivial to complain about these minor abuses which under these circumstances do not count as torture." While those close to the two deputies have confirmed that Doğan and Dicle had been subjected to such treatment, official sources denied it on the grounds that "no one would have dared do such a thing at a time when all eyes were on the deputies."

HADEP says 'interment camps' are temporary

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The People's Democracy Party (HADEP) has said that "interment camps", which are claimed to have been established in southeast Anatolia, are temporary.

The camps are used as part of the operations to clear inhabitants from certain areas, operations carried out by special army teams, HADEP Deputy Secretary-General Şeyhmus Cagro said in his press conference on Monday.

Cagro suggested that the mission of the special army teams seemed to be the massacre of the people of the region, the burning of villages and the looting of people's properties. All this within the framework of the "area defence strategy",

announced by Chief of Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş.

During the press conference, HADEP officials introduced Aziz Bıçakçı, a villager from Yaydere village, Bingöl, who was stated on television to be a terrorist shot dead by security forces, and Mustafa Gürhan — the village chief of Akçayurt village, Diyarbakır — who claimed to have been tortured by troops in Topçular gendarmerie station after his village was burned down. Bıçakçı claimed that he was beaten up by the soldiers during their attack on his village and, after he had fainted, they had armed him and let the television cameras film him. Later he and his seven friends were announced on TV as terrorists who had been killed. All are still alive, but their village

has been destroyed.

Gürhan stated that his village was burned down on July 7 by commandos, despite his cooperation with security forces. "I supported the government. But they came to my village burned it down. They took me to the Topçular gendarmerie station and tortured me. My ribs were broken. They collected the people outside the village and gave them nothing for four days. A total of 430 people of my village have now gone to Adana, Diyarbakır and nearby villages. We have nothing to eat. They also burned all of our crops. I came to Ankara to ask help from the Government," Gürhan said.

turkish daily news

Wednesday, August 3, 1994

Turkey denies 'concentration camp' claims

By Ayşe Sarıoğlu

Reuter

ANKARA- Turkey dismissed on Monday claims that Kurdish civilians were herded into concentration camps in the southeast where troops are fighting a 10-year-old separatist insurgency.

The Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP), closed down in June, said in Brussels last month: "Thousands of Kurdish people have been herded into these concentration camps, many of them women and children, where they are tortured and interrogated." Turkey's Human Rights Association (IHD) said on Sunday 1,500 Kurdish civilians were being held in a remote camp in Hakkari province after they had been forced out of five villages.

"Claims that concentration camps have been established in the region are absolutely untrue," Ünal Erkan, governor of the emergency rule that covers 10 provinces in the southeast, told Reuters.

He said many civilians in the mainly-Kurdish region had fled their homes to escape fighting between troops and guerrillas of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

"The state is trying its best to care for them," he said from Diyarbakır, seat of the emergency rule.

More than 12,300 people including 4,000 civilians have been killed in the insurgency launched in 1984 by the PKK seeking a separate state in southeast Turkey.

The IHD said the people held in an alleged camp in a region called Mezra were forced there by troops in a series of operations since June.

It said their documents had been seized and permission to leave the site to buy provisions was granted sparingly.

"They are not behind barbed wire but the place is hemmed in by hills. It is a natural camp," an IHD official said. Erkan accused the rebels of seizing food, provisions and recruits from villages, but local journalists say pressure from the guerrillas and soldiers alike leaves people with little choice but to leave.

Security officials said on Monday that seven village guards, six Kurdish guerrillas and three villagers were the latest casualties of the Kurdish insurgency.

Pro-Kurdish deputies in court today to face treason charge

Wednesday, August 3, 1994

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The trial of six pro-Kurdish deputies whose Parliamentary immunity has been lifted and who are charged with the crime of treason — which is punishable by death — starts today at the State Security Court in Ankara.

Western diplomatic sources, whose countries are focused on the outcome of the court case, are viewing this trial as a "litmus test" for a number of things, including the quality of Turkey's democracy and judicial system, as well as its sincerity in saying it is trying to address the "Kurdish issue" by respecting human rights.

Of those who are to be tried by the State Security Court, five are members of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), outlawed by the Constitutional Court on June 16, and one an independent deputy.

All of the deputies, who have been in prison for five months, are being accused of treason under article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code for alleged separatism.

The indictment prepared against the former deputies accuses them of having organic links with the banned Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), and taking telephone instructions from the leader of this organization, Abdullah Öcalan.

But the deputies are not charged with having committed acts of violence.

"They are in there (jail) because they represent the Kurdish population with their speeches, meetings and writings," Yusuf Alataş, a lawyer for the deputies, told Reuters. "This shows there is no real democracy in Turkey, and that the constitutional court is just a representative of the official ideology."

Prime Minister Tansu Çiller has courted public opinion by encouraging Parliament to lift the immunity of the lawmakers. The crackdown was popular with many Turks, who believe these deputies are surrogates for the PKK, which is waging a bloody struggle for a separate Kurdish state.

More than 12,400 people have died since 1984 in fighting between the Turkish army and PKK guerrillas.

The West, alarmed by the DEP's banning and the trial, is watching closely with journalists, deputies and rights workers flying in to join Ankara-based diplomats and delegates from the European Union and other European organizations.

"In Europe, they fail to understand how this can happen," one European diplomat

was quoted by Reuters as saying. "But the authorities are operating totally within the Turkish law. I think Turkey has a long way to go until it reaches the standard of democracy we expect."

The Council of Europe has rejected demands by DEP lawyers for sanctions against Ankara, but has demanded the detained deputies be released.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher last week voiced concern over violence between the Turkish army and Kurdish guerrillas, questioning Ankara's view that the security threat justified tough measures.

The six on trial were arrested in March, shortly before nationwide local elections. After DEP was banned, its 13 members were stripped of their immunity and expelled from parliament. Two other deputies still facing indictment, were arrested after barricading themselves in parliament. Another six fled to Europe.

More than 300 defence lawyers have applied to defend the deputies in court, DEP sources say.

Iraq-Turkey pipeline may not be flushed till 1995

Reuter

ANKARA- A decision on flushing the Iraqi-Turkish oil pipeline idle since 1990 may not be reached by September, delaying the process until next year at the earliest, a Turkish oil official said on Tuesday.

"I doubt there will be a decision by September. Even if it is reached after that the pipeline cannot be flushed until next year due to the harsh winter in the region," Hayrettin Uzun, chairman of Turkey's pipeline company Botaş, told Reuters. Uzun said severe winter in Turkey's southeast and north Iraq will make inspection and repairs to the rusting 985-km (616-mile) pipeline impossible until spring at the earliest. He said the main problem was the distribution of humanitarian aid Iraq was to receive in return for most of the 27 million barrels of crude that will be flushed to Turkey if the process went ahead. "The U.N. Security Council is literally saying that

Iraq will not distribute this fairly, not giving it to Kurds and so forth," Uzun said.

"It (Security Council) says it wants to distribute the goods or monitor the process," he said.

Uzun criticised the U.N. Security for not agreeing with Iraq's position which is against any form of international monitoring of food distribution in the country. "Frankly I think it is impossible not to agree with the Iraqis — it is not suitable for the U.N. to be involved in the distribution of goods not barred by sanctions." Iraq would be reimbursed for some of the oil by receiving humanitarian goods not barred under sanctions. Washington wants a Security Council resolution to state that such supplies should be distributed equally among all Iraqis, including Kurds in the north not under Baghdad's control. Iraq objects to such wording as an infringement on its sovereignty.

turkish daily news

Turkey: A new candidate for isolation ?

Ever since Tansu Çiller took over the post of prime minister, the approach towards solving the main issues in domestic politics, such as the Kurdish question and human rights violations, has gradually but clearly legitimized the expressed opinion that the governmental policies of Turkey lack vision, civil courage, will and creativity. When Mr. Süleyman Demirel chose to become president, any person with average intelligence could have predicted what Turkey would start to look like in the international arena: a country drifting towards isolation from the democratic world.

What defines Turkish politics is rather clear to see: political chaos, caused by a power vacuum or, more accurately, disintegration of power. For more than a year now, Turkey seems to have been run by the president, the government, the National Security Council, the General Chief of Staff, the Constitutional Court, the State Security Court and the leadership of the Emergency rule, each defining its own policies, thereby giving the impression of growing anarchy in the political arena. In this jungle of non-rule, it is almost impossible to identify what the present government wants to do to make things better for the people that have brought them to power.

This policy of non-action, displaying a wide range of unfulfilled promises, has become a weapon that is directed at Turkey. Slowly, but surely, a suicidal course seems to be the one the administration is taking — a reflexive shift of general policies for the nation. Turkey is on the verge of pushing herself out of the western sphere and, in the name of "preserving its independence and sovereignty," preparing to find new areas of cooperation with quasi-democracies or dictatorships. As the western criticism grows louder, we will witness this shift which, unless a major change takes place in the domestic political scene, seems inevitable.

The main issue is, without a doubt, what is happening in the mainly Kurdish southeastern provinces. When Mr. Demirel founded the coalition with Mr. Erdal İnönü, DYP-SHP cooperation looked as if it was determined to create solutions to the violence that has been going on there for years. Commitment for a peaceful end to the conflict, at first seemed to be very strong and firm, but faded quickly.

When Kurdish deputies in Parliament voiced what they believed were the concerns and demands of their constituencies, intolerance reached the point of hatred. Parliament, which should be an arena for the debating of ideas, became a battleground of verbal abuse and hostility.

The coalition shattered, people gradually went back to silence, or changed attitude and started using clichés like, "We have no Kurdish problem" or "We do not want any political solution." Just before Mr. Demirel left his post as prime minister, conservative flanks in the parliament, backed by a furious and provocative press campaign against everything having to do with the Kurdish problem, had taken control of the course of events to come. It could be argued that Mr. Demirel should have remained prime minister, making his brother in arms, Mr. Hüsamettin Cindoruk, president.

But it is too late now. After the departure of Mr. Demirel and Mr. İnönü as leaders of DYP and SHP respectively, both parties are in increasing disarray. The main opposition party, ANAP, is close to the boiling point, giving indications of a possible rebellion against its leader, Mr. Mesut Yılmaz. The only solid political movement is the Welfare Party (RP), confident of a victory in the next general elections.

The main reason for the present chaos lies within the parliament and the pro-establishment parties. Generally, awareness amongst the deputies about how vulnerable and fragile Turkish democracy is, has now mostly faded away.

Deputies who are concerned about the future of the system are either silenced or marginalized. Instead of anxiety, the dominating state of mind is basically misdirected rage and helplessness. One other thing is also becoming clear: With the departure of Mr. Demirel and Mr. İnönü, and with continuing leadership of Mr. Yılmaz, the three parties in the center have lost what remained of their identity.

There is a problem in the construction of the political parties in Turkey, which Bülent Ecevit, leader of DSP, pointed out repeatedly but from which he himself could not be excluded. All the political parties in Turkey, instead of being the distinctive groups of differing visions, gather around a strong or charismatic leader. Leaders are the bearers of the movement, promising their followers a seat in Parliament or eventually a post in the cabinet. Visions

"Turkey is on the verge of pushing herself out of the western sphere and, in the name of "preserving its independence and sovereignty," preparing to find new areas of cooperation with quasi-democracies or dictatorships. As the western criticism grows louder, we will witness this shift which, unless a major change takes place in the domestic political scene, seems inevitable."

or ideological differences do not matter that much. Taking power is primarily concerned with how that power will be distributed amongst the followers. Awareness among the representatives of the parties on what a certain political movement represents is much weaker than in any western democracy. You could ask any

deputy of DYP, ANAP, or SHP about what a program is about, and almost certainly you won't get an answer.

This is the point of departure for the current crisis, which very few people are aware of. Defying their positions, pro-establishment parties, by lifting the immunities of pro-Kurdish DEP deputies, have put Turkey on the course back to dictatorship. By doing this, they also closed the last gate to a peaceful solution for the Kurdish issue. It is over now. Events to follow make one fear the worst.

As the so called DEP trial approaches, Turkey will again be the focus of attention of the democratic West. Politicians and lawyers, observing the events in the Turkish scene, now repeatedly point out the fact that both the DEP trial and the increasing harassment of Turkish lawyers dealing with cases regarding the Kurdish uprising represent the turning point for the isolation of Turkey from the democratic sphere. Military campaigns and extra-judiciary killings are one thing, they argue, but banning a political movement on the grounds of "crimes of conscience" and attempting to charge its elected deputies with the death sentence, is something you cannot get away with. One cannot harass the lawyers, preventing them from defending Kurdish activists, and claim that Turkey is a democracy with full respect of human rights. This is the heart of the matter.

Why is it a turning point, then? Simply because Turkey, by silencing peaceful political movements, by jailing its deputies, by sentencing writers and journalists, is defying the international conventions it has approved of. There will be no way for Ankara to explain how these procedures are actually in accordance with the major international agreements dealing with human rights and a basic freedom of expression.

That is the reason why Americans and French are so concerned. Because, no matter what, as Turkey has responsibilities to respect the international agreements, international bodies such as the European Council, the EU or the CSCE, do have responsibilities to take action if these agreements are breached. In consequence, it will be no surprise if a wave of measures against Turkey are to be taken in the following months.

How does the Çiller government plan to deal with this dilemma? As far as international pressure is concerned, one could easily predict that reflexive denials to any suggestion of easing the hardline policies are to continue. Closure of the DEP itself was a very clear message to the West that no peaceful solution to the Kurdish issue was under consideration. Ms. Çiller is very keen on staying in power and she sees her hardline policies as a winner for herself. She does not realize that, by giving a free hand to the military to deal with the PKK, she has damaged the already vulnerable democratic system, putting its future at great risk. With the total domination of the military over the design of a tough solution, there is now absolutely no way back to creating a peaceful life in the southeastern provinces. Ms. Çiller had neither knowledge nor visions about the Kurdish issue, when she came to power last year, and she is equally uninterested now. She has obviously made believe that there is no other way than weapons to deal with the armed Kurdish rebels. The only time she has something to say about the issue is when she uses expressions like "breaking the backbone" or "kicking (people) out of Parliament."

It is very easy to imagine the level of embarrassment when she repeated these expressions to Mr. Alain Juppe, Foreign Secretary of France, during her recent visit in Paris. Certainly, these words help confirm the belief that Çiller is no more than a puppet in the hands of the military.

There are three people who are aware of what kind of impact this approach is going to have on the allies of Turkey. One of them is Mr. Hikmet Çetin, and he is gone. Being the firm point of caution, perhaps the only minister in the cabinet trying to keep the

channels open with the west, Mr. Çetin was probably not surprised when the reaction from the European Council, the EU, the CSCE and the U.S. State Department rained over Ankara. He did what he could, warning the ministers of Justice and the Interior and, not long after this, he was forced to resign. A shift at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is very significant in this context. With Mr. Çetin gone, the government has lost its last rational member. Whether the appointment of Mr. Mumtaz Soysal was to "silence" the internal opposition against Mr. Murat Karayalçın, is irrelevant. The problem with this appointment is not in its cause but in its consequences. Mr. Soysal is the expert on constitutional law, so, reasonably, he could have been appointed as Minister of Justice. But, by giving Mr. Soysal the present post, the Çiller government, deliberately or not, sent a message to the West that it should lower its expectations of a policy based on dialogue and concessions with Ankara. This how the message is conceived and this is the main reason why Mr. Warren Christopher, Secretary of State of the United States, in an unusually open manner, called for the respect of human rights and a peaceful solution to the Kurdish issue.

As predicted, Ankara misinterpreted this criticism again. Mr. Yıldırım Aktuna, spokesman for the government, accused the United States of trying to divide Turkey. Earlier, Mrs. Çiller, on her visit to Paris, claimed that Kurds were trying to brainwash the Americans.

It is certain that this attitude surprised the Americans. Because the spokesman's message to Washington is that the United States is now on the side of PKK, and what Ms. Çiller tried to imply is that the American decision makers are simply stupid. Surprised or not, Americans are not used to this kind of language. Certainly not from Ankara.

What Çiller does not seem to have realized is that, no matter how strong this will to confront even the United States on the Kurdish issue is, Washington cannot allow deputies to face death sentences for remarks they made on American soil. Further, what Çiller and Karayalçın should have understood is the fact that the United States, after solving the main problems in South Africa and the Middle East, simply will not let Turkish authorities get away with human rights violations. So, the reflexive answer to criticism from the United States will not be understood by Washington, and for the Turkish government this confrontation may prove to be a costly and tough one.

For the U.S. administration as well, this is a hard nut. Turkey is one of the last bastions of the Cold War, and is reluctant to adjust its structures to the changing world. And so far, no civilian leader has expressed any wish to conduct political reform. Any proposition on reform has met a harsh response.

It is not hard to see that neither the bureaucracy nor the military is ready to give up the privileges it has enjoyed in pre-Cold War years. Mr. Demirel and Mr. İnönü left a big vacuum in the establishment. Mr. Yılmaz is reluctant to become a reformist, although aware of the main dilemma. Mr. Cindoruk, alive to the situation and its potential dangers, is powerless, as is Mr. Demirel to a certain extent.

In this labyrinth of politics, those who wish to drift away from the western sphere, preferring to create a second or third rate state, may win rather easily. In the coming months, Ankara may simply make a decision to ignore its international obligations and prepare for the consequences. If the anger towards the West becomes hostility, a period resembling the latter half of the seventies may be experienced, with a difference: This time the result will be either a situation like Algeria, or a pro-Islamic victory in 1996.

Everything indicates that August and September will be very important months in the course the country will take, yet there seems to be no sign that the power vacuum will be filled to keep democratization on line. Hard days ahead.

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune
THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

TUESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1994

Muslim Revival Blossoms in Shaky Iraq

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Service

BAGHDAD — Deteriorating economic conditions and anxiety about the future are leading increasing numbers of Iraqis back to their Muslim faith. Mosque attendance has risen, more women are covering their hair in public, and Islamic rituals are being more strictly observed, many Iraqis said.

This revival comes in a nation where, unlike its Gulf neighbors, the ruling party embraces a secular philosophy and the government has long held liberal views on alcohol, music and the dress and societal role of women.

"This past Ramadan everyone in Iraq was fasting," said a middle-class Baghdad woman, referring to the Muslim holy month. "We even did it here in this family, and we hadn't done that before."

Asked why, she replied: "To feel good about ourselves."

"We must return to God," said an elderly man who agreed that attendance at Friday prayers has climbed. "We kill people. We starve people. This is against Islam. All the people think, 'O.K., we are sorry. We must return to God. We must not steal, not drink alcohol.'"

Most Iraqis say this resurgence of personal piety is a response to psychological and economic pressures and has no political significance. Still, such revivals have

helped generate Islamic political opposition movements in such countries as Egypt and Algeria.

In an indication Iraq is not immune to such movements, the Babil newspaper recently ran a letter complaining about the appearance in Iraq of a "Wahhabist movement" backed by Saudi Arabia. The ultraconservative Wahhabi sect of Sunni Islam is predominant in Saudi Arabia.

The letter accused the group of "trying to instigate seditions, confusion and disturbances in mosques" and promoting "their heresies" in theological colleges. It also complained that "the party and security organs do not seem to be aware of" the group's activities.

Two specialists on Islamic groups, a Jordanian and an Iraqi, said Wahhabi groups had been active in Iraq's predominantly Sunni Muslim cities of Mosul and Ramadi.

Although these groups do not have a wide following, "the government is worried about" them.

The revival also has the potential to enfeeble the appeal of the secular, Arab nationalist philosophy of the governing Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party.

Indeed, the increasing attraction of Islam as a medium for politics has been noticed by the party's leader, President Saddam Hussein.

For some years, Mr. Saddam has employed Islamic symbols to legitimize his rule even as he persecuted Iraq's large Shiite Muslim population. During the 1991 Gulf crisis, Mr. Saddam appealed to Muslims to

wage a "holy war" against the "infidel" troops who arrived in Saudi Arabia to free occupied Kuwait. His government also sponsored numerous "Islamic conferences" criticizing Western policies.

Frequently shown praying on television, Mr. Saddam also had an official version of his family tree drawn showing his purported descent from the Prophet Mohammed, and during his birthday celebrations last year, troops marched in a parade formation that spelled out the words "God Is Great!"

In recent weeks, the government appears to have stepped up attempts to respond to religious sentiments. It decreed an Islamic punishment, amputation of a hand or foot, for repeat car thieves and currency violators; banned public consumption of alcohol, and closed discos and bars.

An Iraqi newspaper reported that "religious awareness committees" in three provinces had cabled their thanks to Mr. Saddam for deciding to "cancel horse racing and gambling and to build the Grand State Mosque instead."

Some analysts believe that if Mr. Saddam were replaced by a government that permitted a measure of normal political activity, Islamic parties would play a significant, though not dominant, role in Iraqi politics, as they now do in some other Arab states.

Under such circumstances, the Muslim Brotherhood would likely find a following among Iraq's Sunnis, an Iraqi analyst said.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, AUGUST 4, 1994

Radicals Back Iran's Pragmatists Into Corner

By Chris Hedges
New York Times Service

TEHRAN — After years of internal political struggle for control of Iran's Islamic revolution, the pragmatic faction led by President Hashemi Rafsanjani has been backed into a corner by resurgent hard-liners.

The advance of the Islamic radicals in the last few months appears to put an end, at least for now, to foreign diplomats' perennial expressions of hope that Iran will mend its relations with the United States and other Western countries and will end its support of Islamic revolutionary movements abroad.

Ominously, the rapid ascendancy of radical clerics and the waning power of Mr. Rafsanjani have coincided with the bombings last month of Jewish targets in Buenos Aires and London, which many diplomats here and abroad have linked to the Iranian government. And three Iranians are awaiting trial in Bangkok on charges of trying to plant a ton of explosives in March outside the Israeli Embassy.

The Buenos Aires and London blasts, which left nearly 100 dead and scores wounded, follow by days the assassina-

tion of two Christian leaders in Iran and a new crackdown on internal political dissent. Parliament, now firmly in the radicals' hands, has stymied the government's economic changes, even as rising unemployment, hyperinflation, low oil revenues and a shortage of housing are plunging Iran into crisis.

Mr. Rafsanjani and his Western-trained technocrats have always had to share power with the clerics who formed the hard core of the country's 1979 revolution. But despite widespread discontent with the more repressive aspects of Islamic rule, the clerics have made a persuasive argument that his economic program serves only the rich and that politically he is tepid and gutless.

"President Rafsanjani has lost all credibility," said a senior Western diplomat, and so have the policies he advocates. "He is openly attacked in the Parliament, and even his old supporters are deserting him. These bombings are probably our notice that the radical clerics, who call for blood and holy war, are again on the loose."

Iranian officials deny any involvement in the terrorist attacks or the killing or persecution of dissidents, saying

that many of the killings are the work of enemies who are trying to discredit them.

"The Westerners are admitting that Iran's Islamic slogans and ideas have transformed Egypt, Algeria and some other places in the world," Iran's supreme religious leader, Ayatollah Sayed Ali Khamenei, said recently. "This is considered a great threat to Western capitalism. Therefore, Islamic Iran, which possesses a powerful weapon like the dynamism of its ideas, logic and words of justice, does not need to resort to terrorism."

A sense of economic gloom has descended over the country.

In the government-run hotels in Tehran, waiters sit smoking at tables as a few diners pick at a desultory selection of stale bread and wilted greens set out haphazardly on dirty table cloths. Because of a shortage of raw materials and spare parts, factories are shut down or reduced shifts. The few foreign companies here have reduced their investments or are pulling out, because of a refusal by Iranian banks to honor their own loan commitments or to pay for goods and services.

The economic misery has been matched by a new political clampdown. Radical groups, such as the Islamic Revolutionary Councils, which are supposed to oversee the religious zeal of government workers, are muscling their way back into power after a dormant period.

A blast that killed 24 Muslim worshippers in a Meshed mosque in June is now widely believed by Western diplomats to have been the work of militants from the minority Sunni Muslim community, which was outraged by the destruction of a Sunni mosque earlier this year. A conflict between the 3.5 million Sunnis and the Shiite leadership could tarnish Iran's patronage of Islamic fundamentalist groups abroad, most of which are Sunni.

All this should come as good news to policy planners in Washington. The Clinton administration, pursuing what it calls a policy of containment, has sought to keep Iran economically crippled and diplomatically isolated. But European diplomats, and many Iranians, say that the isolation and misery are ushering in a government with a much more violent and narrow agenda.

Saddam Hussein a toujours raison

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE — 3 AOÛT 1994

Quatre ans après, Bagdad justifie encore son invasion du Koweït

L'Irak est toujours convaincu d'avoir eu raison d'envahir le Koweït, le 2 août 1990, afin de « mettre en échec un complot » des Koweïtiens « au service des ennemis de la nation arabe ». L'agence officielle Ina, dans un éditorial consacré au quatrième anniversaire de l'invasion, qualifie le 2 août 90 de « jour du grand appel », estimant qu'« il a fallu mettre un terme à la conspiration des Etats-Unis et du sionisme contre l'Irak et la nation arabe ». L'agence accuse le Koweït et les monarchies du Golfe d'avoir « oublié les sacrifices consentis » par l'Irak qui a « assumé au cours de la guerre avec l'Iran (1980-1988) la défense de la sécurité, de la dignité et des ressources arabes qui auraient été complètement perdus » si Téhéran l'avait emporté.

VEXES

«Au moment où l'Irak se pen-

chait sur la reconstruction économique pour rattraper ses pertes de la guerre, les ennemis vexés par sa victoire ont trouvé dans les dirigeants koweïtiens l'instrument susceptible d'affaiblir » Bagdad, poursuit l'agence qui, contrairement aux occasions précédentes, ne fait cependant pas mention de ce que l'Irak appelle son « droit sur le Koweït, comme partie intégrante de son territoire détaché par le colonialisme britannique ».

Les forces irakiennes ont été boutées hors du Koweït en février 91, après sept mois d'occupation, par une coalition internationale dirigée par les Etats-Unis. L'Irak avait annexé le Koweït, transformé en « 19^e province ».

L'agence Ina rappelle plusieurs « initiatives » restées sans réponse en vue de régler le conflit frontalier avec le Koweït. Elle évoque le recours de

Bagdad à la Ligue arabe, en vue de l'adoption d'un prix du baril fixé à 25 dollars et qui aurait profité au « développement de tous les pays arabes » et accuse les autorités koweïtiennes d'avoir « volé pour 2,4 milliards de dollars du pétrole du champ de Rumailah », dans la zone frontalière que les deux pays se disputaient.

Bagdad n'a pas encore reconnu le tracé définitif des frontières avec le Koweït fixé par l'ONU, et qui figure parmi les conditions d'une levée de l'embargo frappant l'Irak depuis le 6 août 1990. Ina ajoute que « la fierté des Irakiens, qui ont déjoué toutes les faces du complot, a augmenté malgré l'embargo ».

MALARIA

Par ailleurs, des responsables kurdes ont signalé que la malaria frappe des milliers de personnes dans le Kurdistan irakien, mais n'a jusqu'à présent pas fait de morts, les médicaments étant disponibles. D'après le « ministère » kurde de la Santé, 29.000 per-

sonnes ont été atteintes de malaria entre mars et juin dans les zones du nord de l'Irak qui échappent au contrôle de Bagdad. Les moyens de prévenir la fièvre font défaut en raison du manque d'insecticides. « Il nous en faudrait au moins 270 tonnes » pour désinfecter les cultures par pulvérisation, « mais nous n'avons reçu que 20 tonnes » de l'Organisation mondiale de la santé (OMS) et de l'Unicef, a affirmé un responsable. La maladie se propage en outre en raison de la conversion croissante des agriculteurs kurdes à la culture du riz, propice à la propagation dans la mesure où elle requiert de l'eau stagnante. La culture de produits de base comme le riz a pris de l'importance après l'embargo imposé à l'Irak. Les Kurdes cultivaient auparavant surtout des fruits.

Dès octobre 93, l'OMS avait mis en garde contre le fléau, en appelant à une « action urgente » et en prévenant que « 150.000 personnes pourraient être atteintes cette année ». (D'après AFP)

Treason case against ex-DEP deputies begins

Defense lawyers says trial is 'biased' and 'political' and object to reading of 452-page indictment as 'time wasting'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The trial of five former deputies from the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) and one independent pro-Kurdish deputy began in the Ankara State Security Court (DGM) on Wednesday in a tense atmosphere amidst massive security measures and close international scrutiny.

All six deputies — whose parliamentary immunity was lifted by the majority of deputies in the Turkish Grand National Assembly following a vote in March — are being charged with treason under article 125 of the Turkish penal code.

Five of the defendants have also lost their parliamentary seats because their party, DEP, was banned.

These are the former head of DEP Hatip Dicle, and former deputies for Şırnak, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Muş, Orhan Doğan, Leyla Zana, Ahmet Türk, and Sırrı Sakık respectively. One of the defendants, independent deputy Mahmut Alınak, for his part, still retains his parliamentary seat because he had resigned from DEP before the party was banned, although his immunity was lifted.

Included among the charges all six defendants are facing

are allegations that they established organic links with the outlawed separatist organization, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), and received orders over the telephone from this organization's leader Abdullah Öcalan.

All six defendants, who have been in prison for five months, face the death penalty, the maximum penalty foreseen by Article 125 of the penal code for the crime of treason.

The defendants were brought to the DGM at 9.05 a.m. on Wednesday under tight security and some reporters were barred from taking their pictures as they stepped down from the vehicle that brought them to court. In the ensuing melee the film of at least one

reporter was confiscated by "Special Team" officers. Some of the relatives of the defendants and reporters were not allowed into the court building because of space restrictions. Certain foreign observers were also barred from entering the court house initially because of the same reason.

But it was noted that they were allowed in after a short while in order to follow the proceedings.

Thursday, August 4, 1994

turkish daily news

Only a member of the German Parliament, Siggı Martsch — deputy for the Green Party — was not allowed past the police barricade into the courthouse.

The excuse given for his exclusion were "anti-Turkish statements" he had made during a press conference the day before which was broadcast by Turkish television channels. The trial itself began when lawyers for the defense argued that the indictment was too long and therefore a summary of it should be read out.

The presiding judge however refused this request on the grounds that the indictment rested within the prerogative of the prosecutors.

Another tense moment was experience when lawyers for the defense argued that some of their colleagues had not been allowed in.

Security officers said later that only lawyers officially delegated to represent them by the defendants were being allowed in.

At least 300 lawyers have applied to defend the former deputies and Alınak and the expectation is that this figure will rise to 600.

The lawyers argued that the barring of their colleagues from the court room was illegal, just as the searching of the lawyers by security personnel before they entered the court house was illegal.

The head of the delegation of judges, Muammer Unay however refused to accept this appeal and said there was nothing significant in searching the lawyers' bags.

Feridun Yazar, one of the lawyers for the defense argued that this was a "political case" and that the indictment was "one sided."

He said that according to existing laws it was the prosecutors job to not just compile evidence that was against the defendant by also that was in his or her advantage.

He said that the indictment prepared in this case "did not contain one word" to the advantage of the defendants. Following Yazar's intervention two of the prosecutors, Talat Saik and Dilaver Kahveci started to read from the 452-page indictment.

They outlined charges that the six served as the political wing of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Inside the packed courtroom, rows of police surrounded the dock, obscuring the defendants from view.

Outside, bus loads of blue-helmeted riot police, backed by an armoured car and dog patrols, surrounded the court building. A small but vocal crowd of supporters, some in Kurdish national dress, clapped and chanted slogans on behalf of the defendants.

The turnout in support of the accused was however considered to be disappointingly low given the overall attention this case has commanded at home and abroad.

Some reasons cited in justification for this relatively low turnout of just a few hundred people were the tight security measures and the fact that bus loads of supporters from the constituencies of the former deputies were not allowed to enter Ankara.

An official from HADEP, the successor party to DEP, said supporters arriving in a dozen buses from across Turkey were halted at checkpoints outside Ankara.

Abdullah Saydin told Reuters that police checked identity cards and turned back those from the mainly-Kurdish southeast. Apart from the European diplomats based in Ankara following

the trial the contingent of around 80 foreign observers included representatives from human rights groups such as Helsinki Watch, the International Federation of Human Rights Associations, Lawyers without Frontiers as well as parliamentarians, mostly from Germany.

It was noted that the parliamentarians in particular did not refrain from freely airing their views about the trial. "This is not a trial, it is Kafka's trial," said Jannis Sekellariou, a German member of Greek origin of the European Parliament.

Observers from the Turkish side include deputies of Kurdish origin from other parties such as Ibrahim Tutu, Adnan Ekmen and Esat Canan from the Social Democratic People's Party (SHP), and Abdulmelik Fırat an independent deputy known for his pro-Islamic views who was forced to resign from the True Path Party earlier this year.

Also among the observers were Turkish deputies such as Ziya Halis and Salman Kaya from the SHP and Akın Birdal, the head of the Turkish Human Rights association.

During the afternoon sitting of the court former DEP Deputy for Şınak Ahmet Doğan objected to the lengthy reading out of the indictment on the grounds that this represented a waste of time.

"This indictment is known by everyone from the baby in the crib to the old man of 70. If you want to read it all out this will take days" Doğan said referring to the fact that extensive coverage has been given to the indictment in the press. Doğan however was reminded by Muammer Unsoy, the presiding judge, that reading out the indictment or not was the prerogative of the prosecutors.

Seven of the estimated 100 defense lawyers present during the hearing objected to Unsoy's statement and left the courthouse arguing that "they had better things to do than listen to an indictment that everyone knows."

When the presiding judge wanted the scribe to record that these lawyers were registering a protest by this action of theirs the lawyers objected and said they were not protesting anything.

The trial continues today and is expected to go on uninterrupted at least until the reading of the indictment is finished.

Turkish jets strike PKK camps in Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish jet fighters have carried out more air raids on PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Worker's Party) camps in northern Iraq, according to Colonel Doğu Silahçıoğlu, spokesman for the Chief of Staff.

In the most recent attack, on Tuesday morning, more than 120 terrorists were killed at a camp in the Hakurk region, 25 kilometers from the Turkish border. On

Sunday, in an air strike in the Sinat-Hafta region, also located in northern Iraq, 30 heavily armed separatists were killed and 44 wounded. The group was reportedly preparing to cross the border into Turkey to launch an attack.

The PKK uses bases in northern Iraq for hit-and-run attacks inside Turkey. In both air strikes, ammunition, guns and provisions belonging to the terrorists were destroyed.

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Allemagne-Turquie

L'armée turque a créé des camps d'internement pour la population kurde, selon une télévision allemande

COLOGNE (Allemagne), 4 août (AFP) - L'armée turque a créé des camps d'internement pour la population kurde dans le cadre de sa lutte contre les séparatistes du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), a affirmé jeudi la première chaîne de télévision publique allemande ARD dans son émission Monitor.

Cinq de ces camps, capables d'accueillir en tout 10.000 personnes, ont déjà été érigés dans les dernières semaines dans le sud-est de la Turquie, a ajouté la rédaction du magazine Monitor.

Citant les témoignages de personnes qui se sont enfuies de ces camps, Monitor affirme que des interrogatoires sous la torture y sont pratiqués et que des personnes y ont déjà trouvé la mort.

Des villages entiers du nord de Diyarbakir ont été incendiés et leur population transférée dans ces camps, affirme encore Monitor. Les militaires turcs estiment que des sympathisants du PKK habitent ces villages, selon Monitor.

"Les militaires veulent se venger sur nous du PKK", a affirmé au cours de l'émission le maire d'un village évacué et qui a pu s'enfuir d'un camp, Mehmet Gunhan.

JLP/bm

AFP /JO0245/041641

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Iran-Kurdes

Un responsable du PDKI tué à Bagdad, selon l'organisation kurde

PARIS, 4 août (AFP) - Un responsable du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan iranien (PDKI, interdit) a été assassiné jeudi à Bagdad par "des terroristes de la République islamique d'Iran", affirme le PDKI dans un communiqué rendu public à Paris.

Selon l'organisation kurde, Rafour Hamzai, membre du Comité central et représentant du PDKI à Bagdad, a été tué jeudi à 15h00 (heure locale) devant son domicile.

Le PDKI est le plus ancien parti kurde, créé en 1945, et a vu ces dernières années de nombreux attentats décapiter sa direction. Quatre de ses dirigeants avaient notamment été assassinés à Berlin, en septembre 1992.

Le Kurdistan iranien est le théâtre de fréquents affrontements entre forces de l'ordre et militants du PDKI, et tout l'ouest de cette province frontalière de l'Irak est quadrillé par un très important dispositif militaire et policier.

ml/chb

AFP /JO0245/042038

AOU 94

La Liberté — 4 août 1994

TURQUIE

Six députés kurdes répondent de leurs opinions en justice

Si le procès a lieu, ils risquent la mort pour «séparatisme et atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat». Le monde observe.

Le procès de six députés kurdes s'est ouvert hier devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara. La défense a immédiatement demandé l'annulation du procès. Les six députés risquent la peine de mort après avoir été déchus de leur mandat pour «séparatisme et atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat».

Ces députés turcs d'origine kurde sont détenus depuis la levée de leur immunité parlementaire début mars et déchus de leur mandat depuis la dissolution du Parti pro-kurde de la démocratie (DEP) le 16 juin par la Cour constitutionnelle. D'importantes mesures de sécurité ont été prises par la police lors de leur transport au palais de justice d'Ankara.

DEMANDE REJETÉE

L'un des avocats a affirmé à l'ouverture du procès que l'acte d'accusation, qu'il a qualifié de «farce», avait été préparé par les procureurs «sans qu'ils aient pris en compte les preuves en faveur des détenus». Mais la demande de la défense a été rejetée par le tribunal, qui a décidé de commencer la lecture de l'acte d'accusation de 174 pages.

Ces députés sont accusés «d'avoir constitué l'aile politique» du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK). Il leur est également reproché «d'avoir œuvré au sein de l'organisation terro-

riste PKK pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans l'est et le sud-est des territoires sous la souveraineté de l'Etat de la République de Turquie», indique l'acte d'accusation préparé par huit procureurs.

OBSERVATEURS ÉTRANGERS

Une cinquantaine d'observateurs assistent au procès, parmi eux quatre députés européens. L'ambassade de Suisse en Turquie suit aussi attentivement le déroulement du procès, a indiqué mercredi le Département fédéral des affaires étrangères (DFAE). Début mars, le chargé d'affaires de l'ambassade turque à Berne avait été cité au Département fédéral des affaires étrangères qui lui avait exprimé la préoccupation du Conseil fédéral après la levée de l'immunité parlementaire des six députés.

APPEL SUISSE

A la mi-mars, les conseillers nationaux Irène Gardiol (PES/VD) et Ernst Sieber (PEV/ZH) avaient lancé un appel en faveur de six députés kurdes. Mme Gardiol et le pasteur Sieber s'étaient même rendus dans la capitale turque pour manifester leur solidarité et protester auprès des autorités judiciaires. Le procureur de la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat avait refusé de les rencontrer. ATS

Procès houleux en Turquie

Six députés kurdes sur le banc des accusés.

Manifestations devant le tribunal, incident d'audience et protestations des avocats: le procès de six députés kurdes qui risquent la peine de mort pour «séparatisme» s'est ouvert hier dans une ambiance houleuse devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat à Ankara.

La défense – quelque 300 avocats, dont 200 environ étaient présents à la première audience – avait vainement tenté d'obtenir l'annulation du procès, qu'elle a qualifié de «farce», affirmant qu'il viole la «constitution et toutes les lois internationales».

Les six députés – cinq membres du Parti de la démocratie (DEP, pro-kurde), dissous le 16 juin par la Cour constitutionnelle, et un indépendant – sont accusés d'«avoir constitué au sein du Parlement turc l'aile politique du PKK», le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (séparatiste) et d'«avoir œuvré pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans l'Est et le Sud-Est anatolien». **AFP**

LE NOUVEAU QUOTIDIEN - 4 août 1994

Libération — 4 août 1994

Procès des six députés kurdes sous haute surveillance à Ankara

Sous très haute surveillance policière, le procès des six ex-parlementaires kurdes du Parti de la démocratie (DEP) s'est ouvert hier à Ankara devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat. Environ 400 personnes s'entassaient dans la petite salle. Quelque 2 000 Kurdes qui désiraient suivre l'audience ont été interpellés et mis en garde à vue. La préfecture de police d'Ankara a argué «de risques de troubles de l'ordre public». Apparemment en

bonne santé, les accusés, tous passibles de la peine de mort, saluaient en souriant les avocats et la trentaine d'observateurs étrangers venus de neuf pays occidentaux et de la Russie. Emprisonnés depuis début mars, les ex-députés du DEP sont accusés de séparatisme, de représenter «la branche légale du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan», qui mène une lutte armée contre le régime d'Ankara depuis août 1984 dans l'est et le sud-est anatolien. Cette première partie du procès durera trois jours pour reprendre probablement mi-septembre. Les avocats de la défense demandent la libération provisoire des inculpés.

M. A. (Istanbul)

Paris Match

4 août 1994



Ségolène Royal fait ses débuts d'avocate.

SEGOLENE ROYAL DEFEND SIX DEPUTES KURDES. Inscrite au barreau de Paris depuis deux mois, Ségolène Royal entame sa première mission d'avocate le 4 août, en Turquie. Ce jour-là s'ouvre à Ankara le procès de six députés turcs d'origine kurde, du Parti de la démocratie, incarcérés depuis mars et accusés de menées séparatistes et d'atteinte à la sécurité de l'Etat. Ils risquent théoriquement la peine de mort. Agissant au nom d'un collectif de quatorze avocats européens - comprenant Roland Dumas -, le député des Deux-Sèvres veut « témoigner du droit à la liberté d'expression des parlementaires et de la solidarité envers les femmes (son amie Leyla Zana fait partie des députés incarcérés). Ségolène Royal dispose du soutien actif de François Mitterrand, qui a encouragé l'initiative de son ex-ministre de l'Environnement tout en accomplissant lui-même des démarches diplomatiques en faveur des députés kurdes emprisonnés. Parallèlement, Ségolène Royal a entrepris une action au Conseil de l'Europe visant à suspendre la représentation parlementaire de la Turquie.

TURQUIE

**Ouverture
du procès de six
députés kurdes**

Le procès de six députés turcs d'origine kurde s'est ouvert mercredi devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara. Ils risquent la peine de mort et sont détenus depuis la levée de leur immunité parlementaire début mars et déchus depuis la dissolution du Parti prokurde de la Démocratie (DEP), le 16 juin, par la Cour constitutionnelle. Ces députés sont accusés « d'avoir constitué l'aile politique » du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK). Il leur est également reproché « d'avoir œuvré au sein de l'organisation terroriste (PKK) pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans l'est et le sud-est des territoires sous la souveraineté de l'Etat de la République de Turquie », indique l'acte d'accusation préparé par huit procureurs. D'importantes mesures de sécurité ont été prises mercredi par la police avant et lors du transport des six députés au Palais de Justice. Une cinquantaine d'observateurs assistent au procès, parmi lesquels quatre députés européens. (AFP)

LE JOURNAL DE GENÈVE - 4 août 1994

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Justice-Kurdes

Les avocats parisiens des Kurdes dénoncent l'action "purement politicienne" du Parti socialiste

PARIS, 5 août (AFP) - Deux des avocats parisiens habituels des Kurdes à Paris ont dénoncé vendredi la démarche de l'ancien ministre Ségolène Royal, partie à Ankara défendre six députés kurdes, estimant que cela s'inscrit dans une action "purement politicienne" du Parti socialiste.

Mes Mourad Oussedik et Jean-Jacques de Felice "constatent avec tristesse" dans un communiqué que "le Parti socialiste entend utiliser le problème kurde comme support à une action purement politicienne d'opposant".

Les avocats "auraient souhaité que ceux-là même qui s'indignent aujourd'hui du sort réservé au peuple kurde aient agi alors qu'ils étaient au pouvoir" et "constatent que ceux qui mènent ce combat le mènent pour les Kurdes emprisonnés en Turquie mais se gardent d'agir en la faveur de ceux actuellement détenus en France du fait du gouvernement français".

Ils estiment enfin "que la démarche de l'opposition socialiste est animée par la même raison d'Etat actuelle qui est de ne pas contrarier le gouvernement turc".

od/eb

AFP /J00245/051728

AOU 94

As Iran and Iraq become natural allies



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

So much has changed over the years. Once Iran and Iraq were fighting a bloody war, now they are sharing the same fate: being isolated by the West.

The West has been obsessed with the idea of Iran being a terrorist state and thus should be punished. So under the leadership of the United States the Western powers have done all in their power to keep Iran isolated.

In recent years Germany especially and to some extent France have broken ranks with the United States to forge closer ties with Tehran. But even they would not dare challenge the U.S. when it demanded a toughly worded statement

at the recent G-7 meeting which branded Iran as a terrorist state.

So in the eyes of the West Iran has to remain isolated. What, of course, the Americans fail to understand is the fact that the more they threaten Iran the more they create unity among the Iranian ranks. Potential internal disputes are always put on one by the Iranians for the sake of unity against the common enemy, which in this case in the U.S. The Americans would be well advised to leave Iran alone and allow nature to take its own course...

It is interesting that some people have been unhappy with President Süleyman Demirel's trip to Tehran and talk of closer ties between the two countries. Yet, they do not seem to appreciate the need for Turkey to maintain good ties with all its neighbors for the sake of regional stability.

It is also interesting that we do not see eye to eye with Washington on the future of Iraq. After four years Saddam

Hussein is as strong as ever in Baghdad and all Washington's dream's of his imminent departure prove to be fantasy. Turkey wants the sanctions eased or even lifted while the Americans feel the embargo has to continue to be able to cripple Iraq. Yet, after all these years, it has become obvious that Iraq will not be crippled. On the contrary a New York Times editorial a few days ago openly questions the merits of keeping the sanctions.

So the two countries that the U.S. wants to continue to punish in our region are sharing similar problems at the hands of the West.

In addition they are both being pushed into further isolation by being left out of the Middle East peace process which, to say the least, could really create serious complications in the long run.

It is time the United States started paying more attention to the views of its friends such as Turkey regarding regional matters...

DEP treason trial continues at Ankara DGM

'This case has a historic importance for the solution of the Kurdish problem and the establishment of democracy'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- On the second day of their trial lawyers for the five former deputies of the banned Kurdish based Democracy Party (DEP) and one independent pro-Kurdish deputy accused the chief prosecutor at the Ankara State Security Court (DGM) Nusret Demiral for obstructing an open session and participation of the lawyers.

The lawyers claimed that the Chief Prosecutor was blocking their right of access to their clients and that some members of the public were being stopped by police from entering the courtroom. The lawyers' request for an open trial was entered into court records.

The former head of DEP Hatip Dicle, and former deputies for Şırnak, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Muş, Orhan Doğan, Leyla Zana, Ahmet Türk, Sırrı Sakık and the independent deputy are charged with treason under article 125 of the Turkish penal code. During the session, the independent Kurdish deputy Alınak claimed that the court was being influenced and said "A program was shown on the TGRT TV channel regarding yesterday's session where we were shown as approving the telephone conversation with the PKK by nodding. These programs are trying to influence the court."

The independent Kurdish deputy requested that such programs should not be broadcast since they do not respect the independence of the judiciary.

Recalling that a campaign against them had been started two years ago, Alınak said that the first thing taught to every law student is "the principle of an independent judiciary" and continued "this case has a historical mission for the peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem and the establishment of democracy."

Mahmut Alınak also claimed that the tape of an alleged phone conversation with the PKK leader, Abdullah Öcalan, which had been included in the indictment, did not reflect the truth since routine conversations with his family had also been described as communications with the PKK in the indictment did not reflect the truth since his routine conversations with his family and son were also shown as PKK conversations.

All six defendants are facing allegations that they had received orders by telephone from the PKK leader.

Alınak said that the Moscow telephone number claimed to be the PKK office number is actually that of his son who is studying in

Russia. The Paris number is that of a friend of his son's and not that of the PKK. He added "The prosecution has no documentary proof but tries to show that the numbers are PKK offices."

DEP lawyer Yusuf Alataş said that the court must act against such broadcasts. He added "Yesterday's session was effectively in secret. People were blocked from attending the session and the indictment was read on TV before it was even submitted to the suspects." Presiding Judge Muammer Unsay responded "You say that the lawyers were not allowed to enter the session. Then why did you all together leave the court room yesterday?" The DEP lawyer then replied "All our requests regarding the defence of our clients were refused"

Alatas continued his accusations against the State court and criticized the tight security measures established around the DGM building.

Alatas also criticized the prosecutors for reading the indictments while seated as the defence had to remain standing and demanded equal treatment. In Thursday's session, the DEP lawyers again stated that the reading of 452-page indictment as 'time wasting' and said that they had a copy of the indictment.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Reprise du procès de six députés kurdes

ANKARA, 5 août (AFP) - Les six députés kurdes, qui risquent la peine de mort pour "séparatisme", ont rejeté les accusations portées contre eux lors de la reprise vendredi de leur procès devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat à Ankara.

L'un des accusés, le député Ahmet Turk (52 ans) a rejeté les accusations du tribunal, tout en qualifiant le procès de "politique". "Ce procès est le produit des préférences politiques", a-t-il dit, en répondant aux accusations.

M. Turk, ainsi que Hatip Dicle, Orhan Dogan, Sirri Sakik et Mme Leyla Zana, tous membres du Parti pro-kurde de la Démocratie (DEP), dissous à la mi-juin, et le député indépendant, M. Mahmut Alinak (démissionnaire du DEP), sont accusés notamment "d'avoir constitué l'aile politique du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) au sein du parlement turc" et "d'avoir œuvré pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens" (à majorité kurde).

"L'acte d'accusation repose sur des préjugés et nous sommes condamnés à l'avance", a dit M. Turk.

"Ce procès n'est pas juridique, mais politique", a affirmé pour sa part le député kurde déchu, Mme Leyla Zana (33 ans). "C'est un règlement de compte politique", a-t-elle affirmé. Les six députés sont détenus depuis la levée de leur immunité parlementaire le 2 mars.

A Strasbourg, le président de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, Miguel Angel Martinez, a exprimé vendredi sa "vive préoccupation" au sujet de ce procès.

Dans un communiqué, M. Martinez a indiqué que l'Assemblée parlementaire des "32" se "sent très concernée" par cette affaire et "suit de très près l'évolution de la situation en Turquie".

ce/dro/bm

AFP /JO0245/051320

AOU 94

Libération — 9 août 1994

Six députés kurdes en procès à Ankara

La première partie du procès de six députés kurdes accusés de « séparatisme » et qui risquent la peine de mort, s'est terminée lundi soir devant la cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara. La prochaine audience aura lieu le 7 septembre. Le procès s'était ouvert mercredi en présence des six députés, Leyla Zana, Ahmet Turk, Hatip Dicle, Orhan Dogan, Sirri Sakik, tous membres du Parti pro-kurde de la Démocratie (DEP, dissous à la mi-juin), ainsi que Mahmut Alinak (indépendant, démissionnaire du DEP). Ils

sont accusés d'avoir « constitué l'aile politique du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) au sein du parlement turc » et d'avoir « œuvré pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens », à majorité kurde. A la fin de la première partie du procès, la défense a demandé que soit entendu Jalal Talabani, leader kurde irakien et chef de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), pour « déterminer si oui ou non ces députés dépendaient du PKK ». Talabani avait en effet assisté à plusieurs entretiens (notamment en mars 1993) de certains d'entre eux avec le chef du PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, alias « Apo ».

Le Nouveau Quotidien — 5 août 1994

Des camps en Turquie

Une accusation de la TV allemande.

L'armée turque a créé des camps d'internement pour la population kurde dans le cadre de sa lutte contre les séparatistes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), a affirmé hier la première chaîne de télévision publique allemande ARD. Cinq de ces camps, capables d'accueillir en tout 10 000 personnes, ont déjà été érigés dans les dernières semaines dans le sud-est de la Turquie, a ajouté la rédaction du magazine *Monitor*. Citant les témoignages de personnes qui se sont enfuies de ces camps, *Monitor* affirme que des interrogatoires sous la torture y sont pratiqués et que des personnes y ont déjà trouvé la mort.

Des villages entiers du nord de Diyarbakir ont été incendiés et leur population transférée dans

ces camps, affirme la télévision allemande. Les militaires turcs estiment que des sympathisants du PKK habitent ces villages. «Les militaires veulent se venger sur nous du PKK», a affirmé au cours de l'émission le maire d'un village évacué et qui a pu s'enfuir d'un camp, Mehmet Gunhan.

Le procès de six députés kurdes, qui risquent la peine de mort pour «séparatisme», a repris hier à Ankara au lendemain de son ouverture devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat en présence d'observateurs étrangers.

La défense a à nouveau récusé l'acte d'accusation mais le Parquet a passé outre à ses objections et repris la lecture du document. Les six députés sont accusés d'«avoir constitué l'aile politique du PKK au sein du Parlement turc».

AFP/LNQ

La Tribune — 5 août 1994

TURQUIE. L'armée turque a créé des camps d'internement pour la population kurde dans le cadre de sa lutte contre les séparatistes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), a affirmé jeudi la première chaîne de télévision publique allemande ARD dans son émission *Monitor*. Cinq de ces camps, capables d'accueillir en tout 10.000 personnes, ont déjà été érigés dans les dernières semaines dans le sud-est de la Turquie, a ajouté la rédaction du magazine *Monitor*. Citant les témoignages de personnes qui se sont enfuies de ces camps, *Monitor* affirme que des interrogatoires sous la torture y sont pratiqués et que des personnes y ont déjà trouvé la mort.

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Suisse-Turquie-Kurdes

La justice bernoise classe l'affaire de la fusillade de l'ambassade de Turquie

BERNE, 9 août (AFP) - La procédure judiciaire contre six membres de l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne, tenus pour responsables de la fusillade dans laquelle un manifestant kurde avait été tué le 24 juin 1993, a été classée, ont indiqué mardi les autorités judiciaires du canton de Berne.

Des poursuites ne sont en effet pas jugées possibles, devant le refus persistant de la Turquie de lever l'immunité diplomatique de ses six représentants suspectés qui ont été rappelés dans leur pays.

La fusillade avait éclaté depuis l'intérieur des locaux, faisant un mort et neuf blessés, dont un policier suisse.

L'affaire a provoqué une crise diplomatique de plusieurs mois. Les deux pays ont rappelé leurs ambassadeurs respectifs en août de l'an dernier.

Selon l'acte de clôture de la procédure, la plupart des coups de feu ont été tirés dans le dos des manifestants, avec au moins deux pistolets mitrailleurs et un pistolet.

jms/chm

AFP /J00245/091853

AOU 94

DEP trial continues

Ahmet Türk: The case is a product of political choices
Leyla Zana: HEP and DEP were a historic opportunity to achieve a solution to the Kurdish problem

Orhan Doğan: The PKK is an illegal movement which uses force

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The trial of the five former deputies of the outlawed pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) and one independent Kurdish deputy continued on Friday at the Ankara State Security Court (DGM).

In the trial's third day, the court proceeded with the hearings of the suspects accused of treason, under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK), for alleged separatism. The hearing began only after the 452-page indictment was read. Former Mardin Deputy Ahmet Türk was the first to speak in the session.



During the hearing at Ankara DGM, the former DEP Mardin deputy Ahmet Türk said that the case is based on the expression of their political views.
 Photo TDN Galip Ridvanoglu

He said: "The decision by the joint commission of Parliament and the judiciary to lift our immunities meant that Parliament approved of our trial based on the charges in the petition for the lifting of the immunities." He said that the DGM's questioning of their private lives disregarded Parliament's decision and meant that the DGM did not respect Parliament's authority.

Türk added that the accused deputies were used to divert attention from the political failures of the government. He referred to the prime minister's election campaign

speeches where she told the people, "I kicked the traitors out of Parliament" to silence them. She committed a crime for the sake of a few votes."

Indicating that the Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), the president, the prime minister, ministers, chief of General Staff and numerous deputies have already prejudged the case, Ahmet Türk said that the case had been opened merely because they expressed their political views.

During the court session presiding Judge Muammer Unsoy firmly stated, "We are independent" after Türk had said, "The judiciary is being influenced." In response the Kurdish deputy recalled that Prime Minister Tansu Çiller had said, "I ordered the trial to be expedited."

Criticizing the basing of charges on Article 125, Türk said, "I find the connection very amusing" and continued "Why are we being tried under Article 125? The answer is very clear, the reason is the Kurdish problem. Because we do not deny the Kurdish presence, that's why."

Referring to the existence of a Kurdish history and cultural identity, the deputy also asserted that they opposed a policy of violent repression and claimed that a contemporary state should respect human rights and democracy.

"Thoughts cannot be controlled," Türk said. He claimed that the charges against them were based on confessions extracted from PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party) members to cover up judicial errors. He continued, "By using the false testimony of these people, they have tried to establish an artificial link between us and the PKK."

Pointing at the 452-page indictment, Türk said it "has been prepared with prejudice and has convicted us before we have been tried."

Türk also explained the original reason for the founding of the banned Kurdish-based People's Labor Party (HEP) and objected to the claims that "HEP was formed upon the direction of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan."

Indicating that the party had been formed after seven Kurdish deputies who had participated in the "Paris Kurdish Conference" as observers had been forced to leave the Social Democratic People's Party (SHP), Türk claimed that both HEP and DEP had been legal like the other political parties and had received financial support from the state budget.

He denied the HEP-PKK link and pointed out that the case did not have any legal basis since the connection did not exist and there were no financial ties.

Türk denied that the Kurdish political parties — HEP, ÖZDEP and DEP — were the political wings of the PKK. He said that no charges had been made against the members and administrators of those parties and only a few deputies

had been selected as targets.

Türk also denied his alleged phone conversations with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan — the tapes of the calls belong to a private TV channel — and said it was a scenario based on a few phone numbers from abroad taken from PTT records.

The trial proceeded with the questioning of former Diyarbakır Deputy Leyla Zana, who stated that HEP and DEP had been a historical, but, unfortunately, lost, opportunity for the achievement of a solution to the Kurdish problem.

"The banning of DEP has proved the lack of democracy in Turkey. The DEP case has become an international issue and for certain institutions and organizations a matter of honor," said Zana. She added that Parliament, political parties, the government and other institutions have lost credibility in the eyes of many Western countries which have gained the impression that these institutions operate under the supervision of the military.

Referring to the swearing-in ceremony in Parliament, Zana claimed that her words had been intentionally misinterpreted and denied the alleged telephone conversation with Öcalan. Referring to the comment "I feel like I am in a strange country", made during an interview with the German TV station "Sat-1", Zana said that was only a reference to her inability to establish a dialogue with other female members of Parliament.

As Türk had done, Zana said that the basis for their trial had been their insisting on democratic and peaceful demands. When asked about her participation in a meeting organized in Brussels, Zana indicating that she had been receiving medical treatment in Paris, replied, "One cannot be present in two different places."

Zana also said green, yellow and red were the Kurdish national colors and had no connection with the PKK.

In the second part of the trial, the court proceeded with the hearing of former Şırnak Deputy Orhan Doğan. He stated that the indictment had been based on the claim that the Kurdish parties HEP, ÖZDEP, and DEP had been the political wings of the terrorist organization PKK. He denied their having a connection with the PKK, and added that if they did, all the other members and administrators of those parties would have to be charged with being members of the PKK.

"These parties which represent the people had been fighting for democracy within a united Turkey. DEP did not approve of or support the use of force; the PKK, however, is an illegal movement which uses force and violence. Öcalan's views on the DEP are of no interest to the party

and to connect it with the PKK is only a sign of weakness," said Doğan in the second part of the court hearing in the afternoon.

Doğan, adding that he would always stand for peace, said: "I would meet with Abdullah Öcalan not only once, ten times, or a hundred times, if I thought that the bloodshed would stop."

Orhan Doğan stated that Turkish democracy is on trial and that his own arrest was evidence. Indicating that the accusations regarding him had been repeated 17, and sometimes 20 times, in the indictment, Doğan said: "They have tried in every way to connect us with the PKK. Even Police chiefs have filed false documents."

Referring to the funeral of Vedat Aydın, Doğan said: "The Adana police chief, Ramazan Er, has stated that we had ordered the people to attack during the funeral of Vedat Aydın, but unfortunately we were not deputies at the time."

Reminding the court that the name of former HEP deputy Salih Sümer, a minister, is also mentioned in the indictment, the Şırnak deputy said: "We could also have been deputies, but we are being tried like Kunta Kinte while Sümer is a minister. We are treated like blacks. This results from our desire to solve the Kurdish problem, and it is people who do not desire a solution who want the death sentence passed on us." Referring to the two PKK militants whom he had sheltered in his house and for whom he was said to have provided medical treatment, Doğan said: "Your court has tried both of them and both of them have said that they received the medical treatment without my knowledge. İhsan Ertaş is one of my aides and it was he who brought Abdülvahab Kandemir and saw to his treatment. He has said this in court and the bill is in my name only because he had introduced himself as my son."

Indicating that Turkish ambassadors had greeted them during their visit to Damascus, Orhan Doğan said: "We were greeted by Turkish ambassadors, attended a press conference and left afterwards. Former President Özal was also informed of our visit and we had met him before we had left for Damascus." Doğan also commented on their visit to the Diyarbakır prison where they had talked to PKK militants and stated that the prison warden and officials from the Justice Ministry had been also present during the meeting.

"The statements of the PKK militants contradicted each other — some wanted us to stay in Parliament and some wanted us to withdraw. But we do not change our opinions from one day to another."

The court will proceed with the hearing of Sırrı Sakık, Hatip Dicle and Mahmut Alınak on Monday.

Rep. Porter slams Çiller's promise to reject US aid

'The sheer arrogance of this statement ... is staggering'

'Turkey is far, far away from qualifying for EU membership'

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Rep. John Edward Porter (R-Illinois), an outspoken critic of human rights violations in Turkey and co-chairman of the House human rights caucus, today has lambasted a promise Prime Minister Tansu Çiller made on at least two different occasions not to accept any U.S. aid if it comes attached with conditions. U.S. Foreign Aid Bill HR 4426 demands a 10 percent cut until the U.S. State Department decides that Turkey has made enough progress in Cyprus and human rights issues.

Talking on the House floor during the House discussions of the Conference Committee report on the foreign aid bill, Porter bitterly complained about lack of progress in the human rights issue in Turkey. "Worse yet," Porter said, "the Turkish government apparently believes it is above reproach and should be allowed to operate by a separate set of standards than the civilized nations of the world."

'Sheer arrogance'

Then Porter reminded his colleagues of a promise PM Çiller made previously: "When the House passed its version of this bill, which conditioned 25 percent of U.S. military assistance to Turkey, Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller said publicly that she would not accept foreign assistance that had any conditions attached. The sheer arrogance of this

statement, especially by the head of a government that is trying actively to enter the EU, is staggering. It evidences that Turkey has yet to accept the inalienability of human rights that the other EU members recognized long ago and that Turkey is far, far away from qualifying for EU membership."

Curiosity about Çiller's next move

Probably it was no coincidence that a few Congressional sources as well as one NGO in Washington have asked TDN if Çiller would indeed keep her word now that the U.S. aid to Turkey comes attached with conditions. This reporter got the impression that these sources were indeed expecting Çiller to go ahead and reject the U.S. aid. Today, the way Rep. Porter brought up Çiller's promise with such vehemence again appeared to be almost like a challenge to the prime minister to follow up on her own words.

'Government instigated violence'

Porter, in his address, again reminded his colleagues that "Turkey has repressed the Kurds for decades, but in the last 18 months the government instigated violence has reached unprecedented levels.

My wife Kathryn visited Turkey in April to attempt to meet with six Kurdish parliamentarians who were arrested and their lawyers who were also arrested.

Not only was she denied access to the parliamentarians, she was followed everywhere she went, and while she was there several human rights activists were murdered, execution-style, or disappeared in the town of Diyarbakır (sic), where she was staying."

After reeling off statistics about the number of Kurds killed and "Kurdish villages razed," Porter concluded that "Turkey clearly does not share our values in many areas, and they are going in the exact opposite direction they should be on human rights.

I would have preferred a 100 percent cut-off until the president could verify that the violations had substantially stopped, but the provision in this bill conditioning 10 percent of Turkish military aid is designed to send a message that we are serious on this matter, even if Turkey is not."

'US aid endorses barbarism'

"I think it is a travesty that we are providing any funds to the Turkish government while it has the fresh blood of innocent non-combatants on its hands and is committing more atrocities every day. By doing so we are endorsing this type of barbarism. I think it should stop now," Porter added.

Porter also said he supported the conditionality this bill places on Turkey "for its conduct relating to Cyprus... I believe Turkey, the nation that divided Cyprus, is responsible for working actively to find a solution, and I look forward to the State Department report regarding the extent of Turkey's efforts."

Porter recently cosponsored with Rep. Robert Andrews (D) of New Jersey another bill, HR 3475, that seeks to cut all U.S. aid to Turkey until Turkey removes all its troops from Cyprus and "(begins to) negotiate in good faith," according to Andrews. The bill also demands an accounting of the 1,614 Greeks and five Americans claimed to be missing since 1974.

Military appointments crisis over

President Demirel signs controversial decree extending the terms of office of Navy and Air Force Commanders

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The crisis that erupted when President Suleyman Demirel refused to endorse the extension of the terms of office of Air Force and Navy Commanders General Halis Burhan and Admiral Vural Bayazit, was resolved on Friday.

President Demirel, having resisted such a decision from the start, agreed to sign the decree extending the term of office of the two commanders by one year.

According to another decree that Demirel signed, the Army Commander General Ismail Hakki Karadayı has

been appointed Chief of the General Staff to replace General Doğan Güreş. First Army Commander General Hikmet Bayar has been appointed Army Commander.

President Demirel invited the outgoing Chief of the General Staff, General Doğan Güreş to the presidential palace on Friday morning for a meeting that lasted an hour.

After twice meeting with Defense Minister Mehmet Gölhan following his meeting with General Güreş, Demirel disclosed that he had decided to sign the decree extending the term of office of the two force command-

ers.

Other decrees signed by President Demirel included the appointment of General Hikmet Köksal, the former Commander of the Aegean Army, as the Commander of the First Army, and the former Commander of the Second Army, Necati İkizöglü as the Commander of the Aegean Army.

Meanwhile General Fikret Özden Boztepe was appointed as Commander of the Second Army, while General Atilla Ateş was appointed as Commander of Military Academies.

Schleichende Unruhe in der türkischen Armee

Differenzen zwischen dem Präsidenten und der Armeeführung

Zwischen der zivilen und der militärischen Führungsspitze der Türkei machen sich Spannungen bemerkbar, die anlässlich der bevorstehenden jährlichen Beförderungen in der türkischen Armee offen ausbrechen könnten. Vordergründig sind sich das Staatsoberhaupt und der Generalstabschef in der Frage, wer künftig die Marine und die Luftwaffe befehligt, nicht einig. Tatsächlich geht es aber darum, wer in der Türkei das Sagen hat.

it. Istanbul, 5. August

Nach einer dreitägigen, laut Presseberichten stürmischen Sitzung hinter verschlossenen Türen hat am Donnerstag der *Höchste Militärerrat* der Türkei die Beförderungen in den mittleren und in einem Teil der höchsten Ränge der Armee angekündigt. Die wichtigste Frage dieser Sitzung, wer künftig die Marine und die Luftwaffe befehligen soll, konnte aber nicht gelöst werden. Diese Frage hatte bereits vor bald einem Monat die schweren Differenzen zwischen dem zivilen Staatsoberhaupt, Präsident *Demirel*, und dem Generalstabschef *Güres* ans Licht gebracht. Nun droht sie in eine Staatskrise auszuarten. Wie schwerwiegend die Differenzen zwischen den zwei Männern an der Spitze der Türkei gegenwärtig sind, konnte ihrem Auftritt am Donnerstag nach der gemeinsamen Sitzung entnommen werden. Der Präsident und der Generalstabschef, beide mit sichtlich verkrampften Gesichtszügen, schauten sich beim obligatorischen Pressebild nicht einmal an. *Demirel*, der in seiner langen politischen Karriere zweimal von Generälen gestürzt wurde, sah dabei besonders müde aus.

Der lange Abschied von Dogan Güres

Die normalerweise unspektakulären jährlichen Beförderungen in der Armee wurden zum Zankapfel zwischen der zivilen und der militärischen Führung, als Generalstabschef *Güres* vor etwa einem Monat den Wunsch bekundete, seinen Dienst um ein weiteres Jahr zu verlängern. Er begründete diese Forderung mit der «Bekämpfung des Terrorismus» im Südosten, die in eine kritische Phase getreten sei. Dabei wurde er von der Regierungschefin *Ciller* vollumfänglich unterstützt. Das Verhältnis der Regierungschefin zum Generalstabschef kann als durchaus harmonisch bezeichnet werden. Sie lässt ihn in der Kurdenfrage der Türkei unangefochten gewähren. Als Gegenleistung dafür überschüttet er sie mit Komplimenten. Eine tapfere junge Frau, die soviel wert wie fünf Männer sei, nennt sie der General.

Gegen den Wunsch des Generalstabschefs stemmt sich aber Präsident *Demirel*, der gemäss Verfassung jeden Wechsel in der Armeeführung billigen muss. *Demirel* fürchtet sich vor Unruhe im türkischen Militärapparat; die Verlängerung der Dienstzeit in den höchsten Führungsposten verstösst nämlich gegen die Gepflogenheiten der türkischen Armee und bedeutet, dass die nachfolgenden Ränge nicht erwartungsgemäss befördert werden können. Der 68jährige *Güres* hätte zudem bereits im August 1993 pensioniert werden sollen. Damals konnte er mit der Begründung, der Terror sei zu bekämpfen, gegen den Willen *Demirels* und gegen alle Proteste aus den Reihen der höheren Offiziere seine Dienstzeit als Generalstabschef um ein Jahr verlängern. Diesmal hat sich der Präsident durchsetzen können. Am 30. August muss *Güres* seinen Posten dem heutigen Kommandanten der Landstreitkräfte, *Ismail Hakki Karadayi*, übergeben.

Konflikt in der Führung

Der Konflikt zwischen den zwei wichtigsten Männern der türkischen Staatsführung setzte sich dennoch fort. Der General gab sich nämlich nicht geschlagen und forderte vor rund 10 Tagen, dass die Chefs der Marine und der Luftwaffe – laut Presseberichten «seine Leute» – ein Jahr länger auf ihren Posten bleiben können. Er begründete diese Forderung wieder mit der Bekämpfung der kurdischen Separatisten. Weil sich die «Terrorbekämpfung im Südosten» in einer besonders kritischen Phase befinde, sei es nicht ratsam, Ende August die gesamte Führung der türkischen Armee auszuwechseln, erklärte er öffentlich. Wie vor einem Monat wurde auch diese Forderung von der Regierungschefin unterstützt, vom Präsidenten hingegen abgelehnt. Der *Höchste Militärerrat*, der für die Beförderungen und Pensionierungen in der Armeeführung zuständig ist, konnte sich auch nach einer dreitägigen Sitzung nicht auf die Nachfolger für die Führung der Luftwaffe und der Marine einigen. Deutlich verwirrt kommentierte nach der Sitzung ein General, bei diesem Konflikt handle es sich um einen Versuch, die Armee als politische Komponente einzusetzen und sie zu spalten. Der konservative Oppositionsführer *Mesut Yilmaz* spricht mittlerweile von einer wachsenden Unruhe in den Reihen der höheren Offiziere.

Die Armee hat traditionell in der Türkei eine einzigartige Stellung. Im Osmanischen Reich war sie fast 600 Jahre lang die staatstragende Macht.

Der Gründer der modernen Republik, *Kemal Atatürk*, selbst Offizier, machte diese Institution zum Träger des Modernisierungsprozesses. Nach dem ersten Militärputsch 1961 wurde die Rolle der Armee darüber hinaus als «Partnerin der Staatsmacht» auch verfassungsmässig verankert, allerdings ist sie immer der wichtigere Teil der Partnerschaft geblieben. Wie der Konflikt zwischen dem Präsidenten und dem noch amtierenden Generalstabschef beigelegt werden soll, ist vorerst unklar. Klar ist aber, dass unter *Dogan Güres* das Prestige der Armee schwer gelitten hat. Er konnte seine Versprechungen, den kurdischen Terror endgültig zu zerschlagen, nicht halten und bezog statt dessen in geschwätzigen Erklärungen ungefragt zu allen politischen Fragen offene Stellung. Seit Beginn dieser Woche haben sich immer mehr Kommentatoren des Themas angenommen. Der Kommentator *Cengiz Candar* forderte beispielsweise, dass in der Türkei die «Militärdemokratie» endlich durch Demokratie ersetzt werde. Sein Kollege *Hasan Cemal* plädierte in einem Leitartikel dafür, dass auch in der Türkei die Armee der politischen Führung untergeordnet werde, wie dies in Griechenland, Spanien und Portugal geschehen sei.

Erfolgsmeldung der Armee im Südosten

Ankara, 5. Aug. (dpa) Bei Kämpfen zwischen der Armee und Rebellen aus den Reihen der Kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (PKK) sind am Donnerstag und Freitag in den Provinzen Diyarbakir, Bingöl, Hakkari und Sirtak zwölf PKK-Kämpfer getötet worden. Dies teilte das regionale Sicherheitszentrum am Freitag in Diyarbakir mit. Aus der mittelanatolischen Provinz Sivas meldete die halbamtliche Nachrichtenagentur Anatolia den Tod von acht Rebellen.

Iranischer Kurdenpolitiker in Bagdad ermordet

Paris, 5. Aug. (apa/afp/dpa) Der Vertreter der Kurdischen Demokratischen Partei/Iran (PDKI) in Bagdad, *Rafour Hamzai*, ist am Donnerstag nachmittag vor seinem Haus in der irakischen Hauptstadt erschossen worden, wie die PDKI in einem in Paris veröffentlichten Communiqué mitteilte. Der Anschlag geht nach Ansicht von Exilkreisen auf das Konto des Teheraner Geheimdienstes. Hamzai war Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Partei. Über hundert Funktionäre der Kurdenpartei sind nach Angaben der Partei in den vergangenen Jahren in verschiedenen Ländern umgebracht worden. In den vergangenen fünf Jahren wurden zwei PDKI-Generalsekretäre ermordet: 1992 *Sadegh Charafkandi* in Berlin und 1989 *Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou* in Wien.

Le Monde — 9 août 1994

Vingt-quatre morts au cours d'affrontements entre l'armée et des séparatistes kurdes. - Vingt séparatistes kurdes et quatre soldats de l'armée turque ont été tués samedi 6 et dimanche 7 août dans l'est et le sud-est du pays. Les accrochages ont eu lieu notamment dans les provinces de Mus et de Hakkari. Depuis 1984, quelque 12 400 personnes ont été tuées, dont 2 600 cette année, au cours des combats opposant les forces de sécurité aux séparatistes du Parti kurde des travailleurs (PKK). - (AFP).

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Turquie-Kurdes

Quatorze rebelles kurdes tués dans le sud-est anatolien

ANKARA, 9 août (AFP) - Quatorze rebelles kurdes de Turquie ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, ont déclaré mardi les autorités.

Quatorze rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués dans différentes localités du sud-est anatolien lors d'opérations de l'armée turque, ont annoncé mardi les autorités de Diyarbakir chargées de la répression.

Par ailleurs, 30 soldats turcs ont été blessés, dont 5 grièvement, lorsque leur véhicule a sauté sur une mine posée, selon les autorités, par des rebelles du PKK sur la route près de Korkut, dans la région de Mus.

D'autre part, 3 miliciens pro-gouvernementaux ont été blessés lors d'une attaque rebelle dans la nuit de lundi à mardi contre une station de relais de radio dans la région de Semdinli, dans la province de Hakkari, frontalière avec l'Irak et l'Iran, toujours selon la même source.

Le PKK est en rébellion armée depuis dix ans dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens. Cette rébellion et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait près de 14.000 morts (civils, rebelles, militaires et policiers), selon une compilation effectuée par l'AFP à partir de bilans officiels.

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CSCE commission chairman criticizes trial of DEP deputies

Senator DeConcini argues that allowing Kurds to form parties would be way of diminishing support for the PKK

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish daily News

WASHINGTON DC- Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), co-chairman of the commission on the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), took the floor in the U.S. Senate on Friday to denounce Turkey's decision to put the pro-Kurdish deputies of the former Democracy Party (DEP) to trial at the Ankara State Security Court (DGM).

DeConcini called August 3, the date when the trials started, "a sad milestone on Turkey's path towards democracy." The Senator from Arizona said that he was "flabbergasted that such a spectacle is taking place in Turkey, a staunch friend, and NATO ally, and CSCE participating state whose officials regularly express commitments to democracy and international human rights standards."

"In addition to starkly illustrating how free speech and political activity is restricted in Turkey, the trial will bring attention to other underlying obstructions to democracy" DeConcini said.

DeConcini also pointed a finger at the Turkish press as part of the problem.

"What is becoming increasingly clear is that public opinion is being openly manipulated by major media outlets controlled by government or other political sources. With respect to Kurdish rights issues and the war in Southeast Turkey, informed debate has fallen victim to inflammatory prefabrications or severely restricted information" he said.

"I believe, as long as major media sources remain controlled by political and military interests, and journalists and others remain silenced, informed public debate will be impossible.. The Turkish press must be enabled to reports responsibly on Kurdish issues and other human rights concerns."

DeConcini argued that suppression of the existing pro-Kurdish parties will give rise to even more radical formations and thus help the PKK?

"The DEP trial will also likely underscore the deficiencies of the government's unrealistic military approach to the Kurdish question—a cornerstone of which is the criminalization of Kurdish-based political parties. When political parties are banned, the pattern in Turkey is that like-minded groups form on their heels or members move to more extreme parties. It would seem that allowing Kurds to form legal parties would be a plausible way of diminishing support for the PKK and other extremist groups" DeConcini said.

He went on to remind that the CSCE Copenhagen Document clearly outlines commitments taken by 53 participating states regarding unrestricted political party activity.

"The campaign against the Democracy Party and its predecessors raises serious questions about the Government of Turkey's commitment to these principles" DeConcini added.

What troubled DeConcini even more is the fact that two of the (DEP) deputies face the death penalty for statements made at a Helsinki Commission briefing in the U.S. Congress.

Press group says Turkey holds pro-Kurd journalist

Reuter

PARIS- A press freedom group said on Friday Turkey had arrested a sixth employee of a pro-Kurd daily newspaper and asked Ankara to release all of those being held.

Reporters Sans Frontières (RSF, Reporters Without Borders) said A. Baki Karadeniz, publication director of the daily *Özgür Ülke*, had been arrested on Friday in a raid on the newspaper's offices in Istanbul.

The Paris-based group added that police also took a list of all of the newspaper's employees.

It said the newspaper had been a target of police harassment since its founding in April.

Five of its journalists and at least six of its distributors have previously been arrested, and many of them remain in jail, the group said.

It wrote Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller urging her to do all she could to prevent harassment of the newspaper and free the journalists and distributors being held.

"I find it truly unfathomable that a professed democratic government could press capital charges against elected parliamentarians simply for their speeches or writings which advocate neither violence, secession nor solutions outside of a democratic framework. On this inauspicious occasion, I urge my colleagues to join me in expressing to the government of Turkey our disappointment at their irrational campaign to squelch free speech."

Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-DM), the other co-chairman of the CSCE commission, in a speech he delivered on the House floor to comment on the Conference Committee report on Foreign Aid bill, said that passage of the bill—accepted in the ment is how to encourage the further development of democratic institutions and respect for human rights without isolating Turkey or turning its leaders and people away from a pro-Western orientation" he said. "As a proven ally and supporter of Turkey, the United States is in a better position than most to effectuate this diplomatic balancing act.

Our shared strategic and economic interests in promoting peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia, Central Asia, the Middle East and in other areas make cooperation between our states critical" he added.

"So while Turkey remains a close NATO partner and ally, (the Foreign Aid bill HR 426) is a measured and responsible statement of our con-

turkish daily news

cern over the deteriorating rights situation and demonstrates that business as usual is out of the question as long as an uncompromising military approach to the Kurdish question is pursued.

Our alliance will be much stronger, as will Turkey's democracy and economy when the Kurdish situation is peacefully resolved" Hoyer concluded.

U.S. House yesterday — "send an unequivocal message to the Government of Turkey that this Congress will not conduct business as usual when U.S. supplied equipment is used against civilians and to destroy crops, livestock and villages."

The bill withholds 10 percent of direct loans to Turkey until U.S. State Department reports a progress in human rights and Cyprus.

"Recent pressure from the U.S. government has prompted some Turkish officials to claim that U.S. officials and Members of Congress want to change Turkey's borders and contest the right of Turkey's government to defend its citizens against terrorism," Hoyer said.

"This could not be farther from the truth. The U.S. respects both principles. This legislation expresses our belief that the Turkish government must not pursue its war against terrorism at the expense of free speech and other human rights and against civilians."

Hoyer expressed his belief that if Turkey can solve its "Kurdish question" peacefully then it will become even a stronger democracy.

"The central dilemma facing (the U.S.) govern-

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Eco.-tourisme

Turquie: deux touristes finlandais enlevés dans l'est anatolien

ANKARA, 8 aout (AFP) - Deux touristes finlandais ont été enlevés samedi par un groupe de rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK séparatiste) près de Tunceli (est), a-t-on appris lundi de source kurde bien informée.

Les deux touristes, dont les identités n'ont pas révélées, se trouvaient à bord d'une voiture qu'ils avaient loué entre Tunceli et Pulumur quand ils ont été arrêtés par un groupe du PKK. Ils ont été empêchés de continuer leur chemin "parce qu'ils n'avaient pas de visa d'entrée dans le Kurdistan", comme le réclame le PKK pour tous ceux qui veulent se rendre dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde.

La police contactée par l'AFP n'a pas pu donner de détail sur l'évènement qu'elle s'est contenté de confirmer.

Un reponsable de l'ambassade de Finlande à Ankara a pour sa part précisé attendre des "détails des autorités turques" tout en confirmant la "disparition" des deux touristes dont "il ignore également les identités".

Plus d'une vingtaine de touristes ont été enlevés depuis début 1993 dans l'est et le sud-est anatolien par le PKK, qui réclame des "visas d'entrée" pour cette région qu'elle revendique pour fonder un Kurdistan indépendant marxiste-léniniste.

YM/are

turkish daily news

Tuesday, August 9, 1994 /

Jets hit PKK camp in N. Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish jet fighters in a raid in Northern Iraq on Monday attacked PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party) militants who have been carrying out cross-border attacks. A statement released by the Chief of Staff's press office said the raid took place in the Sinat region, some 15 kilometers (9 miles) from the Turkish border and added that most of the armed terrorists in the group had been killed.

It was also disclosed that earlier air strikes against PKK targets in Northern Iraq

had killed 280 terrorists and injured another 204.

Five terrorists were killed by security forces during operations on Mount Ararat, according to a report by the Anatolia news agency. The agency also reports that the Lake Kup area has been cleared of terrorists.

Two Finnish tourists kidnapped by PKK

Compiled from Wire Dispatches

ANKARA- Kurdish separatist terrorists kidnapped two Finnish tourists at the weekend after stopping their car in broad day-

light at a roadblock in southeastern Turkey, local officials said on Monday.

The pair are still missing, but their car was recovered on Saturday along the highway between the provincial capital of Tunceli and the town of Pulumur in eastern Turkey, officials said.

Turkish security officials identified the surnames of the two men as Hotakainen, born in 1967, and Pollari, born in 1974. No other details were immediately available.

A spokeswoman for the Finnish embassy confirmed the names but said she was awaiting further information from the Turkish foreign ministry.

The kidnapping was the first of foreigners this year. Since 1991 militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)

have seized 27 foreigners, excluding the two Finns, as part of their bloody struggle against Turkey. All have been released unharmed. In the past, the PKK has sought to negotiate freedom for their captives directly with foreign governments, in an apparent bid for recognition of their movement. All refused.

The pro-Kurdish daily *Ozgür Ülke*, published in

Istanbul, said the pair were seized by the military wing of the PKK to enforce a long-standing demand that tourists in the region carry a so-called "visa" from Kurdish militants.

It said almost two dozen foreigners were "arrested" last year by PKK forces for failing to carry the required visas in the region they define as Kurdistan.

DEP trial continues at Ankara DGM

Hatip Dicle: The prosecution does not recognize the existence of the Kurdish people. But this existed 68-years ago and still exists today.

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The trial of five former deputies of the now banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) and one independent Kurdish deputy continued on Monday at Ankara State Security Court (DGM). On the fourth day of the trial, the court heard testimony from the deputies who are charged with treason, under article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK), for allegedly advocating separatism.

Sırrı Sakık, former DEP deputy for Muş, in his statement to the court, said that his membership of the banned pro-Kurdish parties, the People's Labor Party (HEP) and DEP together with his surname were the only reasons for the charges against him. Sakık's brother, Semdin, is a well-known PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party) militant.

The former deputy said that his surname alone would probably convict him and added that he had nothing in common with his brother which would provide a reason for the telephone calls he is alleged to have made.

He said: "I am not a PKK militant. I entered the political arena with the Republican People's Party (CHP) long years ago and continued my line in SODEP and later in the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP)."

Commenting on the reasons for his arrest, Sakık said: "I am here because I expressed my views regarding the rise of the Kurdish problem and for presenting my ideas on possible solutions."

Sakık said that the 452-page indictment could have been fitted into 30-40 pages and commented that the case is actually a political one.

He claimed that his relatives had been taken into custody and coerced into giving false testimony, all because of the hate felt towards him because of his brother.

Sakık claimed that the prosecutors already judged him as a criminal and called him the "brother of Şemdin Sakık, the Mus deputy Sırrı Sakık."

Referring to the TRT TV programs produced by Ertürk Yöndem, Sakık said: "the accusations directed at me have been based on the confession extracted from Sabiha Sunar who said that I brought a doctor to the mountains to treat wounded PKK members but I was present in Parliament at that time and this is in the record."

Sırrı Sakık added that Sunar had also said that Sukru Şapçı had killed two people and had said that he (Sakık) had been informed about the incident and continued: "Şükri Şapçı is over 80 and paralysed and no case has ever been opened against him." The former Kurdish deputy further testified that they had brought the subject of extra-judicial killings onto Parliament's agenda and said that they proved the innocence of the eight people introduced as PKK militants and killed in his own village.

Sırrı Sakık also answered questions on his financial status and said that the \$103,000, DM45,000 and TL 100 million deposited in the Parliament branch of Ziraat bank were his personal savings.

The money was his and not the PKK's as declared in the indictment. He came from a wealthy Mus family which was involved in real estate, an hotel and the import-export business.

Sakık claimed that the media had presented biased reports of his speeches. He denied saying, at the DEP Manisa Provincial Congress, "The war in Kurdistan will continue until independence."

Sakık continued: "Another reason for our trial is the press. My picture was placed between that of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and Şemdin Sakık."

The feeling created with the news about us amongst the public was like an extra-judicial execution. I am accused of being a PKK member but my hotel in Muş was bombed and two people died and all this was reported in Kurdish publications.

There is a contradiction since on one hand I am attacked by the PKK and on the other I am accused of being a PKK member."

The former DEP deputy also stated that he had landed in the midst of a plot and said that the accusations against him had been based on the false confessions of former PKK militants and continued:

"Who did we shoot at, where did we plant bombs, what illegal activity did we engage in? They must tell us this." The court proceeded to the testimony of former DEP Diyarbakır Deputy Hatip Dicle.

During his hearing Hatip Dicle, the former DEP chairman, said: "Whatever the results of this case may be, it will not go down as one of the bright pages in the political and judicial history of the Turkish Republic."

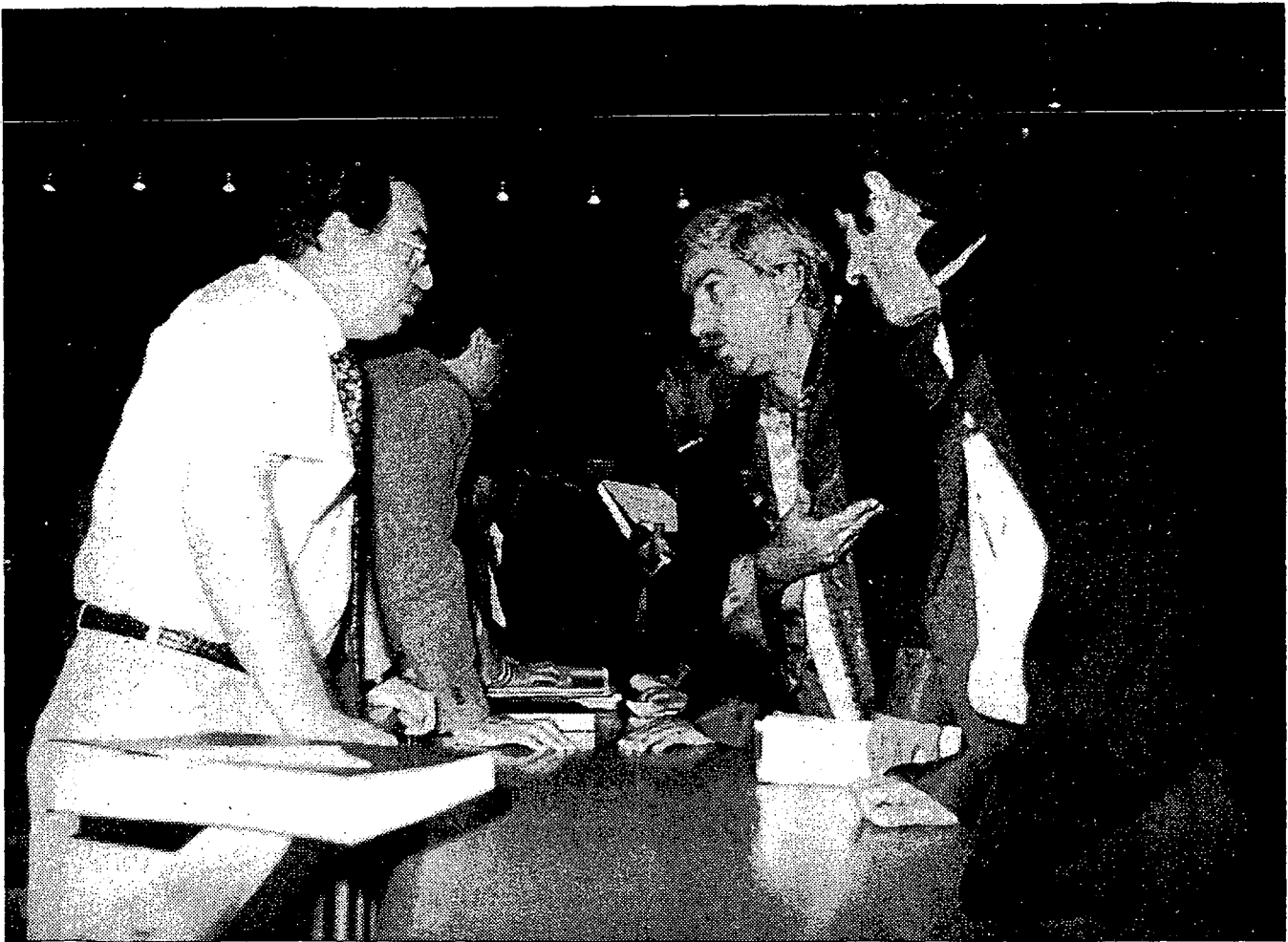
Stating that the parliamentary immunity given to them by the people through elections could not be taken away from them, Dicle continued: "This right has been given by the people and can be taken back again by the people. A politician can only be tackled by another politician about his opinions."

Hatip Dicle also referred to the Parliament as committing "Harakiri" by their lifting of the immunities — just on the grounds of the expression of opinions — and said: "They have committed suicide"

The Turkish people, he said, had not won their present international standing by insisting on a violent solution to the Kurdish problem. "In the contemporary world and based on the principles of universal law, the Turkish people have the right to a distinctive position in the world."

During the court session, Dicle claimed that all the sensitive political decisions are being taken first at the National Security Council (MGK) and went on further to say that the government obeyed these decisions. Parliament, he said, was just a rubber stamp.

"The source of the Kurdish problem goes back 68 years," Dicle said, and blamed the present situation on policies of violence. "The prosecution does not recognize the existence of the Kurdish people. Yet they existed 68 years ago and still exist today. Turkey applied the use of force in the solu-



The former chairman of the banned Democracy Party (DEP) and Diyarbakır deputy Hatip Dicle (first from left) and the former DEP Muş deputy Sirri Sakık (second from left) stated in Ankara DGM that they had been charged for expressing their political opinions regarding the Kurdish people and voicing their demands and problems. Sakık claimed that the indictment had been based on the confession of an ex-PKK member.

Photo TDN Galip Rıdvanoglu

tion of the Kurdish problem. Due to these policies based on violence, Turkey ranks second after China in terms of human rights violations." Hatip Dicle claimed that one other reason for their arrest had been to boost the morale of the soldiers fighting against the terrorist organization, PKK, in the Southeast.

Dicle also compared the DGM to the former "Tribunal of Independence" during the Turkish national struggle, to the "Yassıada" courts and military courts from the periods of military rule, and indicated that he did not view the DGM as an institution answering to the political needs of today. Their loyalty to the judiciary, he said, was questionable. In spite of all efforts, Dicle

described the situation in the Southeast as very critical. "The government has to open all democratic channels to isolate the sources of violence in our society," Dicle insisted.

"The necessary tool for this is the urgent regulation of the Constitution and the legal system." The former Diyarbakır deputy added that the HEP, ÖZDEP and DEP parties — legally organized to voice the problems and demands of the Kurds — were liquidated through the use of undemocratic pressure and violence. Dicle furthermore said that a historical moment had been missed in the solving of the Kurdish problem.

Referring to the March 27 local elections.

the former DEP deputy said that the accusation that "the DEP did not enter the elections because of directives from the PKK" was based on false claims and described it as: "intentional prejudice."

Meanwhile, yesterday in Istanbul, 24 people were arrested for collecting money for the outlawed PKK. Among the suspects was provincial chairman of the banned DEP, İmam Doğan.

The suspects were caught with three hand grenades, ERNK seals and fake documents. Doğan himself was arrested in a house located in the Avcılar district by the Istanbul anti-terror team squad according to an announcement made by the Police department, and legal procedures are underway.

L'Humanité
9 août 1994

KURDISTAN. L'aviation turque a de nouveau bombardé le nord de l'Irak hier. Selon un porte-parole militaire à Ankara, plusieurs dizaines de combattants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) auraient été tués.

Le Journal de Genève

9 août 1994

Opération aérienne turque contre des rebelles kurdes

L'aviation turque a mené lundi matin une opération en Irak du Nord, frontalier avec la Turquie, contre des positions kurdes. Plusieurs dizaines de rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués au cours du raid, a annoncé à Ankara le porte-parole de l'armée turque. Les séparatistes kurdes ont par ailleurs enlevé deux touristes finlandais ce week-end dans le sud-est de la Turquie, ont annoncé les autorités lundi. (Agences)

4

24 HEURES

MARDI
9 AOÛT 1994

Les Kurdes d'Irak se déchirent de nouveau

Malgré un accord de réconciliation signé à Paris le 23 juillet, 43 personnes ont perdu la vie dans les combats de ce week-end.

Il y a moins de deux semaines, un accord de réconciliation, élaboré le 23 juillet dernier à Paris par des dirigeants du Kurdistan d'Irak, devait mettre un terme à la guerre larvée entre les deux principales formations politiques de cette région — le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDKI) de Massoud Barzani et l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) de Jalal Talabani. Mais aujourd'hui, le Kurdistan irakien est de nouveau le théâtre de violents affrontements armés.

Même si cette fois-ci ce sont les combattants de la Ligue islamique du Kurdistan (LIK) — une formation soutenue discrètement par l'Iran et dirigée par cheikh Abdel Aziz Osman — et ceux de l'Union patriotique de Jalal Talabani qui s'affrontent, il ne fait pas de doute que cette nouvelle guerre fratricide en-

trave le processus de réconciliation entre les différentes formations kurdes qui contrôlent la région du nord de l'Irak. Or, selon certaines sources, les combattants islamistes seraient soutenus par ceux du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan d'Irak de Massoud Barzani.

Si cette information était confirmée, cela signifierait que l'accord de réconciliation obtenu fin juillet sous l'égide officieux des dirigeants français — avec le soutien non moins discret de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis, qui avaient dépêché plusieurs diplomates à la réunion qui s'est déroulée dans la banlieue de Paris — serait mort-né.

D'autant plus que Jalal Talabani et Massoud Barzani — les coprésidents du Kurdistan d'Irak — devaient se rendre dans la capitale française pour signer l'accord de paix entre

leurs formations respectives. On les attend toujours.

Combats à répétition

Déjà au début de l'année, de violents combats avaient opposé les combattants de la LIK à ceux de l'UPK pour le contrôle de la ville de Qalaat-Diza, dans le nord-est de l'Irak, près de la frontière iranienne. Les choses s'étaient compliquées avec l'entrée en jeu des partisans du PDK de Massoud Barzani. L'intervention des combattants du PDK avait embrasé toute la région, faisant une centaine de morts en mai dernier. Les combats de ce week-end ont opposé les hommes de la LIK, qui contrôlent les alentours de la ville de Qalaat-Diza, à ceux de l'UPK, qui tiennent la ville elle-même. On ne connaît toujours pas la raison exacte de cette reprise des combats, mais un porte-parole de l'UPK a accusé les combattants islamistes d'avoir voulu prendre le contrôle de la ville.

Mises en garde sans effets

En tout cas, il semble que les mises en garde des Nations Unies et des trois pays occidentaux (Etats-Unis, France, Grande-Bretagne), membres de la coalition alliée qui assurent la protection aérienne du Kurdistan irakien face aux menaces de l'aviation de Bagdad, n'aient pas donné les effets escomptés. Ces derniers avaient expressément demandé aux Kurdes irakiens de mettre fin à leurs conflits fratricides pour éviter les risques d'une interruption de l'aide internationale dans la région. Apparemment, ces appels n'ont pas été entendus. Ce qui fait également le jeu de Bagdad et des pays de la région (Iran, Turquie, Syrie), qui expriment de plus en plus ouvertement leur hostilité à l'expérience actuellement menée au Kurdistan irakien.

Siavosh Ghazi □



Cette nouvelle guerre fratricide entrave le processus de réconciliation entre les différentes formations kurdes qui contrôlent la région du nord de l'Irak.

Jean Bertolino-archives

Former Democracy Party deputies speak freely at trial

The first round of the trial of the former DEP deputies lasted four days, during which the 452-page indictment was read and the statements of the former Kurdish parliamentarians were taken

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The first round in the DEP trial at the Ankara State Security Court ended on Monday. On trial are the five former deputies of the banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), Hatip Dicle, Leyla Zana, Sırrı Sakık, Orhan Doğan and Ahmet Turk, and one independent Kurdish Deputy, Mahmut Alınak.

The six Kurdish deputies are charged with treason under article 125 of the Turkish Criminal Code (TCK) for allegedly advocating separatism.

The first two days of the hearings were taken up by the reading of the huge 452-page indictment prepared by DGM chief prosecutor Nusret

Demiral and six other prosecutors. The accused gave their statements during the remaining two days. Heated arguments took place between accused and prosecutors, especially when the former claimed that "the judiciary has been influenced".

The presiding judge, Muammer Ünsoy, insisted that there had been no such influence brought to bear and offered to take off his judge's robe if it could be proven otherwise.

The accused responded by quoting Prime Minister Çiller's own words: "I discussed the matter with the judiciary, they will finish them

off. Maybe I should not have done that but I did."

The opinion of observers was that the court room had become an open forum for the discussion of the Kurdish problem. The observers furthermore added that the former deputies had not been able to use the platform of Parliament so freely and speak out as they were now able to in the court room. The six former Kurdish deputies expressed their opinions unreservedly in front of the prosecutors.

The producer of the "Behind the curtain" program for the Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), Ertürk Yöndem, and the Hürriyet corre-



The former DEP deputy for Diyarbakır reaches out, past two gendarmes, to her young friends, relatives and admirers as she leaves the Courthouse to return to prison.

Photos TDN Galip Rıdvanoglu

spondent, Saygı Oztürk, were among the many spectators seated the court.

The former Kurdish deputies blamed Yöndem for holding them responsible for the killing of many innocent people. "Yöndem is openly committing a crime," they claimed, "but the prosecutors would not dare to open a case against him."

The prosecutor Tevfik Hancılar intervened at this point to say: "This is provocation." And, later, "You are accused of so many crimes that we needed to write a whole book."

The DEP Kurds made an open appeal to Yöndem by saying "You have accused us in programs broadcast on State television even before we had been informed about the indictment prepared against us.

This is a violation of the laws. We invite you to air our defences without any interpretation. If you are a little bit aware of press ethics, then we invite you to conform to them."

Their lawyer, Hasip Kaplan, listed their demands after the hearings were concluded. "It is wrong for the DGM prosecutors to go to Diyarbakır and prepare the indictment with the village guards and confessors when the govern-

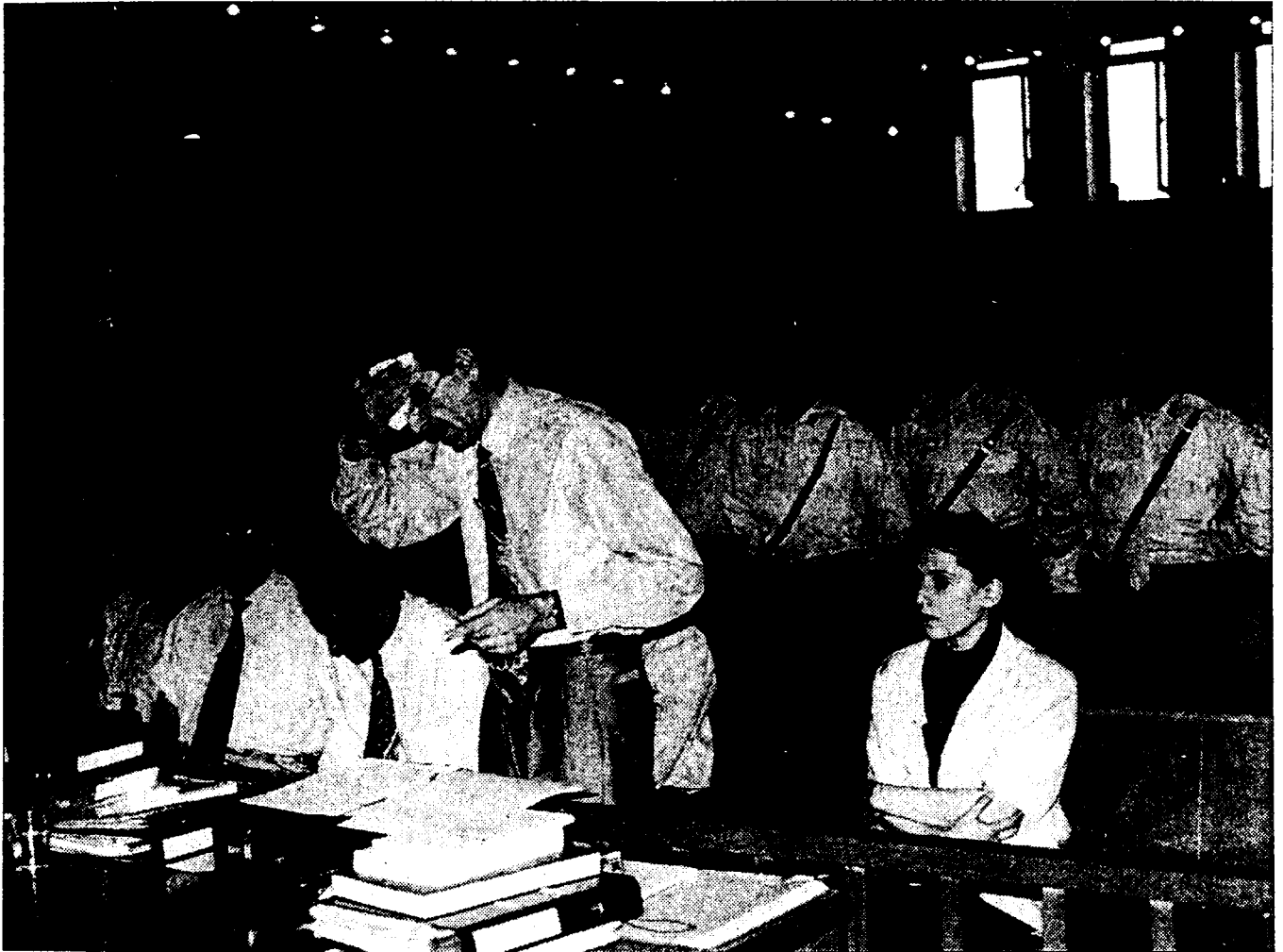
ment has a prosecutor in every province," he said. "This goes against both correct procedures and morality."

Kaplan objected to the tapping of phones and also referred to the accusations regarding the preparation of electoral lists by PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan. He demanded that the chairmen of the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) and the People's Labor Party (HEP), Erdal İnönü and Fehmi İşıklar should be invited to the court as witnesses.

About the attendance of the accused at Öcalan's press conference, Kaplan had this to say: "Former president Turgut Özal, Süleyman Demirel and İnönü all gave statements regarding the matter and stated that they had been informed about the press conference."

The DEP lawyer added that he would not be requesting the release his clients, but Mahmut Alınak's lawyers did demand Alınak's release. Hatip Dicle was heard to say to Alınak: "They won't even let you free."

The court agreed to convene again on Sep. 7, when prosecution lawyers are expected to present new evidence.



Ahmet Türk, former deputy and leader in the outlawed DEP, takes a moment to wipe his brow in the hot State Security Court. The heat was intensified by the presence of a large crowd there to view the trial.

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Turquie-Kurdes

27 personnes dont 24 rebelles kurdes tués dans le sud-est anatolien

ANKARA, 10 août (AFP) - Vingt-quatre rebelles kurdes de Turquie et 3 "protecteurs de village" (miliciens pro-gouvernementaux) ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires depuis mardi dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a annoncé mercredi la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir.

Ces opérations ont été menées dans les régions de Mus, Bitlis (est), Batman et de Sirnak (sud-est), selon un communiqué de cette super-préfecture. Celle-ci, créée en juillet 1987, est chargée de la coordination de la lutte contre la rébellion du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), déclenchée le 15 août 1984 contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara.

Cette rébellion, notamment dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et L'Iran, et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque, ont fait 14.196 morts (civils, rebelles, militaires et policiers) selon une compilation effectuée par l'AFP à partir de bilans fournis par les autorités.

Les forces de sécurité turques ont renforcé les opérations contre le PKK à la veille du 10ème anniversaire de la rébellion. Les forces de sécurité procèdent à des arrestations dans des grandes villes des membres présumés du PKK et, depuis le 26 juillet, l'aviation a effectué cinq opérations sur les zones frontalières et montagneuses du nord irakien utilisé comme base arrière par les maquisards kurdes.

Au total, 280 rebelles kurdes ont été tués et 204 autres blessés lors de ces opérations - le bilan de la dernière n'a pas encore été rendu public -, selon le porte-parole de l'armée.

CE/bm

AFP /JO0245/101516 AOU 94

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Turquie-Kurdes-Finlande

Les touristes finlandais en "bonne santé", selon la rébellion kurde

ANKARA, 10 août (AFP) - Les touristes finlandais enlevés samedi près de Tunceli (est) sont en "bonne santé" et seront "libérés", a affirmé mercredi la rébellion kurde dans un communiqué reproduit par le quotidien turc pro-kurde Ozgur Ulke.

Dans ce communiqué, "l'Armée Populaire de Libération du Kurdistan (ARGK, aile militaire du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan - PKK, séparatiste) déclare que ces touristes ont été enlevés "parce qu'ils n'avaient pas d'autorisation d'entrée au Kurdistan". "Nous n'avons aucune hostilité à leur égard", ajoute l'ARGK.

L'ambassadeur de Finlande à Ankara, Risto Juhani Kauppi, a par ailleurs déclaré mercredi que son ambassade "n'était pas en mesure de confirmer" que les deux Finlandais, disparus depuis samedi soir, ont été enlevés par la rébellion kurde.

Les deux touristes dont les identités n'ont pas été révélées se trouvaient à bord d'une voiture entre Tunceli et Pulumur quand ils ont été arrêtés par un groupe du PKK, selon une source informée. Ils sont détenus "parce qu'ils n'avaient pas de visa d'entrée dans le Kurdistan", comme le réclame le PKK pour tous ceux qui veulent se rendre dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde.

ce/pb/lb

AFP /JO0245/101250 AOU 94

JUSTICE

La fusillade devant l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne restera impunie

La Chambre d'accusation de la Cour suprême bernoise a mis un terme à l'enquête sur les employés d'ambassade qui avaient tiré sur des manifestants, faisant un mort et neuf blessés.

COMMENTAIRE

PAR PASCAL FLEURY

Drôle de justice

Un mort et neuf blessés par balles, dont un policier. Verdict: affaire classée! On ne savait pas la justice suisse si impuissante. Il suffit donc de bénéficier de l'immunité diplomatique, en vertu de la Convention de Vienne, pour échapper aux juges, «pour des raisons de procédure».

Les manifestants kurdes qui brandissaient des banderoles face au personnel armé de l'ambassade de Turquie ont de quoi être écœurés: eux, ils se sont vu infliger des amendes allant jusqu'à 400 francs pour émeute, dommage à la propriété ou violation de domicile.

Les balles, ce sont pourtant eux qui les ont reçues - dans le dos - alors que, non armés, ils exigeaient la reconnaissance de leur peuple dans le cadre d'un grand mouvement européen, touchant une vingtaine de villes.

Après une pareille injustice judiciaire, le souci de la Chambre d'accusation bernoise d'éviter des mesures de représailles par la Turquie contre les familles des manifestants kurdes semble bien hypocrite.

Le classement de l'affaire de la fusillade du 24 juin 1993 permet désormais à la Suisse de prétendre à une normalisation des échanges avec la Turquie. Mais cette décision, sous le couvert de l'immunité, a des relents de complaisance. En Turquie se déroule actuellement un procès de parlementaires kurdes dont le seul tort est de s'être opposés au régime.

Dans notre pays, qui se veut un modèle de justice, de liberté et d'aide humanitaire, pareille abdication laisse planer un malaise.

Les six membres du personnel de l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne, tenus pour responsables de la fusillade dans laquelle un manifestant kurde avait été tué le 24 juin 1993, ne devront pas se présenter devant la justice. Le juge d'instruction responsable du dossier et le procureur l'ont classé le 4 août, faute d'avoir pu réunir les conditions pour la tenue d'un procès.

Le refus des autorités turques de lever l'immunité diplomatique des six employés de leur ambassade à Berne ne permet pas de remplir les conditions procédurales permettant de poursuivre ces délits, ont indiqué hier les autorités judiciaires bernoises dans un communiqué. De plus, la Chambre d'accusation a estimé qu'il n'était provisoirement pas opportun de saisir la justice turque de l'affaire.

PEU D'ESPOIR

Le comportement des personnes et autorités compétentes ne laisse pas augurer d'une issue positive de cette procédure. Il est en outre imaginable que l'envoi en Turquie des actes de l'instruction puisse avoir des conséquences fâcheuses pour des personnes appartenant au cercle des manifestants.

Les excès commis devant l'ambassade turque à Berne ont abouti à la mort d'un manifestant kurde. Neuf autres personnes, huit manifestants et un policier, avaient en outre été blessées par balles. Une querelle diplomatique de plusieurs mois entre les deux pays avait suivi les coups de feu. La Turquie a refusé de lever l'immunité diplomatique de son personnel d'ambassade, malgré de violentes protestations suisses. Les six personnes avaient été rappelées dans leur pays.

NORMALISER LES ÉCHANGES

En août 93, la Suisse et la Turquie avaient rappelé leurs ambassadeurs. Depuis lors, un chargé d'affaires gère l'ambassade de Suisse à Ankara. Les deux pays aspirent à une normalisation de leurs échanges car elle est dans leur intérêt, a indiqué Franz Egle, du Département fédéral des affaires étrangères.

Sur le plan opérationnel, il n'y a d'ailleurs jamais eu de problèmes entre la Turquie et la Suisse, poursuit le

porte-parole. Ainsi, la collaboration avait été bonne lors de la prise en otage de deux Tessinois en Turquie il y a un an.

DANS LE DOS

Dans l'acte de clôture de la procédure, les autorités judiciaires bernoises établissent que la plupart des coups de feu tirés depuis l'ambassade turque l'ont été dans le dos des manifestants. Quatre membres du personnel de l'ambassade au moins ont fait usage d'armes à feu. Au moins deux pistolets-mitrailleurs et un pistolet ont été utilisés. Seul un des tireurs a pu être identifié avec certitude.

Selon les autorités chargées de l'enquête, il n'y a pas de preuves que les manifestants aient aussi tiré des coups de feu. Ils ont pourtant été les principales cibles des procédures ouvertes à la suite de ces événements. Des 109 personnes interpellées, trois ont reçu un mandat de dépôt du représentant du Ministère public de la Confédération, qui était alors compétent.

RÉCOURS PENDANTS

En décembre 1993, 64 manifestants ont été déférés à la justice bernoise pour émeute. Quelques-uns sont en outre accusés de dommage à la propriété et de violation de domicile. 35 personnes ont fait appel des contraventions qui leur ont été infligées. Les recours sont encore pendants.

Il n'a pas été possible de reconstituer exactement le lieu où la victime a été blessée mortellement, écrivent encore les responsables de l'enquête. Les recherches donnent cependant à penser que le manifestant kurde a été atteint par ricochet, alors qu'il se trouvait peu devant ou peu derrière le portail de l'ambassade, qui était ouvert. Cela s'est produit alors que la police n'était pas encore sur les lieux.

Le rapport signale que l'on n'en serait pas arrivé à l'emploi d'armes à feu par le personnel de l'ambassade turque si l'un des trois portails de l'ambassade n'avait pas été ouvert pour permettre à des artisans de terminer des travaux, contrairement aux prescriptions.

ATS

US Law Group criticizes DEP case

International Human Rights Law Group calls for dropping of charges and release of ex-MPs

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- In its prosecution of six Kurdish parliamentarians on charges carrying the death penalty, Turkey is violating international standards respecting the rights of its citizens relating to both freedom of expression and fair trial, a leading international lawyers group said in its recent report on the ongoing Democracy Party (DEP) case.

The Washington-based International Human Rights Law Group said in its preliminary statement related to the trial that the charges brought against five former DEP MPs and an independent member of Parliament amounted "to no more than the peaceful expression of political opinion."

The two-page report recalled that under the European Convention of Human Rights, which is binding on Turkey under Article 90 of its own Constitution, political expression of elected opposition leaders is entitled to the highest degree of protection.

It said that the general principles of law that helped define the European convention norms required Turkey to justify its restrictions on freedom of expression by proving that the accused had intended to encourage support for terrorists or had incited violence.

"In the DEP case," claimed the report, "an overwhelming majority of the charges we heard do not exhibit — on their face — any

intent by the deputies to encourage support for terrorists or incitement to imminent violence. Defendants' responses in court indicate there are grave disputes about whether certain allegedly offensive statements were actually made and certain meetings attended. In addition, the fact that the prosecution comes more than two years after the deputies made some of the allegedly offensive statements indicates that the statements pose no real serious threat to legitimate state interests."

The Law Group also voiced concern over the charges related to the degree to which they were proper under Turkish law and noted that Article 125, under which the deputies face a possible death sentence, appeared to require an act — something more than the speeches contained in the charges.

The report expressed concern over the fact that the hearing was not a public one and that people had been barred from attending it and raised questions on the impartiality of the judges at the State Security Court. It also claimed that the detention of the accused seemed to be arbitrary as many of the charges did not present serious threats to legitimate state interests.

In a section titled "preliminary recommendations," the group called upon the State Security Court to uphold the right to freedom of expression of the parliamentarians "by dis-

missing all charges that fail to state sufficiently serious threats to legitimate state interests."

It noted, however, that "if any charges remain to be tried," the Law Group recommended for the court to ensure all guarantees necessary for the effective defense of the accused including a public hearing, generally accepted standards of evidence and adequate preparation time for the defense. It also appealed for the court to maintain a strict independence from the prosecutor and the political pressures surrounding the trial and said the court should also give immediate consideration to releasing the defendants pending conclusion of the trial.

The International Human Rights Law Group is based in Washington and is regarded as a leading actor before the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the U.N. Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, UNESCO and the International American Human Rights organs.

Its first report on the DEP case was prepared after the group's legal director Janelle Diller and Middle Eastern Affairs Specialist Kristen Stilt visited Turkey last week and met with the chief prosecutor, lawyers for the DEP defense, the director of criminal affairs in the Turkish Ministry of Justice and other observers including journalists, diplomats and human rights executives.

Çiller promises government investment in Southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller on Wednesday promised immediate government investment valued at TL 5.6 trillion to improve living standards in the poverty-stricken Southeast. She told reporters after a meeting in Ankara with 20 governors from the region that all state departments would cooperate in the effort to solve the principal problems in the Southeast. Çiller will visit several provinces in the area next week. "We know that our country is suffering from certain economic problems and there are certain restrictions on the government. But despite all this and without violating the austerity principles stated in the April 5 eco-

omic program, we shall give priority to healing the wounds of the people living in the Southeast," the prime minister said.

The meeting, also attended by the emergency rule governor, Unal Erkan and a number of high ranking bureaucrats, was designed to devise an investment program for the region. "The purpose of this meeting is economic.

We tried to understand which investments are to be made in which areas and in which fields," Çiller said.

She said that the government had been working on this integrated investment project for over a month now, adding that a report fully detailing the requirements of the region has

already been completed.

Referring to the separatists' terror activity in the Southeast, Çiller said that the facilities that have been burned down were a great loss to the local economy but added, "Yet we can see that a new investment drive can now be launched to resume economic activity."

She said she had given instructions to the Education Ministry to reopen all the schools in the region. "Within the next couple of months, education will be available for all the children in the region."

Çiller said that deficiencies in health services will be eliminated so as to offer proper health care to the people in the area.

Le Monde

AOÛT 1994

TURQUIE

Un mouvement de jeunes démocrates prône une politique radicalement nouvelle

Face à l'essoufflement des partis traditionnels et au dynamisme des courants islamistes depuis les élections municipales de mars, une nouvelle formation est née en Turquie, le Mouvement de la nouvelle démocratie. Son credo : libéralisme et tolérance.

TOKAT

de notre envoyée spéciale

Nichée au creux de collines ondulantes, la petite ville anatolienne de Tokat ressemble à l'image immuable de la Turquie rurale, si conservatrice que des rafales de pierres avait accueilli un politicien de gauche qui s'était aventuré dans cette région à la fin des années 70. Pourtant, même ce bastion de la droite traditionnelle, isolé au cœur de l'Anatolie, est aujourd'hui affecté par le malaise général que les responsables politiques sont incapables d'enrayer : la question kurde est dans l'impasse, les islamistes gagnent du terrain, le pays traverse une crise économique profonde.

En quête de réponses nouvelles à ces préoccupations, plusieurs centaines d'habitants de Tokat se sont récemment réunis à l'université pour entendre le message des responsables du Mouvement de la nouvelle démocratie (YDH), un groupe politique aux idées résolument réformistes, qui a entamé une croisade dans le pays pour lutter contre les préjugés et les blocages idéologiques qui font obstacle au développement d'une véritable démocratie en Turquie.

Le silence était total dans la salle durant le discours de Cem Boyner, un jeune industriel d'Istanbul, trente-huit ans, porte-parole du mouvement. Ne

mâchant pas ses mots, Cem Boyner expose les défaillances du système politique actuel. Il prône une économie libérale, la privatisation totale des entreprises publiques et une réduction radicale du rôle de l'Etat, qualifiant le secteur public de « vol organisé ».

« Nous avons besoin d'une perestroïka turque »

Courageusement, il s'attaque à deux autres sujets tabous qui divisent la société : le problème kurde et la laïcité. « *Le problème kurde est un problème turc. Nous devons leur accorder leurs droits, ce n'est que le remboursement, tardif, de notre dette à l'égard des Kurdes.* » Résolument en faveur d'un système politique laïc – il faut dresser un « mur entre l'Etat et la religion, qui est un domaine purement privé » –, le YDH s'élève cependant contre ceux qui « ont fait de la laïcité une religion alternative ».

Le thème central est celui de la tolérance et de la réconciliation, que ce soit entre musulmans sunnites et alévis, entre Turcs et Kurdes ou entre laïcs et religieux. Une telle évolution des mentalités aiderait aussi la Turquie à se défaire d'une attitude souvent paranoïaque à l'égard de l'étranger. « *Nous avons besoin, dit-il, d'une perestroïka turque.* »

C'est dans les cercles d'affaires et parmi les jeunes professionnels, hommes et femmes dans la trentaine, que se recrutent la majorité des partisans du YDH. Jusqu'ici membres passifs d'une société largement dépolitisée depuis le coup d'Etat de 1980, ils ont été brutalement réveillés par la récession économique et surtout par les résultats

des élections municipales de mars, qui ont confirmé l'essoufflement des partis du centre, usés par des décennies de clientélisme et de corruption, et le dynamisme des islamistes du Parti de la prospérité. « *Après ces élections, il est devenu évident que la gauche s'est écroulée. Ceux qui votaient pour les sociaux-démocrates ou pour l'ANAP (centre-droite) sont à la recherche d'une solution de rechange* », explique le sociologue Caglar Keyder, de l'université du Bosphore.

Le YDH n'est qu'un parmi plusieurs dizaines de clubs politiques qui se sont formés récemment pour canaliser et encourager l'engagement des membres actifs de la société. « *Les Turcs n'aiment pas le risque. Mais les gens ont pris conscience que le changement est aujourd'hui moins dangereux que le maintien du statu quo* », explique Asaf Savas Akat, un des idéologues du mouvement. Le message réformiste du YDH est d'autant plus puissant que Cem Boyner, qui le propage, est un membre de l'establishment, de surcroît ancien dirigeant de la TUSIAD, le patronat turc.

La société turque, dont le conservatisme est souvent cité comme alibi par les politiciens opposés au changement, est en réalité très en avance sur ses dirigeants. Le fait même que les idées progressistes de ces nouveaux démocrates soient aujourd'hui exprimées publiquement et reprises par les médias turcs est déjà un succès en soi, qui alimente l'espoir de voir la société civile turque, trop longtemps dominée par le pouvoir militaire et la bureaucratie, enfin sortir de l'ombre.

NICOLE POPE

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Turquie-Kurdes

395 rebelles kurdes du PKK tués en Irak du nord en deux semaines

ANKARA, 11 août (AFP) - 395 rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK - séparatiste) ont été tués et 339 blessés en deux semaines, lors de raids de l'aviation turque contre les militants kurdes, a-t-on appris jeudi de source militaire à Ankara.

Ces opérations aériennes ont commencé le 26 juillet par un raid sur un groupe de maquisards kurdes rassemblés dans la région de Mezi, dans le nord de l'Irak, à 20 km de la frontière, faisant 79 morts et 51 blessés parmi les rebelles, a affirmé un porte-parole de l'armée turque.

Des avions ont ensuite bombardé à quatre reprises les régions de Sinat, à 15 km de la frontière, et de Khakourk, située en territoire irakien dans la zone montagneuse où passent les frontières entre la Turquie, l'Irak et l'Iran. Un camp d'entraînement rebelle y a été entièrement détruit, selon ce porte-parole.

La dernière opération est intervenue lundi, à Sinat, à 15 km de la frontière, faisant 115 morts et 135 blessés parmi les militants kurdes, a indiqué le porte-parole turc.

Elles s'inscrivent dans le cadre de l'offensive générale de l'armée turque en Turquie et dans le nord irakien pour "venir à bout" de la rébellion du PKK déclenchée le 15 août 1984, notamment dans le sud-est anatolien, dans le but d'y créer un Etat kurde indépendant marxiste-léniniste.

Le nord de l'Irak, une région montagneuse qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad, est utilisé comme base arrière par les maquisards kurdes de Turquie.

La rébellion du PKK et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait près de 14.200 morts (civils, rebelles, militaires et policiers) en dix ans selon une compilation effectuée par l'AFP à partir de chiffres officiels.

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AOU 94

turkish daily news

Friday, August 12, 1994

Al-Qaysi in Ankara

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Riyad al-Qaysi, undersecretary at the Iraqi Foreign Ministry arrived in Ankara on Thursday to discuss the project to flush oil from the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline.

The Iraqi official was welcomed by his Turkish counterpart, Özdem Sanberk at Esenboga airport.

"I am here on (Ankara's) invitation for consultations," Al-Qaysi said on arrival. "We are hopeful that the problems will be solved."

Before the start of the official talks between Iraqi and Turkish officials, Al-Qaysi was received by Foreign Minister Mumtaz Soysal on Thursday afternoon.

After the meeting with Soysal, El Kaysi declined to answer reporters' questions regarding the distribution of humanitarian aid in return for its oil sales to Turkey.

"It is still too early to say what the outcome of the talks will be," El Kaysi said, adding that his country's position was very clear on the matter. He did not elaborate.

Turkey has been seeking Security Council authorization to pump approximately 27 million barrels of Iraqi oil through the 616-mile (985-km) pipeline, including some 12 million barrels that have been trapped in the pipeline since sanctions were imposed on Baghdad after its August

1990 invasion of Kuwait. The additional oil would be used to flush out the corroding pipeline. Turkey has claim to 3.8 million barrels of the oil trapped in the pipeline. Reasons for the delay in the authorization include a debate on how the humanitarian aid received in payment by Iraq would be distributed. The United States and its allies want to ensure that this aid reaches those who need it most, including the Kurdish dominated north of the country which is not under Baghdad's control. "The major issue is distribution of the humanitarian aid. The Iraqis take the United Nations' demand as violation of their sovereignty," a Turkish diplomat said.

It is expected that the Iraqi delegation will leave Ankara for Baghdad on Saturday.

Foreign observers accuse Turkey of deteriorating human rights record

Lisbeth Holand: 'The prospects for human rights in Turkey do not look very bright'

Herbert Pundik: 'Turkey is failing to come up to Europe's expectations.'

By Sinan Yilmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Three Europeans in Ankara to observe the trial of the deputies of the banned Democracy Party (DEP) have said that there is a great deal of concern in Europe over human rights in Turkey.

The chairman of the "Danish Helsinki Committee", Erik Siesby, Norwegian Socialist party deputy and member of the European Parliamentary Commission, Lisbeth Holand, and writer for the Danish "Politiken Paper" Herbert Pundik all agreed that the tension between Turkey and Europe is steadily increasing. Pundik said: "Turkey is failing to come up to Europe's expectations. In the eyes of Turkish politicians and the military, the image of Europe is deteriorating and on the other hand the way that Europe looks on Turkey is also changing for the worse." The distance between the two sides, he said, was increasing. It takes two to tango, he admitted, but it seemed that most Turks wanted close relations with Europe, while Europeans were more

hesitant and Turkey was becoming a less important priority for them.

"I believe that the European side underestimates the significance of Turkey. We always considered Turkey as a military ally, but the current friction is more of a moral question and it seems that it will last for a while," the Danish writer said.

Norwegian deputy Holand gave her opinion that Turkey's membership of the European Council could be frozen in the coming months. "Turkey is in a delicate position because of the current DEP trial," she said. "What we have witnessed in the courtroom reflects existing conditions very well — people are being questioned for their opinions and not for what they have done." Ms. Holand claimed that trials such as this were damaging to the relations between Turkey and Europe. "The prospects regarding human rights in Turkey does not look very bright," she went on. "According to reports from Amnesty International, people just disappear in Turkey."

Erik Siesby also felt that the scale of human rights violations was increas-

ing, especially in Southeastern Anatolia. "I have been coming to Turkey since 1984," he said, "and I observed that important progress in the field of human rights had been achieved, but the situation has started getting worse in the last few years." He referred particularly to the report drawn up by the "European Torture Prevention Committee" on the use of torture in police stations in Turkey, and called the findings of the report "extraordinary".

"As I understand the situation, the security forces are not able to fight the separatist PKK militants directly and therefore evacuate the villages," said the chairman of the Danish Helsinki Committee. He claimed 2 million people had been affected.

This could hardly be seen as heroic behavior on the part of the military, he said. "If I were a Turkish official, I would be ashamed. Yet I do not believe that the political situation in Turkey will change much. However, there have been important developments in the world at large and everybody must take them into account."

turkish daily news

Friday, August 12, 1994

LE JOURNAL DE GENÈVE - 12 AOÛT 1994

TURQUIE

Raids contre les rebelles kurdes en Irak: lourd bilan

Au moins 395 rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) ont été tués et 339 blessés en deux semaines lors de raids de l'aviation turque en Irak, a-t-on appris jeudi de source militaire à Ankara. Ces opérations aériennes ont commencé le 26 juillet et s'inscrivent dans le cadre de l'offensive générale de l'armée turque en Turquie et dans le nord irakien pour «venir à bout» de la rébellion du PKK. Le nord de l'Irak, région montagneuse qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad, est utilisé comme base arrière par les maquisards kurdes de Turquie. La rébellion du PKK et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait près de 14 200 morts (civils, rebelles, militaires et policiers) en dix ans selon une compilation effectuée à partir de chiffres fournis par les autorités. (AFP)

Iraqi Kurds Face Mistrust

İlnur Çevik

A series of recent moves by the Iraqi Kurds have irked Turkey, according to government officials.

Ankara has never looked too kindly on the setting up of an Iraqi Kurdish assembly in Irbil and feels this could well be the first step of a move to establish a separate Kurdish state on Iraqi soil.

Now there are reports that the Iraqi Kurds are holding a census soon before "assembly" elections next year. The Iraqi Kurds say this is a routine move to determine the population figures and prepare the registration lists for the elections. Ankara feels uneasy and Turkish officials stress such "small" moves may well add up to big actions and results in the future and should be prevented.

But this is not all. Ankara is also angered by the fact that the Iraqi Kurds held a Paris meeting where representatives of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democracy Party (KDP) came together under the auspices of

the French and sorted out some of their disagreements which led to clashes and even deaths of PUK and KDP supporters in northern Iraq. The meetings were organized by Kurdish Institute chief Kendal Nezan which angered Ankara.

The fact that Ankara was not informed about the outcome of the talks and a joint communique ignored Turkey's role in the region further antagonized Turkish officials who felt the Iraqi Kurds were "cooking something" behind our backs.

Ankara was also unhappy about the fact that it had not been informed about the Paris meeting by the French authorities despite the fact that Turkey along with France, Britain and the United States has a contact group on northern Iraq which is also supposed to discuss such issues besides many other things.

There is a crisis of confidence in Ankara concerning the Iraqi Kurds and it is now up to the PUK and KDP officials to win back our trust, say government officials. ■

Sivas Case, 29 Face Death Penalty

Prosecutors at a hearing at the Ankara State Security Court last week demanded the death penalty for 29 people in connection with the Sivas riots led by Islamic fundamentalists. Thirty-seven people died in the riots.

The hearing, amid tight security, was closed to the press and public but a court official quoted controversial Chief Prosecutor Nusret Demiral as saying 29 defendants faced capital charges.

Demiral said there were moves to include prominent writer Aziz Nesin among the defendants, but not on capital charges.

The presence at a cultural festival of Nesin, a leading satirist and author who translated and published parts of Salman Rushdie's novel "Satanic Verses" in his newspaper, triggered the riots by Islamic fundamentalists on July 2, 1993, in the central town of Sivas.

Demiral claimed Nesin had made provocative statements at a conference in Sivas prior to the riots and thus was to be blamed. He also charged those attending Nesin's conference had observed one minute of silence before the conference in

memory of the Kurdish separatist terrorists who were killed in southeastern Turkey.

Nesin angrily denied the charges and publicly said the prosecutor had lost his mind. There was a public uproar against the chief prosecutor who people said was trying to put the culprits and the victims in the same basket.

Most of the victims -- writers, poets, singers and intellectuals -- died when rioters set fire to the hotel where Nesin was staying. The 78-year-old Nesin was unhurt. During the Aug. 9 hearing the prosecutors read out an overview of the charges before the hearing was postponed until Aug. 31, when the defense will present its case, officials said.

The case opened on Oct. 21, with 230 people on trial, three on capital charges, and 38 facing at least 20 years in jail for mass murder, arson and damaging public and private buildings. A month later the public and press were excluded from hearings following rowdy scenes involving defense lawyers and Islamic activists.

The number of defendants fell to 124 as the case developed. ■

Human Rights Diary

SHP forms human rights desk in Izmir: The Social Democrat People's party (SHP) has set up a human rights desk in Izmir to monitor the human rights situation in Turkey. In a press conference to announce the move, Izmir province Chairman Hilmi Değirmenci said, "The desk will report negative developments to central headquarters which will then try to work on correcting the situation. The desk will be run by lawyer colleagues of the party who share our views." The chairman indicated that the desk would cooperate and exchange information with individuals and civilian organizations. "We also hope that the press will send us any information they receive on these matters," added Değirmenci. He also referred to the ongoing struggle to regain rights lost in the 1982 Constitution and the September 12 law saying: "The current human rights situation has compelled us to form this desk within our party so that we can all support each other." He said their wish was to establish a Turkey where human rights are respected in a democratic environment where just laws are formulated and enforced. (TDN, August 8)

Kurdish government in exile: A Kurdish association in Washington D.C. met to form a Kurdish government made up of former deputies of the outlawed Democracy Party (DEP) that escaped from Turkey. The Kurdish government in exile will represent "Greater Kurdistan" which encompasses a region where four neighboring countries intersect. In the meeting the "Kurdistan Workers Party" (PKK), an outlawed terrorist organization, was portrayed as protecting and defending the rights of oppressed Kurds living in Turkey. In his opening speech, Iraqi PKK partisan Necmettin Kerim, chairman of the North American Kurdish Congress, called certain oil reserves in Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey "Kurdish Oil." He emphasized that Turkey should be crushed economically, not militarily. Known for his anti-Turkish stand, he further requested that American economic and military aid be stopped. The Washington representative of the "American Information Network" (a shadow arm of the PKK) said in his speech, the PKK is not a group of terrorists but an organization that defends Kurdish rights. Interesting was the presence of U.S. congressmen who pledged their support. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Pell, Senator DeConcini and a member of Helsinki Watch, Mike Amitay, all attended the meeting. The foundation of a Kurdish Institute in Washington was also discussed. (Sabah, August 10)

State Minister Köylüoğlu visits Lice: The new SHP State Minister for human rights, Azimet Köylüoğlu, visited Lice during his visit to eastern Turkey. In Lice, he gave a speech in which he said to the audience: "I will be your tongue. The most precious being is the human being. This country is big enough for everyone, there is nothing we cannot share. Our ancestors fought for this country shoulder to shoulder." He added that citizens could write to him with their problems. (Sabah, August 10)

Constitutional Court outlaws STP: A story on the Constitutional Court's decision to close down the Turkish Socialist Party (STP) was published in the "Official Gazette" on Wednesday. According to the decision, the STP program aimed at destroying the unity of the country and its people. The STP further encouraged division within the country by advocating that citizens of Kurdish origin should struggle against the state. (Cumhuriyet August 10)

Amnesty protests against death penalty: Branch number 544 of Amnesty International in the United States has appealed to Turkey not to carry out the death sentence imposed on Seyfettin Uzundiz in Dec. 1993 and to abolish the death penalty. Rebecca Cooney, president of the group which has 45 members, also expressed their concern about the fate of the six former Kurdish deputies of the banned Kurdish-based Democracy party (DEP), currently on trial at Ankara State Security Court (DGM). The six former DEP deputies, accused of advocating separatism, face the death penalty under article 125 of the Turkish penal code. Cooney said "Amnesty opposes the use of the death penalty in every case, unconditionally, because it violates the most basic human right — the right to life." The Amnesty statement also quoted the words of retired military prosecutor and judge, Colonel Nejat Öztaşkent, "I want the death penalty removed from the Turkish penal code. Those who pass judgement are human beings and can make mistakes. Nobody can claim that every death sentence was justly imposed. Once an execution has taken place it is impossible to rectify a mistake. It is wrong that the state should be responsible for an incurable illness." The U.S. Amnesty group also expressed their belief that the death penalty encourages terrorism by creating martyrs. Cooney said that many terrorists believed they were fighting for a just cause and were only too willing to sacrifice their lives for that cause. The Amnesty group called on the Judicial Commission of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, taking into consideration these negative effects, not to approve the use of the death penalty in the coming months. It should be noted that the death sentence has not been carried out in Turkey for more than ten years. (Amnesty International U.S.A., July 20)

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Turquie-Kurdes

La guerre entre la rebellion kurde et l'armée turque aurait fait 34.000 morts

BRUXELLES, 12 août (AFP) - La lutte armée entre la rebellion kurde de Turquie et les militaires turcs a fait 34.000 morts au total depuis son déclenchement il y a dix ans, a affirmé vendredi à Bruxelles le représentant pour l'Europe du Front de libération nationale kurde (ERNK) Kani Yilmaz.

M. Yilmaz tenait une conférence de presse à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire du début de la guerilla séparatiste kurde dans l'Est de la Turquie. La lutte armée des kurdes de Turquie avait été décrétée le 15 août 1984.

L'ERNK est lié au Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) et à sa branche militaire, l'Armée populaire de libération du Kurdistan (ARGK).

Les chiffres habituellement cités à partir de sources officielles à Ankara font généralement état de 14.200 morts en dix ans.

Selon les chiffres de l'ERNK, les guerilleros kurdes de l'ARGK ont dû déplorer la mort de 3.206 hommes au cours de ces dix années de guerre, l'ensemble des pertes dans les populations kurdes, civiles et militaires, s'élevant à 4.000.

Les guerilleros kurdes affirment en revanche avoir tué 17.151 soldats et gradés de l'armée turque, ainsi que 7.524 membres de la police, des forces spéciales, ou protecteurs de villages. Ils disent aussi avoir mené près de 11.000 actions de guérilla pour obtenir l'indépendance du Kurdistan.

Selon M. Yilmaz, 5.000 personnes n'étant liées ni à la guerilla kurde, ni aux forces turques ont été tuées depuis le début des hostilités.

M. Yilmaz s'est déclaré persuadé que "la guerre va désormais s'intensifier", et a affirmé que les effectifs de l'ARGK allaient être portés l'an prochain de 30.000 à 50.000 hommes.

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AFP /JO0245/121512

AOU 94

Turkey and Iraq reach agreement on pipeline issue

El Qaysi expresses 'optimism regarding the major progress' reached at the meeting on the crude oil pipeline issue

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The talks between Turkish and Iraqi officials on the Kerkük-Yumurtalık pipeline issue have yielded positive results, a high ranking Turkish official said.

Turkish Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk and his Iraqi counterpart Riyad Al-Qaysi met on Thursday afternoon. Sanberk said that the two countries were in agreement on all details of the issue, the Anatolia news agency reported. Sanberk disclosed that the problem of the distribution of humanitarian aid in return for the oil sales to Turkey was solved by a formula calling for the distribution to be carried out differently in northern Iraq than in the rest of the country. He did not elaborate.

Iraq refuses to accept international observers to monitor

the distribution of humanitarian supplies as proposed by the United Nations, saying it is a violation of Iraq's sovereignty. Anatolia reported that the Turkish Red Crescent would take the responsibility for the distribution in Kurdish-populated northern regions, while Baghdad would carry out the distribution in other parts of the country. However, the dispatch said Iraq did not want this formula to be a model for future cases. Sanberk said the two countries now have begun to work on the letter of application to be made to the U.N. Security Council for the draining, as well as on the draft council resolution. Sanberk noted that Al-Qaysi would come to Ankara in the near future to complete the work on the papers.

El Qaysi expressed "optimism regarding the major progress" reached at the meeting on the pipeline issue.

Turkey wants to pump approximately 27 million barrels of Iraqi oil through the 616-mile (985-kilometer) pipeline, including some 12 million barrels that have been trapped in the pipeline since sanctions were imposed on Baghdad after its August 1990 invasion of Kuwait. The additional oil would be used to flush out the corroding pipeline. Turkey has claim to 3.8 million barrels of the oil trapped in the pipeline. Yalim Erez, the chairman of the Union of Chambers and Stock Exchanges, will visit Baghdad with a delegation comprised of 70 businessmen on Aug. 26-31.

It is expected that the delegation will be received by Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan and the ministers of oil, health and trade. The consultations of the Turkish delegation will be focussed on the improvement of trade between the two countries within the framework of the U.N. resolutions.

Saturday, August 13, 1994

turkish daily news

■ Turquie

Dix ans de guerre déjà dans le sud-est

Le 15 août 84, le PKK lançait sa lutte armée contre Ankara. Bilan : plus de 13.600 victimes

Le 15 août 84, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) se lançait dans des opérations de guérilla dans le sud-est anatolien en attaquant des bâtiments officiels à Erüh et Semdinli, dans les provinces à majorité kurde de Sirnak et de Hakkari. Objectif : obtenir l'indépendance du « Kurdistan du nord » (le sud-est anatolien turc), celle des zones à majorité kurde d'Irak (nord), d'Iran (nord-ouest) et de Syrie (nord-est), et y créer une République marxiste-léniniste.

En dix ans, cette guerre a fait plus de 13.600 victimes : des maquisards, des soldats, des membres des forces de l'ordre, des « gardiens de village » (milices supplétives), mais aussi nombre de civils pris dans la terrible tenaille de l'agression et de la répression.

ANEANTIR

Le gouvernement turc s'est juré d'« anéantir » le PKK d'ici la fin de l'année... Il espère toujours pouvoir tenir cette promesse mais il est vraisemblable que les Turcs devront sans doute vivre encore un bon bout de temps avec leur guerre civile anatolienne.

A Ankara, l'équation officielle est terriblement simple : il faut d'abord en finir avec les « terroristes séparatistes » (certains dirigeants parlent d'« annihilés » le PKK; d'autres, plus modérés ou plus sensibles aux nuances, précisent que cela n'implique pas la mort de tous les maquisards mais la « dissolution totale » de leur organisation; après, mais après seulement, il faudra investir, financièrement, dans le sud-est afin de sortir la région et sa population de son énorme sous-développement économique. Dans la foulée, les officiels admet-

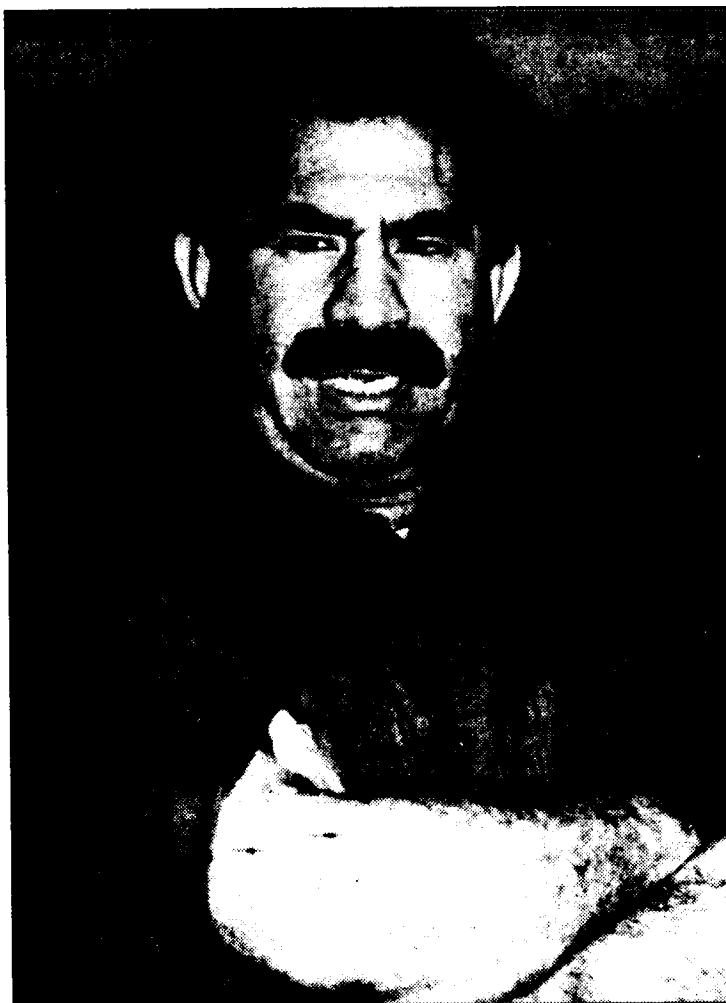
tent que la misère qui règne dans les provinces à majorité kurde contribue à renforcer les sentiments autonomistes ou séparatistes mais, ajoutent-ils, on ne peut y investir pour le moment car le PKK s'attaque systématiquement aux projets de développement.

Mercredi, le Premier ministre turc est quelque peu sorti de ce cercle vicieux en annonçant que son gouvernement projetait d'investir « dans un premier temps » 5.600 milliards de livres turques (5,7 milliards de FB) dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, mais elle avait déjà promis 3.000 milliards de livres il y a tout juste un an et aucun crédit n'a été débloqué.

RELANCE

M^{me} Tansu Ciller, a expliqué que « dans la lutte contre le terrorisme, nous constatons que nous sommes arrivés à un stade où nous pouvons relancer une mobilisation d'investissements dans ces régions »...

A Ankara toujours, les responsables du dossier kurde refusent catégoriquement toute forme de négociation avec les « terroristes » du PKK, étant entendu que tout maquisard qui n'a pas de sang sur les mains peut se livrer à la police et sera, après interrogatoire, libre de ses mouvements; les combattants qui ont des morts sur la conscience seront, s'ils se rendent, jugés selon les lois turques, « le Code pénal étant valable pour tout le monde, sans exception ». Et l'on précise : « On peut toujours discuter avec les Kurdes dès lors que cela se fait dans la conception unitaire du pays. Mais il ne peut être question de commencer à négocier avec des terro-



Abdullah Öcalan, dit « Apo », le chef du PKK : dix ans de guerre. (Photo EPA)

ristes car cela ne donnera jamais de résultat ».

Avec quelque candeur quand même, les mêmes officiels affirment encore que « la population locale est pour l'Etat turc. Elle est derrière son armée, derrière ses forces de l'ordre (...). Notre futur est commun ».

RELAIS

Et d'expliquer que, en fait, toutes les revendications « culturelles » kurdes, à condition qu'elles ne visent pas au séparatisme, peuvent être facilement rencontrées : quelque 150 des 450 députés qui siègent

à la Grande assemblée nationale turque ont des racines kurdes et ils sont idéalement placés pour relayer les souhaits ou récriminations des leurs. Le sort qui est fait à cinq députés du Parti (pro-kurde) de la démocratie (Dep) qui, après avoir été destitués, passent actuellement en jugement devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat pour « séparatisme » et « atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat » montre cependant que ce « relais » a des limites.

Commentaire

Par Marc OPSOMER

PKK : comment en sortir ?

Mao professait que son armée révolutionnaire devait être « comme un poisson dans l'eau » au milieu du peuple, bénéficiant de ses sympathies et complicités. C'est, en bon marxiste-léniniste, le même principe qu'Abdullah Öcalan, le chef du PKK, tente d'appliquer dans le sud-est anatolien, un territoire déshérité où la supériorité théorique des forces de l'ordre turques ne produit pas nécessairement d'effets : le terrain, très montagneux, difficile d'accès, joue en faveur de maquisards qui bénéficient effectivement de complicités mais sans que l'on sache si celles-ci sont vraiment spontanées : le PKK ne s'attaque pas seulement aux militaires et autres supplétifs mais aussi, pratiquant alors un véritable « terrorisme », à tous les Kurdes suspects de « trahison ».

La politique d'Ankara, face au problème kurde, est avant tout militaire. On ne parle pas de « guerre » mais de « lutte armée » des « forces de sécurité » et l'objectif est clairement défini : mettre un terme, une fois pour toutes, aux activités des « séparatistes », ce qui implique une victoire militaire totale. Du coup, les forces de sécurité mettent le paquet au point d'être suspectées d'en faire trop, sans beaucoup de discernement, ce qui pousserait une partie de la population kurde dans les bras du PKK.

On peut aisément concevoir que le gouvernement d'An-

kara se refuse à « négocier » avec des rebelles qui tentent de disloquer l'Etat turc pour, de surcroît, imposer aux Kurdes une dictature marxiste-léniniste. Ce qui est plus difficile à comprendre, c'est pourquoi les autorités turques refusent de concéder à l'ensemble des Kurdes certains « droits culturels », comme des émissions tv ou un enseignement en langue kurde. Ceux qui s'opposent à de telles concessions expliquent qu'un Kurde éduqué en kurde deviendrait en Turquie un citoyen de seconde zone. C'est un danger mais il pourrait être contourné — si les émigrés turcs d'Allemagne apprennent l'allemand, pourquoi un Kurde kurdophone ne pourrait-il apprendre aussi le turc ? — et il est de toute façon mineur par rapport à la poursuite d'une guerre qui n'apporte que morts, désolations et destructions. Et ce serait aussi une bonne façon de priver le poisson Öcalan d'une partie de son eau.

Le problème est que dans les sphères politiques d'Ankara, il ne semble pas y avoir de majorité favorable à des concessions. Sous la pression de militaires qui continuent à occuper une place importante sur l'échiquier mais en réponse aussi au nationalisme « unitariste » inspiré par Atatürk (en Turquie, il n'y a que des Turcs), c'est la solution militaire et uniquement elle qui est retenue.

A SAVOIR

INDEPENDANCE ? AUTONOMIE ? Le PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan, Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) a été créé le 27 novembre 1978 à Lice, une petite localité située entre Diyarbakir et Bingol, en plein sud-est anatolien. Il s'agit d'une formation ouvertement marxiste-léniniste qui a longtemps revendiqué l'indépendance d'un Kurdistan qui devait regrouper les zones à majorité kurde de Turquie, de Syrie, d'Irak et l'Iran. Cette revendication a été en principe abandonnée au profit d'une large autonomie du « Kurdistan turc », les Kurdes des trois pays voisins n'ayant quant à eux jamais été partisans d'une indépendance qui mettrait à mal la stabilité de l'ensemble de la région.

GUERRILLA. Le PKK s'est lancé le 15 août 1984 dans des opérations de guérilla. Les combats se sont peu à peu étendus à l'ensemble des treize provinces du sud-est. L'état d'urgence a été proclamé en 1987. En dix ans, la guerre a fait plus de 13.600 morts et a coûté 15 milliards de dollars (490 milliards de FB).

NUÉE. A l'exemple des autres partis marxistes, le PKK s'est entouré d'une nuée d'organisations diverses. L'ARGK (Armée populaire de libération du Kurdistan) est son bras armé avec, selon certaines estimations, près de 10.000 maquisards. L'ERNK (Front national de libération du Kurdistan) est son « mouvement de masse ». Tout autour gravitent des associations culturelles, sociales, syndicales, patriotiques dont les noms varient d'un pays à l'autre, ainsi que des Comités du Kurdistan dont la branche belge a pignon sur rue à Saint-Josse.

INTERDIT. Le PKK et des associations proches ont été interdits en Allemagne et en France. La Belgique préfère « tenir les choses sous contrôle » (Jean-Luc Dehaene) et préconise une solution « politique et négociée » (idem)

LE SOIR DE BRUXELLES — 13 août 1994**Bilans de dix ans de lutte**

La lutte armée entre la rébellion kurde de Turquie et les militaires turcs a fait environ 34.000 morts au total depuis le déclenchement, il y a dix ans, a affirmé vendredi le représentant pour l'Europe du Front de libération nationale kurde (ERNK) Kani Yilmaz. Les chiffres cités par les sources turques officielles parlent eux, par contre, de 14.200 victimes. (AFP.)

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Irak-Kurdes-presse

Les assassins de la journaliste allemande Lissy Schmidt condamnés à mort

SOULEIMANIEH (Irak), 13 août (AFP) - Deux Kurdes ont été condamnés à mort vendredi pour avoir assassiné la journaliste allemande Lissy Schmidt le 3 avril dernier, a-t-on appris samedi auprès du tribunal de Souleimanieh, dans le nord de l'Irak sous contrôle kurde.

Zaki Said Abbas, 32 ans, diplômé en sciences économiques, et Ismaïl Muhammad Moustapha, 36 ans, chauffeur de taxi, ont été condamnés par le tribunal à la pendaison, mais la peine doit être approuvée auparavant par la "cour suprême" kurde, qui siège à Erbil, dans le centre du Kurdistan irakien, a-t-on ajouté de même source.

Lissy Schmidt, tuée par balles le dimanche de Pâques avec son garde du corps, collaborait avec l'AFP et plusieurs journaux allemands. Elle était la seule journaliste étrangère vivant à demeure au Kurdistan irakien.

Abbas et Moustapha, qui ont été arrêtés une semaine après l'assassinat, ont été déférés jeudi devant la cour de Souleimanieh, a indiqué à l'AFP le gouverneur de la ville Salah Aziz.

Dans un entretien publié le 24 juin par le quotidien allemand Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), les deux hommes avaient affirmé avoir assassiné la jeune femme pour le compte des services secrets irakiens, qui leur avaient demandé de tuer tous les étrangers qu'ils rencontreraient dans les régions kurdes, "en particulier les blonds aux yeux bleus" parce qu'ils sont américains, français, britanniques ou allemands.

Ils avaient affirmé qu'un responsable de ces services, Chasal Tarrah, connu sous le pseudonyme de Major Abou Thair, leur avait promis 3.000 dollars chacun pour chaque étranger tué et s'était engagé à faire libérer leurs familles, emprisonnées par le régime de Bagdad.

Le Kurdistan irakien échappe au contrôle du régime du président Saddam Hussein depuis l'insurrection kurde de 1991, déclenchée à la suite de la défaite irakienne dans la guerre du Golfe. Les formations kurdes ont mis en place un parlement et un gouvernement non reconnus internationalement.

ta-mch/lch/bm

AFP /JO0245/131847

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Turquie-Kurdes prév

La rébellion kurde: dix ans de sang et de larmes

Par Hervé COUTURIER

ANKARA, 14 août (AFP) - La rébellion armée des Kurdes de Turquie, qui marque lundi son 10ème anniversaire avec le bilan terrible de près de 15.000 morts, constitue le principal handicap d'Ankara à son développement économique et à son intégration dans l'Europe, estiment les analystes.

Depuis le 15 août 1984, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), groupe marxiste créé en 1979 et dirigé de la Bekaa libanaise par Abdullah Ocalan, dit "Apo", est en lutte armée "pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant en territoire turc".

Il se livre dans le sud-est du pays à majorité kurde à des attaques de postes de gendarmerie ou de l'armée, et à des attentats contre les transports en commun ou la population des villages.

Le dernier remonte à mercredi avec le mitraillage d'un bus qui a fait 11 morts civils dont deux enfants.

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En face, les forces de l'ordre --armée, police, gendarmerie, unités spéciales-- sont aujourd'hui estimées à 250.000 dont 50.000 miliciens.

Coordonnées depuis 1987 par la super-préfecture d'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir, le chef-lieu de la région, elles traquent les maquisards, lancent des opérations aériennes contre les bases du PKK, y compris dans des sanctuaires du nord de l'Irak.

Mais on leur reproche d'autres actes de répression: intimidations, tortures, déplacements forcés de populations.

Bilan: 14.337 morts au total selon une compilation de l'AFP à partir de chiffres officiels, dont environ 3.500 civils et 2.500 membres des forces de l'ordre, une région sinistrée et un budget de l'Etat lourdement grevé par la guerre.

Dégradation de l'image de la Turquie à l'étranger

Depuis juin 1993 et l'arrivée au pouvoir de Mme Tansu Ciller qui, appuyée sur l'armée, a juré d'en finir avec "le terrorisme", la guerre s'est intensifiée (2.600 morts depuis le 1er janvier). L'armée semble avoir pris un net ascendant sur le terrain, même si le PKK conteste ce point de vue.

En conséquence, le PKK a déplacé le conflit depuis l'été 1993 dans les villes de l'ouest du pays et les stations balnéaires où il s'attaque aux touristes étrangers qu'il veut dissuader d'apporter des devises à l'Etat turc.

Quatre touristes ont ainsi été tués par des bombes à Istanbul et sur les plages, dont un, de nationalité roumaine, est mort samedi. Deux touristes finlandais sont actuellement retenus par le PKK dans l'est.

Du coup, le tourisme turc, en plein boom jusqu'en 1992 et qui représente 25% des entrées de devises du pays, est en régression.

Autre conséquence désastreuse pour la Turquie: la dégradation de son image à l'étranger due aux dérapages causés par la répression.

L'Occident a très mal perçu la levée en mars de l'immunité parlementaire de six députés kurdes, aujourd'hui emprisonnés et dont le procès, où ils risquent la peine de mort pour "séparatisme" et "atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat", a débuté le 3 août.

Accusés d'être les représentants du PKK au parlement, ils paraissent à l'Occident victimes d'une atteinte à la liberté d'expression.

Généralement, les alliés occidentaux de la Turquie comprennent sa lutte contre le terrorisme mais lui demandent plus d'efforts dans le respect des droits de l'Homme et l'incitent à trouver une solution politique au problème kurde, faute de quoi son intégration à l'Europe sera difficile. Ankara est candidat à l'Union européenne depuis 1987.

Mais l'Etat turc ne veut pas entendre parler d'indépendance du Kurdistan ni ne reconnaît les Kurdes, dont le nombre est estimé à 10 à 12 millions sur une population totale de 60 millions, comme une minorité car, comme les

Turcs, ils sont musulmans.

HC/sp

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AOU 94

What did PKK achieve in 10 years?



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

Ten years ago today the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) launched a bloody campaign in southeastern Turkey to set up a separate Kurdish state. The PKK, which was once a dwarf separatist gang, has grown into a major terrorist threat in southeastern Turkey thanks to the incredible mistakes committed by our authorities over the past decade.

For years we pointed to these mistakes which at times alienated the local people of southeastern Turkey from the state. The PKK, on the other hand, continued to intimidate the local population and create artificial popularity based on fear. The state countered by using its military might against the PKK rather effectively in the past year and thus has dealt severe blows to the separatists.

Today, after 10 years of this bloody campaign by the PKK which left more than 12,000 dead and scores of others injured we see that the people of southeastern Turkey are as poor as ever and face even more complicated hardships than they experienced a decade ago.

The terrorist campaign has paralyzed investments in the area. It has stopped educational and social life. Thousands of villagers have been displaced in the war against terrorists, and these people who were driven out of their villages have had to set up ghettos in and around major settlements in regions like Diyarbakır. The local people are complaining that they are being treated as second-class citizens of the Turkish Republic. So has the PKK campaign left the people in a better state? The answer is negative. The suffering and hardships have increased and the people are fed up with being crushed between the state forces and the PKK terrorists.

Everything has to be done in the name of the people and for the people. Yet, what the PKK has done until now is to terrorize the people in an effort to win loyalty based on fear. Thus nothing has been

done to improve the living conditions of the local people of southeastern Turkey. The PKK has preferred to kill innocent women and children as we pointed out in our editorial on Saturday. It is sad that all these are being done in the name of executing village guards.

We are happy that our editorial has made an impact in the right places as American Democrat Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona lambasted the recent murders committed by PKK militants. DeConcini, the co-chairman of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), addressing the Senate expressed his "anger and frustration" over recent killings of innocent civilians including women and children by members of PKK. If after 10 years the PKK is still trying to terrorize the people of southeastern Turkey to win forced loyalty, then it means its policies have already gone bankrupt. It is because of the PKK that many of our brothers and sisters living in southeastern Turkey have been demoted to the rank of second-class citizens and that the democrats of Turkey are now struggling to have them restored as first-class citizens. So after a decade it seems the PKK hardly has anything to brag about.

Monday August 15, 1994

turkish daily news

Jailed ex-DEP deputies accuse Turkey of staging show trial

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Former pro-Kurdish members of Parliament on trial for treason over alleged links to separatists, charged over the weekend that the Turkish government was staging a show trial using faked evidence.

"With faked evidence produced by its imagination... (the government) does not hesitate to trample under its feet all our rights, including our right to be tried justly," the imprisoned deputies said in a statement faxed to newspapers and wire services.

The trial against six of the deputies, five from the now-banned, pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) and one independent, started earlier this month.

The deputies accused Chief of Staff General Doğan Güreş of plotting their plight in Parliament under the approval of the presidency. They said Prime

Minister Tansu Çiller had exerted pressure on the judiciary to speed up the trial and "finish off" the former deputies. They quoted Çiller as saying "I requested the judiciary to finish off this case as soon as possible." They charged Çiller had condemned them without a trial and what was now happening was mere formality.

The ex-deputies also pointed to the statements of Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe who said after the Parliament lifted the immunities of the deputies, "they will never come back to this Parliament." The deputies charged this was an admission of guilt and that Menteşe knew that the trial was over and the deputies were already sentenced before the trial even began. The deputies also complained that Chief Prosecutor Nusret Demirel told a foreign diplomat that the defense lawyers

would argue their case on behalf of the ex-deputies in two or three months time, which they said, meant the prosecutor knew how the court case would proceed.

They said a normal trial would last very long and it was impossible for the prosecutor to know when the defense lawyers would be able to make their case. The deputies were jailed after Parliament lifted their immunity in March. When the party was closed down by the court in June, two more deputies were detained and the remaining six fled to Europe.

The trial, which has recessed until September, has raised concern in the West about Turkey's commitment to democracy. In southeast Turkey, nine militants from the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) were killed on Saturday, the regional governor's office said.

IHD announces monthly report for July '94

In July, 36 tortures resulted in death, reports of extra-judicial executions, 46 claim they were tortured

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Human Rights Association (IHD) chairman Akin Birdal announced violations that occurred in IHD's monthly report for July. Birdal expressed his concerns over human rights violations and the lack of democracy in Turkey, criticizing officials for not taking the necessary measures to prevent such violations. He said, "Each day, democracy and human rights lose blood in Turkey." He also claimed people's hopes and faith in the future are being destroyed by the situation and that this was the most dangerous aspect of all.

Chairman Birdal continued by stating that Turkey has lost its ability to continue its existence as a democratic society since the "freedom of thought" function has been excluded from the society which is the most important factor in the winning of "rights and independence."

He indicated how 108 people — journalists, writers, publishers unionists, deputies and scientists — are currently in prison for expressing their beliefs and opinions and that more were likely to be imprisoned in the future for "crimes of conscience" and similar reasons.

"The month of July has been a tragedy regarding crimes of conscience and freedom. On one hand, the Deputies who lost their Parliamentary status because they expressed their opinions face the possibility of the death penalty, and on the other hand, the ones who couldn't be burned in Sivas — writer Aziz Nesin — now may face death at the hands of the



IHD chairman Akin Birdal: Each day, democracy and human rights lose blood in Turkey

court," said Birdal. The chairman stated that in reality, human rights, democracy and peace are being tried at the State Security Court and he didn't take this to mean only former deputies of the Kurdish based Democracy Party (DEP) and the independent deputy Mahmut Alınak. The Kurdish problem is being debated at the Ankara DGM and, he claimed, the case is not being conducted fairly. Recalling that the IHD had organized an open platform to discuss the Kurdish problem, Akin Birdal said: "We formed a 'Congress for the Kurdish problem' to enable the sides to speak openly on the issue, but it was banned. Now, this court case will not contribute to a peaceful and democratic solution of the problem,

but will add to the existing tension." Thus, the human rights organization chairman urged the ending of the court case and the immediate release of the former DEP deputies. "If not" Birdal said, "the image of Turkey will turn into that of a unlawful dictatorship instead of a political and civil society."

Regarding Aziz Nesin, Birdal said certain circles want his death as a warning against secular and democratic thinking. In the monthly press conference, the IHD chairman presented the IHD report figures for July:

Thirty-six people were killed while being tortured. There were reports of unlawful custody and extra-judicial executions. Forty-six people claimed they were subjected to torture, 49 people were reported missing after taken into custody and thirty publications of various kinds were collected. There are still 108 journalists, writers, publishers, unionists, artists, deputies and scientists occupying prison cells.

Nine associations were raided and closed. Sixteen people were killed by unknown assailants. The report further claimed that 97 villages and hamlets were either evacuated or burned along with forest land. Twenty-nine people lost their lives through civilian targeted attacks and 524 people lost their lives in armed clashes.

Akin Birdal stated that foreign politicians and representatives of international organizations were also witnesses to the crimes and would bring these results to their home countries. He concluded by saying it is not too late to evaluate the situation and establish democracy and peace.

Two Iraqi Kurds ordered executed for killing German journalist

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A court in northern Iraq has ordered two Iraqi Kurds to be executed for the killing of a Germany reporter, an Iraqi Kurdish spokesman said Sunday.

Safeen Dizayhe, the Kurdistan Democratic Party spokesman in Ankara, said that Zeki Said Abbas, 32, and Muhammed Mustafa, 36, received the death sentence on Friday in court-room in Suleiymaniyah.

"The decision must be confirmed by the

Kurdish high court before the sentence can be carried out," he said, adding he didn't know how long that process would take.

The two men, arrested a week after the attack in early April, confessed to killing Lissy Schmidt, a correspondent for Agence France-Presse, and her Kurdish bodyguard.

The two men were hired by Iraqi intelligence to kill foreigners and were paid dhrs 1,000 in advance which they used to buy three Kalashnikov guns, Dizayhe said.

The two men also testified that they wounded two U.N. guards in an attack on their convoy in March.

Ms. Schmidt was the only foreign journalist living in Northern Iraq. She had lived in Erbil since 1991, after being expelled from Turkey for her reports on the Kurdish situation. Following Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War, 3.5 million Iraqi Kurds set up their own administration in the north under Western military protection.

PKK threatens to mark 10th year with escalated attacks

Kani Yilmaz says fighting to increase in coming months: PKK will not accept Turkish-approved Kurdish language broadcasts or party rights
Reveals direct contacts with Turkey's foreign financiers

By Ismet G. Imset
Turkish Daily News

BRUSSELS- Fighting between Kurdish militants and Turkish government troops will increase in the coming months following a surge of separatist activities in the Southeast. The escalation will be to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the armed campaign against Turkey, a senior leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) told the *Turkish Daily News*. In an exclusive interview conducted in Brussels, Kani Yilmaz, representative of the Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK) in Europe, said the PKK would escalate attacks as of today to commemorate the anniversary of their struggle.

One soldier was killed and seven soldiers, three civilians, an officer and a petty officer were wounded, on Aug. 15, 1984, when the PKK launched its first "August Offensive" directed at Turkish targets.

Since then, the war in region has claimed over 12,400 lives, of which the PKK says 5,000 were innocent civilians caught in the cross fire. Turkey currently has around 500,000 security personnel based in the region, fighting an alleged force of 30,000 guerillas. About \$7 billion per-annum is spent on the military campaign against the Kurdish separatists and promises to end what President Süleyman Demirel has referred to as, "the 29th Kurdish uprising," have yet to be fulfilled.

"This is a costly war and one which Turkey cannot afford," Yilmaz claimed in his interview with the TDN. "They are suppressing the press and bending the truth but even this does not help, for their tactics are gradually isolating Turkey on the international stage."

Turkey has, especially over the past four years, frequently been accused by international human rights organizations, with Amnesty International at top of the list, of various humanitarian crimes. These include: death squad killings, torture, mass detention and the setting up of civilian containment areas.

The PKK, in turn, has carried out violent armed activities in the Southeast and urban areas of the country, killing Kurdish and Turkish civilians, bombing tourist spots, buses and public service facilities.

Yilmaz, registered with the Turkish police as a senior member of the PKK Central Committee and known to western intelligence agencies as PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's senior political advisor, ruled out recent suggestions for a possible bilateral cease fire which would save many lives. He told the TDN that despite suggestions coming to the organization from the outside, the PKK did not believe any cease fire would hold under the current situation.

Answering questions on his organization's past and future activities, Yilmaz said the PKK had gained experience from their ten years of fighting and should not be judged only by its activities like the bombing campaigns in larger cities, but according to its force and military capability in the rural Southeast.

He claimed that the 30,000-strong professional fighters of the PKK would increase by 20,000 in the next six months and said most of the organization's recruitment came from Kurdish reaction to Turkey's insistent denial of all Kurdish rights. "They made a great mistake," he said. "In this century, they tried to deny what everyone knew as a fact."

Yilmaz said that after ten years of fighting, the Kurdish issue now has its prominent place on the Middle East agenda and through this, the PKK has taken its place on the same agenda. He alleged that no country, with interests in the region, could avoid

or ignore the PKK and this has further strengthened the movement.

In the interview, Yilmaz claimed further that he had even held talks with foreign financial bodies linked to Turkey regarding plans to launch international projects in the region and that he had been asked to give guarantees, on behalf of the PKK, that such projects would not be hindered — a demonstration of the changing regional balance of power. "This shows that they see what Turkey fails to see," he added.

Asked whether his organization approved of possible steps by Ankara to lift all restrictions on the use of the Kurdish language, which would allow Kurdish television and radio broadcasts, Yilmaz implied such projects and those involved would be targeted by his organization. He said those involved in such reforms, as well as those who participated in

Turkish-approved Kurdish politics, were "traitors" and would be treated as such.

The senior PKK leader, believed to be third in the organization after Öcalan, said however, that they were willing to reply to any political initiatives from the Turkish side that attempt to reach a political solution to the Kurdish problem. He conditioned this move on direct negotiation with the

PKK. Questioned on whether the PKK was still a Marxist movement as proclaimed by its initial program, Yilmaz described the organization as a socialist one, with national demands for freedom. He said the PKK is not attempting to emulate any past examples and tries to avoid dogmas.

Yilmaz also claimed that with its current force, the PKK could continue fighting in the Southeast for at least two decades. He added that with the forceful migration of Kurdish villagers to major cities, the movement would soon start using the new militia there.

"At least 50 percent of those moved from their villages were militia," he said, indirectly confirming Turkey's hardline argument that the villagers moved out of their settlements were not all "innocent civilians" as claimed throughout the world.

DeConcini denounces PKK murders

US senator urges an 'immediate cease fire' for 'Turkish and Kurdish combatants' and invites PKK to abandon armed struggle

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- U.S. Senator Dennis DeConcini (D) of Arizona lambasted the recent murders committed in Turkey by militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). DeConcini is the co-chairman of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). "I wish to express my anger and frustration over recent killings of innocent civilians by members

of the PKK," DeConcini said on the U.S. Senate floor. "Yesterday, 12 innocent civilians, including women and children, were machine gunned by PKK guerillas while riding a bus."

PKK terrorists two days ago, sprayed with machine gun fire, a passenger bus heading from the eastern city of Van to Bahcesaray. Twelve passengers died in the ambush, including two children — ages two and

seven. A previous bomb attack, on a passenger bus, claimed the life of TDN staff writer Ruhican Tul en route to Samsun.

"How can the PKK be taken seriously?"

DeConcini continued: "Violence certainly begets violence and murder can never become an acceptable means of achieving political objectives," DeConcini said. "Mao Tse Tung believed that political power emanated from the barrel of gun, but in the 21st Century, political power will be built on words and the free flow of information. The force of ideas is ultimately more powerful than the force of arms. So, just as I have called upon the Government of Turkey to peacefully and democratically redress the grievances of its Kurdish citizens, so too must the PKK abandon its armed struggle. I cannot understand how PKK leaders expect their calls to be taken seriously as long as the PKK slaughters civilians. To the contrary, their terrorist tactics only besmirch the legitimate efforts of Kurdish leaders who are genuinely seeking a peaceful political solution."

"Propaganda from all sides"

The Senator also commented that, "the human rights situ-

ation in Turkey is not getting any better. A virtual state of civil war exists in Southeast Turkey." After mentioning burned "Kurdish villages" and murders of human rights and pro-Kurdish activists, DeConcini confessed that "amidst the haze of war and propaganda emanating from all sides, the truth is becoming increasingly difficult to discern."

Call for a cease fire

"For the sake of human rights and the future of democracy in Turkey, I urge Turkish and Kurdish combatants to consider an immediate cease fire. Their military debate must end and political debate be allowed to begin," he concluded. The Turkish government and armed forces believe that they have the upper hand in the military campaign against the PKK. Chief of Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş has on various occasions stated that the PKK would be "finished off by this winter." However, similar promises in the past however have not become a reality. "A political debate" of the sort mentioned by the Senator from Arizona is not on the agenda of the Turkish government. This is because it is generally believed that a dialogue would be indicative of the failure of the Turkish state to defend itself against terrorism and would be a grudging admission of the PKK's success in parlaying their terror campaign into legitimate negotiations.

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Turquie-Kurdes

L'heure de la "libération" est venue, selon le chef de la rébellion kurde

ANKARA, 15 août (AFP) - La rébellion kurde de Turquie, qui entre lundi dans sa 11ème année, a "assuré la résurrection" du peuple kurde et le moment de sa "libération" est venu, a affirmé le chef du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), Abdullah Ocalan dit "Apo".

Ses propos sont rapportés lundi par le quotidien turc pro-kurde Ozgur Ulke, qui publie des extraits d'une interview à paraître mardi.

Le PKK mène depuis le 15 août 1984 une rébellion armée contre le pouvoir central d'Ankara, dans le sud-est anatolien à la frontière de la Syrie, de l'Irak et de l'Iran, que le PKK appelle le "Kurdistan du nord", pour y créer un Etat kurde indépendant et marxiste.

"La guerre" (la rébellion et les opérations de représailles militaires) a entraîné l'économie turque dans la "crise la plus profonde des 70 dernières années", selon Ocalan qui réside généralement à Damas ou dans la plaine libanaise de la Bekaa sous contrôle syrien.

L'Etat turc dépense annuellement 6 à 7 milliards de dollars pour la lutte contre le PKK, selon les autorités turques.

La rébellion du PKK et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait 14.338 morts --8.332 maquisards kurdes, 2.569 membres des forces de l'ordre turque et 3.487 civils-- en dix ans, selon une compilation réalisée par l'AFP à partir de chiffres fournis par les autorités.

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AFP /JO0245/151158

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Turquie-Kurdes

10ème anniversaire de la rébellion du PKK: une journée sans action d'éclat

ANKARA, 15 août (AFP) - La Turquie a vécu une journée ordinaire lundi, pour le 10ème anniversaire de la rébellion armée du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), sans action d'éclat de la part du mouvement séparatiste d'après les informations en provenance du sud-est anatolien, son principal théâtre d'activité.

La journée a été marquée d'opérations habituelles de l'armée turque dans cette région contre les "terroristes séparatistes" (désignation officielle des maquisards kurdes). Treize "terroristes" ont été "capturés morts" et trois membres des forces de sécurité turques ont été "martyrisés" (tués), annonce un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir.

Ce bilan porte à 14.404 en dix ans le nombre des victimes de cette lutte sanglante entre rebelles kurdes et l'armée turque --8.345 maquisards kurdes, 2.572 membres des forces de sécurité et 3.487 civils-- selon une compilation de l'AFP à partir de chiffres officiels.

Le PKK (marxiste-léniniste), créé en novembre 1978 par une dizaine de militants kurdes, dont son chef Abdullah Ocalan dit "Apo", a déclenché une lutte armée le 15 août 1984 contre le gouvernement d'Ankara pour créer un Etat kurde indépendant dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, que le PKK appelle le "Kurdistan du nord".

Apo réside généralement à Damas ou dans la plaine libanaise de Bekaa sous contrôle syrien. Sous sa direction musclée, l'organisation, interdite en Turquie (et frappée de la même mesure l'an dernier en Allemagne), mène des attaques contre des postes frontaliers de la gendarmerie et contre des villages kurdes qui refusent de lui donner un soutien logistique.

Apparemment immobilisé sur le terrain depuis le printemps par les opérations massives de l'armée en Turquie et en Irak du nord frontalier (utilisé comme base arrière par la rébellion), le PKK a porté ses activités dans les métropoles turques depuis mars, comme l'an dernier.

Quatre étrangers ont trouvé la mort et une cinquantaine de personnes dont des étrangers ont été blessés depuis mars dans des attentats attribués par les autorités au PKK à Istanbul et dans deux stations balnéaires sur la mer Egée (sud-ouest). Le dernier attentat, qui a fait un mort et huit blessés, remonte à vendredi dernier, à Istanbul. Par ailleurs, le PKK détient actuellement deux touristes finlandais.

CE/hc/bm

AFP /JO0245/151641

AOU 94

Le Matin — 14 août 1994

Irak: assassins condamnés

Deux Kurdes ont été condamnés à mort pour avoir assassiné la journaliste allemande Lisay Schmidt, le 3 avril dernier. Lisay Schmidt collaborait avec l'AFP et plusieurs journaux allemands. Elle était la seule journaliste à vivre au Kurdistan irakien.

TURQUIE Un bilan de quelque 15 000 morts

Le Journal de Genève — 15 août 1994

Les Kurdes turcs célèbrent dix ans de violences, de ruines et de larmes

Des années de lutte entre les forces armées turques et le mouvement armé du PKK ne laissent, à l'est du pays qu'un paysage sinistré.

La rébellion armée des Kurdes de Turquie marque lundi son 10e anniversaire avec le bilan terrible de près de 15 000 morts. Les rebelles parlent même de 34 000 morts. Ce conflit constitue le principal handicap d'Ankara à son développement économique et à son intégration dans l'Europe.

Depuis le 15 août 1984, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), groupe marxiste créé en 1979 et dirigé de la Bekaa libanaise par Abdullah Ocalan, dit «Apo», est en lutte armée «pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant en territoire turc». Il se livre dans le sud-est du pays à majorité kurde à des attaques de postes de gendarmerie ou de l'armée, et à des attentats contre les transports en commun ou la population des villages.

En face, les forces de l'ordre – armée, police, gendarmerie, unités spéciales – sont aujourd'hui estimées à 250 000 dont 50 000 miliciens. Coordonnées depuis 1987 par la superpréfecture d'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir, le chef-lieu de la région, elles quadrillent le terrain et traquent les maquisards.

Face à la dureté toujours plus grande des assauts rebelles, qui provoquent de lourdes pertes dans l'armée, les forces de l'ordre lancent également des opérations aériennes contre les bases du PKK, y compris dans des sanctuaires du nord de l'Irak. Mais on leur reproche d'autres actes de répression: intimidations, tortures, déplacements forcés de populations.

Un bilan accablant

Bilan: 14 337 morts au total, selon une compilation de l'AFP à partir de chiffres officiels, dont environ 3500 civils et 2500 membres des forces de l'ordre, une région sinistrée et un budget de l'Etat lourdement grevé par la guerre. Des dizaines de villages rasés, des centaines vidés de leurs habitants qui sont allés grossir les bidonvilles des grosses bourgades. Plusieurs milliers de réfugiés sont passés cette année en Irak du Nord. L'économie des treize provinces du Sud-Est est en ruines, la pauvreté règne et aucun investissement n'est fait.

Depuis juin 1993 et l'arrivée au pouvoir de Mme Tansu Ciller, qui, appuyée sur l'armée, a juré d'en finir avec «le terrorisme», la guerre s'est intensifiée (2600 morts depuis le 1er janvier). L'ar-



A l'Est, la présence permanente des armes automatiques.

mée, de plus en plus influente sur les milieux politiques, semble aussi avoir pris un net ascendant sur le terrain, même si le PKK conteste ce point de vue.

En conséquence, le PKK a déplacé le conflit depuis l'été 1993 dans les villes de l'ouest du pays et les stations balnéaires. Il s'attaque aux touristes étrangers qu'il veut dissuader d'apporter des devises à l'Etat turc pour sa «sale guerre». Du coup, le tourisme turc, en plein boom jusqu'en 1992 et qui représente 25% des entrées de devises du pays, est menacé.

Autre conséquence pour la Turquie: la dégradation de son image à l'étranger due aux dérapages causés par la répression. L'Occident a très mal perçu la levée en mars de l'immunité parlementaire de six députés kurdes, aujourd'hui emprisonnés. Leur procès, où ils risquent la peine de mort pour «séparatisme» et «atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat», a débuté le 3 août.

Accusés d'être les représentants du PKK au Parlement, ce qu'ils contestent, ils paraissent à l'Occident victimes d'une atteinte à la liberté d'expression.

Généralement, les alliés occidentaux de la Turquie comprennent sa lutte contre le terrorisme mais lui demandent plus d'efforts dans le respect des Droits de l'homme.

L'Etat turc ne veut pas entendre parler d'indépendance du Kurdistan ni ne reconnaît les Kurdes comme une minorité car, comme les Turcs, ils sont musulmans. Il ne reconnaît pas non plus au PKK la représentativité des Kurdes de Turquie dont le nombre est estimé à 10 à 12 millions sur une population totale de 60 millions. Une solution pourrait être l'octroi d'un certain degré d'autonomie, avec le droit d'enseigner et de publier en langue kurde, l'une des revendications du PKK. (AFP/Réd.)

Week-end meurtrier

Ce week-end, 42 personnes ont été tuées lors d'accrochages et d'attaques rebelles dans l'Est et le Sud-Est anatoliens à majorité kurde, a rapporté l'agence turque Anatolie. Les victimes sont 30 maquisards kurdes, 8 civils et 4 soldats turcs. (AFP)

След 10 години война кюрдският въпрос е по-заплетен

Кюрдският проблем не може да бъде решен с военни средства, но за мнозина търсенето на политическо решение е загубено време, затова боевете продължават

Радой КРЪСТЕВ

На 15 август 1984 г. кюрдите в Турция начело с Кюрдската работническа партия (ПКК) започнаха въоръжена борба за национално освобождение. Турция я характеризира като тероризъм, сепаратизъм и пр. В нея наистина има и тероризъм, но неговите основи са поставени още от Османската империя, във военно-политическия характер на тогавашната турска държава, който се запази като съдържание на кемализма. Под негово влияние турски Кюрдистан попада в окупация (през 1966 г. там са дислоцирани 4 жандармерийски бригади от общо 7 и 2 армейски корпуса; по данни на НАТО през 1986 г. там има 16 дивизии; през 1993 г. силите в района са увеличени с 10-хилядно специално формирование, а полицията от 2800 души се увеличава до 15 000 души).

Целта им е ликвидиране на кюрдските национални прояви още в техния зародиш. Според Асоциацията за човешките права в Турция в страната „убийствата без присъди продължават, продължават и инквизициите“. Английски журналист казва за Кюрдистан: „Имах чувството, че съм в бивша наша колония.“ Според отвлечения от партизаните швейцарски гражданин Нико Пианта „30 дни в планината бе по-малко трудно, отколкото един ден в ръцете на турската полиция“. През 1978 г. турският ГЩ разработва план за действие на един корпус и една танкова бригада източно от р. Ефрат в определените им „райони на отговорност“. Той се допълва и от антикюрдските погроми от недържавни организации като „Турските бригади за отмъщение“, ислямистите на

„Хизбуллах“ и др. За две години са убити 54 кюрдски активисти, а от януари 1992 г. досега – 15 журналисти, от които 8 са кореспонденти на прокюрдския в. „Йозгур гюндем“. И това се извършва „незабелязано“ от турската държава.

За маскировка на своята антикюрдска полигика и за пестене на турска кръв Турция през 1985 г. създаде т. нар. „селска стража“, наемно формирование от кюрди, което през 1993 г. наброява 40 000 души. Голяма част от даденото ѝ оръжие обаче или отива при партизаните, или пък се използва за междуплеменни кюрдски вражди. Селските стражи, които сътрудничат на турците, ПКК осъжда на смърт. При разстрела често загиват и техните семейства, което е проява на примитивен тероризъм. Терористични са и атентатите сред мирното население, нападенията върху турски задгранични представители, отвлечането на чужди туристи. Това широко се използва срещу ПКК и подковава нейния авторитет.

Следователно в Турция има два вида тероризъм. На турския държавен тероризъм кюрдите са подложени от XIX век досега, без той да засяга европейските държави, докато кюрдският тероризъм в Турция и зад граница засяга и западните държави. Поради това Германия и Франция ограничиха дейността на ПКК на своя територия.

Извършва се декюрдизация на турски Кюрдистан чрез масово изселване на кюрди от родните им места. Според организацията за човешки права в Диарбекир са разрушени 533 села и 16 планински махали, а от общо 34 957 селища в Турция 12 861 селища са със сменени имена. Забранени бяха

Трудовата партия на народа и Партия на демокрацията, и двете с кюрдски национални тенденции. От кюрдските партии на най-силен терор е подложена ПКК. От 1983 до 1987 г. срещу нея са проведени 19 съдебни процеса с 1884 осъдени, от които 318 души са смърт (през същия период срещу 4 други кюрдски партии са проведени 13 съдебни процеса с 312 осъдени и 15 смъртни присъди).

Социална база на партизаните са предимно кюрдски селища. Според характеристиката от турския офицер те „денем са с мотика, нощем – с пушка“ при партизаните. В ПКК кюрдите виждат свой защитник. Подкрепя я и част от кюрдската интелигенция, включително и от други държави (в Германия ПКК има около 5000 привърженици). Ръстът на влиянието ѝ се вижда и от броя на партизаните: през 1984 г. те са 2700, през 1987 г. – 3400, през 1988 г. – около 8000, а през 1993 г. – между 10 000 и 15 000 души.

През 1993 г. срещу тях действва 150 000 турска армия плюс жандармерия, полиция и селска стража (общо 180 000 души).

Милитаризацията на кюрдския проблем предизвика милитаризация и на ПКК. В ПКК има желязна дисциплина, която засенчва облика ѝ на политическа партия и я тика към екстремизъм. Под негово влияние ПКК обяви „тотална война“ на Турция, надявайки се да увлече в нея и другите партии и движението да получи общотурски характер. Но не успя.

Загинали са повече от 11 000 души: 4517 партизани, 3144 цивилни и 2270 военни и полицаи (до 27. X. 1993 г.).

ПКК е готова да преговаря. За тази цел през март 1993 г. тя едностранно прекрати военните действия, но Турция отказа контакти с нея. Не даде резултат и посредничеството за повторно прекратяване на съгня. Причината е, че „г-жа Чилер още няма необходимата политическа формула за уважение към кюрдското национално малцинство...“, писа в. „Минд“ Боевете продължават.

КОНТИНЕНТ БРОЙ 184, ПОНЕДЕЛНИК, 15 АВГУСТ 1994 Г

TURQUIE

Dix ans de répression contre les Kurdes ont fait 15 000 morts

Anniversaire de sang et de larmes. La guerre que mène Ankara contre les autonomistes kurdes a débuté en 1984.

La rébellion armée des Kurdes de Turquie a marqué hier son 10^e anniversaire avec le bilan terrible de près de 15 000 morts. Les rebelles parlent même de 34 000 morts. Ce conflit constitue le principal handicap d'Ankara à son développement économique et à son intégration dans l'Europe.

Depuis le 15 août 1984, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), groupe marxiste créé en 1979 et dirigé de la Bekaa libanaise par Abdullah Ocalan, dit «Apo», est en lutte armée «pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant en territoire turc». Il se livre dans le sud-est du pays à majorité kurde à des attaques de postes de gendarmerie ou de l'armée, et à des attentats contre les transports en commun ou la population des villages.

En face, les forces de l'ordre - armée, police, gendarmerie, unités spéciales - sont aujourd'hui estimées à 250 000 dont 50 000 miliciens. Coordonnées depuis 1987 par la superpré-

fecture d'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir, le chef-lieu de la région, elles quadrillent le terrain et traquent les maquisards.

Depuis juin 1993 et l'arrivée au pouvoir de M^{me} Tansu Ciller, qui, appuyée sur l'armée, a juré d'en finir avec «le terrorisme», la guerre s'est intensifiée (2600 morts depuis le 1^{er} janvier). L'armée semble avoir pris un net ascendant sur le terrain, même si le PKK conteste ce point de vue.

TOURISTES VISÉS

En conséquence, le PKK a déplacé le conflit depuis l'été 1993 dans les villes de l'ouest du pays et les stations balnéaires. Il s'attaque aux touristes étrangers qu'il veut dissuader d'apporter des devises à l'Etat turc pour sa «sale guerre».

Quatre touristes ont ainsi été tués par des bombes à Istanbul et sur les plages, dont un, de nationalité roumaine, est mort samedi. Deux touris-

tes finlandais sont actuellement retenus par le PKK dans l'est. Du coup, le tourisme turc, en plein boom jusqu'en 1992 et qui représente 25 % des entrées de devises du pays, est en régression. Autre conséquence désastreuse pour la Turquie: la dégradation de son image à l'étranger due aux dérapages causés par la répression. L'Occident a très mal perçu la levée en mars de l'immunité parlementaire de six députés kurdes, aujourd'hui emprisonnés. Ils risquent la peine de mort pour «séparatisme» et «atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat».

Accusés d'être les représentants du PKK au Parlement, ils paraissent à l'Occident victimes d'une atteinte à la liberté d'expression. Généralement, les alliés occidentaux de la Turquie comprennent sa lutte contre le terrorisme mais lui demandent plus d'efforts dans le respect des droits de l'homme et l'incitent à trouver une solution politique au problème kurde, faute de quoi son intégration à l'Europe sera difficile. Ankara est candidat à l'Union européenne depuis 1987.

L'Etat turc ne veut pas entendre parler d'indépendance du Kurdistan ni ne reconnaît les Kurdes comme une minorité car, comme les Turcs, ils sont musulmans. Il ne reconnaît pas non plus au PKK la représentativité des Kurdes de Turquie dont le nombre est estimé entre 10 et 12 millions. ATS

Le chef de la rébellion kurde appelle Ankara à négocier

Le chef de la rébellion kurde de Turquie, Abdullah Ocalan dit «Apo», a appelé les autorités turques à «négocier». Cette demande a été publiée mardi dans le quotidien turc prokurde «Ozgur Ulke», à l'occasion du 10^e anniversaire de son mouvement séparatiste.

«Si les autorités n'ouvrent pas de négociations politiques avec la rébellion, elles devront faire face à un état de faillite plus profond», a dit Ocalan, secrétaire général du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste). «Le PKK est devenu la base principale des valeurs du peuple kurde de Turquie (...) L'identité nationale

kurde a été pour la première fois reconnue sur le plan international» grâce au PKK, a-t-il ajouté.

«Apo» a également affirmé qu'une bonne partie du Sud-Est anatolien, théâtre de la rébellion, est «contrôlée par la guérilla» kurde. Il a lancé un appel au Parlement turc pour qu'il constitue une commission pour examiner les «vraies dimensions de la guerre». Le PKK a déclenché une lutte armée contre Ankara le 15 août 1984 dans la région du Sud-Est frontalière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran. La rébellion et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait près de 14 500 morts en dix ans. (AFP)

Centre@France

LA MONTAGNE 16 août 1994

ON EN PARLE

Kurdes : dix ans de rébellion

LA rébellion armée des Kurdes de Turquie, a marqué, hier, son 10^e anniversaire avec le bilan terrible de près de 15.000 morts. Elle constitue le principal handicap d'Ankara à son développement économique et à son intégration dans l'Europe, estiment les analystes. Triste illustration de cet état de fait, une personne a trouvé la mort et huit autres ont été blessées, vendredi après-midi, dans l'explosion d'une bombe dans un terminal d'autocars situé dans l'un des quartiers les plus touristiques d'Istanbul.

Depuis le 15 août 1984, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), groupe marxiste créé en 1979 et dirigé de la Bekaa libanaise par Abdullah Ocalan, dit « Apo », est en lutte armée « pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant en territoire turc ».

Il se livre, dans le sud-est du pays à majorité kurde, à des attaques de postes de gendarmerie ou de l'armée, et à des attentats contre les transports en commun ou la population des villages.

Le dernier remonte à mercredi avec le mitraillage d'un bus qui a fait 11 morts civils dont deux enfants.

En face, les forces de l'ordre — armée, police, gendarmerie, unités spéciales — sont aujourd'hui estimées à 250.000 dont 50.000 miliciens.

Coordonnées depuis 1987 par la super-préfecture d'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir, le chef-lieu de la



Kurdes, un peuple longtemps opprimé qui réclame son indépendance.

région, elles traquent les maquisards, lancent des opérations aériennes contre les bases du PKK, y compris dans des sanctuaires du nord de l'Irak.

Mais on leur reproche d'autres actes de répression : intimidations, tortures, déplacements forcés de populations.

Bilan : 14.337 morts au total, selon une compilation de l'AFP à partir de chiffres officiels, dont environ 3.500 civils et 2.500 membres des forces de l'ordre, une région sinistrée et un budget de l'Etat lourdement grevé par la guerre.

Dégradation de l'image de la Turquie à l'étranger

Depuis juin 1993 et l'arrivée au pouvoir de Mme Tansu Ciller qui, appuyée sur l'armée, a juré d'en finir avec « le terrorisme », la guerre s'est intensifiée (2.600 morts depuis le 1^{er} janvier). L'armée semble avoir pris un net ascendant sur le terrain, même si le PKK conteste ce point de vue.

En conséquence, le PKK a déplacé le conflit depuis l'été 1993 dans les villes de l'ouest du pays et les stations balnéaires où il s'attaque aux touristes étrangers qu'il veut dissuader d'apporter des devises à l'Etat turc.

Quatre touristes ont ainsi été tués par des bombes à Istanbul et sur les plages, dont un, de nationalité roumaine, est mort samedi. Deux touristes finlandais sont actuellement retenus par le PKK dans l'est.

Du coup, le tourisme turc, en plein boom jusqu'en 1992 et qui représente 25 % des entrées de devises du pays, est en régression.

Autre conséquence désastreuse pour la Turquie : la dégradation de son image à l'étranger due aux dérapages causés par la répression.

L'Occident a très mal perçu la levée, en mars, de l'immunité parlementaire de six députés kurdes, aujourd'hui emprisonnés et dont le procès, où ils risquent la peine de mort pour « séparatisme » et « atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat », a débuté le 3 août.

Accusés d'être les représentants du PKK au Parlement, ils paraissent à l'Occident victimes d'une atteinte à la liberté d'expression.

Généralement, les alliés occidentaux de la Turquie comprennent sa lutte contre le terrorisme mais lui demandent plus d'efforts dans le respect des droits de l'homme et l'incitent à trouver une solution politique au problème kurde, faute de quoi son intégration à l'Europe sera difficile. Ankara est candidat à l'Union européenne depuis 1987.

Mais l'Etat turc ne veut pas entendre parler d'indépendance du Kurdistan ni ne reconnaît les Kurdes, dont le nombre est estimé de 10 à 12 millions sur une population totale de 60 millions, comme une minorité car, comme les Turcs, ils sont musulmans.

Ankara feels Iraqi Kurds creating confidence crisis

Iraqi Kurdish elections in 1995, reconciliation meeting hosted by French irks Turkish officials

By İlnur Çevik

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish government sources say a series of recent developments concerning northern Iraq are creating a crisis of confidence in Ankara regarding the Iraqi Kurds.

The sources who asked not to be identified, feel the Iraqi Kurds have been involved in a series of moves which have increased suspicions in Ankara that the territorial integrity of Iraq may be in jeopardy.

A recent accord signed in Paris between rival Iraqi Kurdish sides, the fact that Iraqi Kurds are planning to hold a census soon, that they are preparing voter registration lists and a decision to hold "general elections" in 1995, have all created a crisis of confidence on the part of the Turkish government, sources said.

The representatives of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) held "peace talks" in Paris from July 16-22 to put an end to the fighting between their guerrillas which has undermined Iraqi Kurdish unity in recent months.

Earlier, similar talks were held in the southeastern border town of Silopi and then, PUK leader Jalal Talabani and KDP chief Mesoud Barzani, met in the northern Iraqi city of Irbil to hold inconclusive talks aimed at ending the fighting.

Turkish officials said Paris based Kurdish Institute President Kendal Nezan, who Turkey says is involved in anti-Turkish activities, actively lobbied to bring the Iraqi Kurdish leaders to Paris to iron out an agreement. "Ankara does not look kindly on the activities of Kendal and feels something was cooked up behind our backs in Paris," the gov-

ernment source told the Turkish Daily News.

According to Iraqi Kurds, officials from the French Presidency and the Foreign Ministry, as well as American and British embassies, attended parts of the meetings as "nonparticipant" observers. Turkish officials say the fact that Turkey was not invited and informed of these meetings has also created concern and anger in Ankara.

"We have a consultation mechanism which is not only for the extension of Provide Comfort, but also for such meetings that were held in Paris concerning northern Iraq," a leading Turkish government source told the TDN. He said the mechanism should work for all circumstances or else people in Turkey will start questioning the merits of the Provide Comfort force, composed of American, British and French air units charged with protecting the Iraqi Kurds against attacks from Saddam Hussein. At the end of the Paris meetings, the two sides agreed on measures to enhance the authority of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and to eliminate party intervention in governmental affairs. The meeting also agreed on wide ranging reforms for the administration and financial management of the region. Further, a series of measures were agreed on how to reorganize and restructure the armed forces in the region. The two sides also agreed to pursue a common foreign policy. The government sources said it was amazing that while such vital decisions were being made, Turkey was left out of the picture.

The meetings concluded with two appeals addressed to the international community to ease United Nations sanctions on the "beleaguered Iraqi Kurdistan region," and to extend Operation Provide Comfort until a time when a democratic solution to the Kurdish question in Iraq is found.

The Turkish government sources said the fact that these two crucial issues that directly concern Turkey were discussed in the absence of Turkish

officials cannot be "taken lightly." Yet another decision that came out of the meeting was for the holding of "general elections in May 1995 when the term of the current Kurdish parliament ends."

The Turkish officials said such elections and a "Kurdish Parliament," which gives the impression of the creation of a separate Kurdish state on Iraqi soil, are unacceptable. Kurdish officials told the TDN that a census is planned in northern Iraq where officials will also prepare registration lists for 1995 elections. Turkish officials said they want the census and the elections delayed.

The Kurds explained that the parliament in Kurdistan was set up as a regional assembly with the consent of the central government in Iraq and was not the parliament of a separate state. "We had elections for this regional Parliament before the Gulf war and thus there is nothing wrong with holding similar elections now," a leading Kurdish official told the TDN recently.

Turkish officials said the complications in the supply of electricity from Turkey to Iraq were continuing. "It is hard to resume power supply to northern Iraq if the current crisis of confidence continues," Turkish government officials reported. Turkey stopped supplying electricity to northern Iraq on June 22.

The Turkish State Electricity Board complained it could not supply TL 15 billion worth of electricity to northern Iraq every month free of charge. Turkish state authorities at a special meeting decided to finance the monthly bill, but started dragging their feet when the Paris meeting and the elections issue came to the surface.

The Kurds in return said the lack of electricity was creating problems in northern Iraq. "The water pumps are not working and the people are put in a situation where they have to use contaminated water, which is an open invitation to diseases," a leading Kurdish official close to Barzani told the TDN.

LE SOIR DE BRUXELLES — 16 août 1994

Près de 15.000 morts depuis la rébellion armée kurde Dix ans de « sale guerre » en Turquie

La rébellion armée des Kurdes de Turquie, qui marquait hier son 10^e anniversaire avec le bilan terrible de près de 15.000 morts, constitue le principal handicap d'Ankara à son développement économique et à son intégration dans l'Europe.

Depuis le 15 août 1984, le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), groupe marxiste créé en 1979 et dirigé depuis la Bekaa libanaise par Abdullah Ocalan, dit « Apo », est en lutte armée pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant en territoire turc. Il se livre dans le sud-est du pays à majorité kurde à des attaques de postes de gendarmerie ou de l'armée et à des attentats contre les transports en commun ou, dans certains cas, contre la population des villages.

En face, les forces de l'ordre — armée, police, gendarmerie, unités spéciales —, sont aujourd'hui estimées à 250.000, dont 50.000 miliciens. Coordonnées depuis 1987 par la super-préfecture d'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir, le chef-lieu de la région, elles quadrillent le terrain, traquent les maquisards, lancent des opérations aériennes contre les bases du PKK, y compris dans des sanctuaires du nord de l'Irak. Mais ils sont aussi à l'origine d'autres actes de répression, contre des civils cette fois : intimidations, tortures, déplacements forcés de populations.

Bilan : 14.337 morts au total, selon une compilation de l'AFP à partir de chiffres officiels, dont

environ 3.500 civils et 2.500 membres des forces de l'ordre, une région sinistrée et un budget de l'État lourdement grevé par la guerre — l'État turc dépense chaque année 6 à 7 milliards de dollars pour la lutte contre le PKK, selon les chiffres d'Ankara. Des dizaines de villages rasés, des centaines vidés de leurs habitants qui sont allés grossir les bidonvilles des grosses bourgades. Plusieurs milliers de réfugiés sont passés cette année en Irak du nord. L'économie des treize provinces du sud-est est en ruines, la pauvreté règne et aucun investissement n'est fait.

Depuis juin 1993 et l'arrivée au pouvoir de M^{me} Tansu Ciller, qui, appuyée sur l'armée, a juré d'en finir avec « le terrorisme », la guerre s'est intensifiée (2.600 morts depuis le 1^{er} janvier). L'armée semble avoir pris un net ascendant sur le terrain, même si le PKK conteste ce point de vue.

En conséquence, le PKK a déplacé le conflit depuis l'été 1993 dans les villes de l'ouest du pays et les stations balnéaires où il s'attaque aux touristes étrangers qu'il veut dissuader d'apporter des devises à l'État turc pour sa « sale guerre ». Quatre touristes ont ainsi été tués par des bombes à Istanbul et sur les plages, dont un, de nationalité roumaine, est mort samedi. Et deux touristes finlandais sont actuellement retenus par le PKK dans l'Est.

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représente 25 % des entrées de devises du pays, est en régression. Autre conséquence désastreuse pour la Turquie : la dégradation de son image à l'étranger due aux dérapages causés par la répression. L'Occident a très mal perçu, par exemple, la levée en mars de l'immunité parlementaire de six députés kurdes, aujourd'hui emprisonnés et dont le procès, où ils risquent la peine de mort pour « séparatisme » et « atteinte à l'intégrité de l'État », a débuté le 3 août. Accusés d'être les représentants du PKK au parlement, ils paraissent à l'Occident victimes d'une atteinte à la liberté d'expression.

Généralement, les alliés occidentaux de la Turquie comprennent sa lutte contre le terrorisme mais lui demandent plus d'efforts dans le respect des droits de l'homme et l'incitent à trouver une solution politique au problème kurde, faute de quoi son intégration à l'Europe sera difficile — Ankara est candidat à l'Union européenne depuis 1987.

L'État turc ne veut pas entendre parler d'indépendance du Kurdistan ni ne reconnaît les Kurdes comme une minorité. Il ne reconnaît pas non plus au PKK la représentativité des Kurdes de Turquie.

Une solution pourrait être l'octroi d'un certain degré d'autonomie, avec le droit d'enseigner et de publier en langue kurde, l'une des revendications du PKK. (D'après AFP.)

Wednesday, August 17, 1994

turkish daily news

PKK leaders deny division, express loyalty to Öcalan

PKK's Karasu says 'it's not just me, the whole movement is radical'

By Ismet G. Imsat
Turkish Daily News

BRUSSELS/LONDON- Two senior leaders of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) denied claims of division in the higher ranks of the movement and said that in its tenth year of fighting, the organization's leadership was completely loyal to its founder Abdullah Öcalan.

The TDN asked PKK's Mustafa Karasu, one of the European representatives of the movement's Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK), whether reports related to his radical opposition to the organization's leader were true. In a joint interview, Karasu and ERNK representative Kani Yılmaz, both of whom are known to Turkish police as members of the PKK Central Committee, answered questions on the internal situation within the movement.

Questioned about his radicalism, Karasu replied by saying "first we must note the fact that the PKK is a radical movement in Kurdistan... We are just people inside the PKK and have no conflicting views. Perhaps one could say that even the PKK is more radical than us with its ideology and politics and that we cannot represent it as well as we should."

Karasu added that being radical not only meant being active but also "being a revolutionary in every way; with respect to life style, relationships and politics."

Meanwhile, Yılmaz argued that past reports that had appeared in the TDN and which related to the existence of a radical flank within the movement were not realistic. "You have written such things but to claim that there are radicals and non-radicals within the PKK is not a realistic approach."

According to Karasu, one of the radical groups which came into being within the PKK in the past was the so-called Tekosin movement, led by the former European leader Hüseyin Yıldırım. "Actually," he explained, "the majority of those who have become radicals in the PKK are right-wingers... Those who attempted to come out as an alternative force against the PKK always appeared on the scene as radicals, for they knew that reformist and backward views are not respected in Kurdistan." In Yılmaz's words, a complete authority rules over PKK cadres, who all believe in the same issue and when it comes to Kurdish freedom, everyone is radical.

Asked his opinion with respect to Turkey's argument that once terrorism has been crushed there will be freedom, Yılmaz retorted, "in the past there was no PKK and we lived together for a thousand years. We know what kind of a solution they offered us then!"

Yılmaz stressed that the PKK was an organization strongly attached to its leader, Abdullah Öcalan, and that no alternative policy could come into being anywhere in the world. Meanwhile Karasu said that he was still trying to reach the "revolutionary level" of the movement and that he too was completely loyal to Öcalan. "Not that I'm suggesting he makes mistakes but if he did, I am someone who would even follow those mistakes," Karasu said, Yılmaz in agreement with him. "On the issue of our freedom, we are all radical," Yılmaz said, noting that "when it comes to politics, we also fulfill and meet the flexibility necessary for these issues. "The best expression used to describe whether we are truly radical or not was coined by our chairman. He said that we are soldiering in order to end soldiering. In other words, we are fighting to end the war and in this war we are incredibly radical. But there is no personal radicalism."

Karasu said Öcalan held the main authority within the organization and that this authority was due to respect not fear.

Asked whether maintaining this authority and controlling all the cadres was difficult because of the increase of members and fighters, he replied by saying, "the leader knows the art of very skillful management. He is truly skillful in this field." Yılmaz explained that over the past twenty years the organization had succeeded in creating all of the mechanisms required for mass management, because its past history was not interrupted like other Turkish or Kurdish left wing organizations.

"We have always been growing and the experience which we have gained in the meantime has created the establishments which are required for management," Yılmaz said. He added, however, that because the organization was constantly expanding, it faced some growing pains and in this, there could be some individual problems which were brought under control instantly. Both of the PKK leaders agreed that under the current circumstances, there was no challenge to Öcalan's sole leadership over the movement and said they could not even consider such a possibility.

Karasu noted that even when the organization was a nucleus in the mid 1970s, Öcalan had established his authority over his friends and over the years this authority had grown — not diminished. Both claimed that reports of such a division stemmed from Turkish efforts to create confusion in the organization. They did not comment on recent reports of controversial deaths of some militant leaders in Turkish territories

Reuters:

PKK marks anniversary with olive branch

Reuters

ANKARA- Ten years after launching a guerrilla war against Turkey, Kurdish separatist leader Abdullah Öcalan has said the time is ripe for a political solution to the Middle East's deadliest conflict.

Öcalan, whose Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) is locked in a war of attrition with security forces in Turkey's impoverished southeast, called for a "rearranging of relations" that would allow Kurds and Turks to live together in peace.

"The situation is now more than ever suitable for a ceasefire, and finding a rational political method is not difficult," Öcalan told the BBC Turkish service in an interview to mark Monday's 10th anniversary of the PKK's armed campaign.

His remarks, among the most conciliatory public comments to date from the PKK leadership, were monitored by Reuters. "I am more optimistic on this matter and believe realities are forcing it," said the PKK leader, known widely by his nom de guerre, Apo.

The BBC did not disclose Öcalan's whereabouts but he is believed to be directing the fighting from Syria.

More than 12,500 people, many of them civilians, have died in a decade of hit-and-run fighting between the government and the PKK, which claims 30,000 men and women under arms.

The Turkish press carries a daily stream of violence in the southeast, including clashes, abductions and executions of alleged government collaborators.

The PKK and its supporters answer back with allegations of atrocities by security forces, a number of which are backed by international human rights groups.

A unilateral PKK ceasefire, declared in March of 1993 lasted two months before rebels killed 35 unarmed Turkish soldiers in a bus ambush.

There was no sign of stepped-up guerrilla

activity in the region on Monday, the 10th anniversary of the day the PKK launched its fight by striking the towns of Eruh and Semdinli, killing two soldiers.

Tough talk on both sides — Prime Minister Tansu Çiller has vowed to "finish" the PKK — has so far obscured any hint of a negotiated settlement. Nevertheless, Öcalan said there remained plenty of room for manoeuvre on both sides.

"There is quite a wide scope for what should be done for the equal and free togetherness of the two peoples. We express this as 'rearranging the relations.'"

Öcalan said this should include constitutional changes to recognize what he called the "Kurdish identity." Under current law, there is no legal distinction between the estimated 10 million Kurds and other Turkish citizens.

And he held out the federal system of

Germany and the United States as models for a political settlement.

"We (Turks and Kurds) represent different national origins, why shouldn't there be a federal arrangement to suit this? Why can't we realize in Turkey's circumstances, what the Germans have been able to do? I ask: does it seem so impossible?" In a separate interview published on Tuesday in a pro-Kurdish Istanbul daily, Öcalan said the PKK was nevertheless prepared to accelerate its armed struggle.

"We can say that for the first time in this process we shall be guerrillas. We have lived until now a period of preparation, trial and acclimatization. We are only now starting to apply all guerrilla tactics," he said.

In the government's most recent breakdown, regional emergency rule governor Ünal Erkan said 2,600 rebels had been killed so far this year. He said 391 soldiers, 134 state-paid village guards and 585 civilians also died in the conflict. The PKK says it has lost 3,000 over ten years, and it dismisses government reports of casualties among the security forces as far too low.

Former DEP deputies file a complaint against Çiller**They accuse PM of abusing her position in relation to the judiciary**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The seven former deputies of the banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) and one independent Kurdish deputy who are all currently in prison, have filed a complaint against Prime Minister Tansu Çiller at the Ankara Chief prosecutor's office for "exercising her influence on the judges."

Accused of treason, the former deputies face trial under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) at the Ankara State Security Court (DGM). The former DEP deputies are being held at the Ankara closed central prison.

The complaint against Çiller was filed because of the vote-winning words, "Maybe I should not have done this but I asked the judiciary to finish

them off quickly."

"Prime Minister Çiller used these words to help her achieve victory in the March 27 local elections and has continued to bear a grudge. She reiterated her sentiments several times in public meetings," stated the petition, which was signed by: the former DEP chairman and Diyarbakır deputy Hatip Dicle, former deputies Orhan Doğan (Şırnak), Ahmet Türk (Mardin), Leyla Zana (Diyarbakır) Sırrı Sakık (Muş), Selim Sadak (Şırnak), Sedat Yurttaş (Diyarbakır) and the independent deputy Mahmut Almak (Şırnak).

The last part of the petition demands the opening of an investigation against Çiller under Article 232 of the TCK, accusing her of "influencing the judges and court."

Kurds claim British group missing in the Southeast

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- Kurdish activists in London claimed Tuesday that a group of British nationals visiting southeastern Turkey had not been heard of since they attempted to visit a village allegedly burned down during a security operation on Monday and expressed fear for their safety.

The claim was made by the pro-Kurdish Friends of the Democracy Party group which reportedly arranged for the visit after Democracy Party (DEP) deputies invited international observers to go to the region.

Among those who had not been heard of by

Tuesday evening were Brenda Nixon, a unionist with the Women Against Pit Closures organization and Trevor Carter, identified as being with Hackney council. An Irish journalist, a young Irish scientist and several solicitors were also among the group.

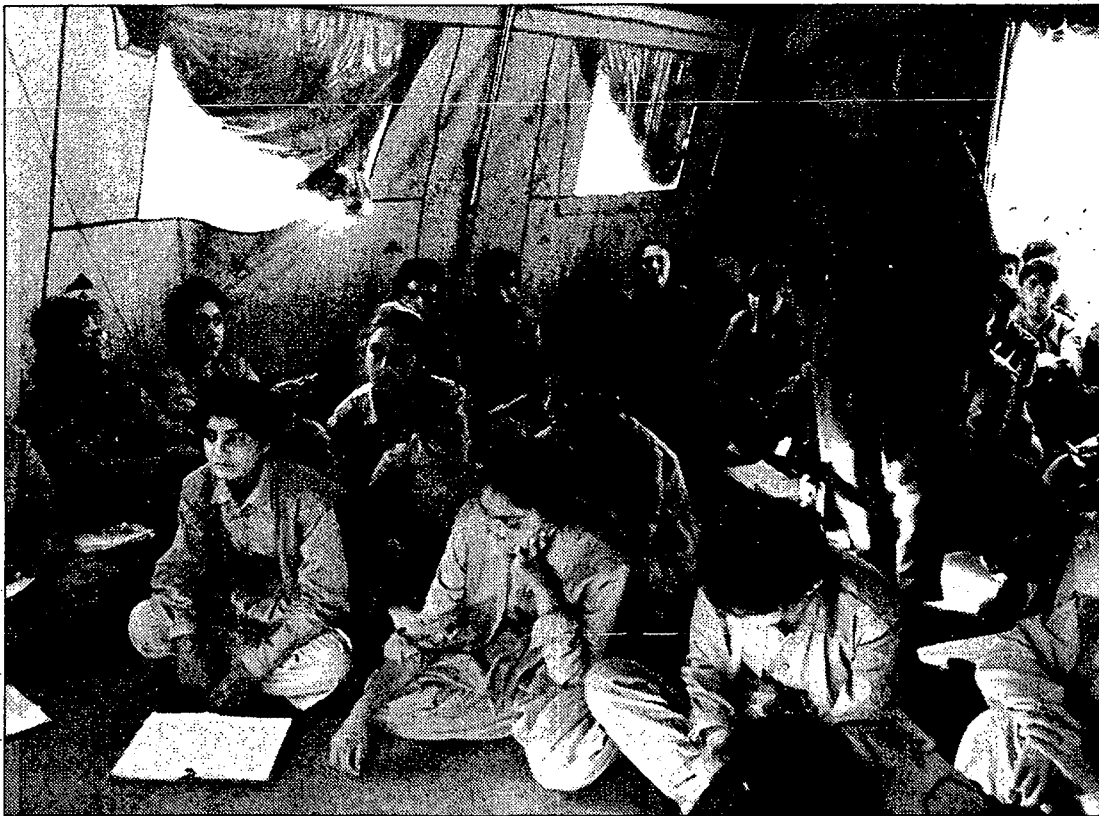
According to unconfirmed reports from independent sources, by the time the TDN went to press, part of the said group had been stopped by villagers while traveling between Hakkari and Beytusebab.

The villagers, who identified themselves as being from the village of Bulbul in Silvan, claimed their settlement had been evacuated by

government troops and that it was being torched. Several members of the group then reportedly decided to go to the said village after which they failed to call back.

Kurdish activists here do not know the whereabouts of the group but fear for their safety as they have failed to get in touch as was previously agreed.

A Turkish Human Rights Association (IHD) official in Hakkari said on the telephone that the last they heard of the group was on Monday when they left the city heading for Beytusebab but that despite efforts made, they could not be tracked down.



Junge Kämpferinnen der PKK in einem Ausbildungslager. (Bild C. Kutschera)

Die Türkei auf dem Weg in die Isolation *Internationale Proteste gegen Menschenrechtsverletzungen*

Zehn Jahre nach dem Einsetzen der Kämpfe in Südostanatolien zwischen den Sicherheitskräften und der Kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (PKK) gerät die Türkei auf internationaler Ebene immer stärker in die Isolation. Vom anhaltenden Krieg moralisch zermürbt und von ihren westlichen Alliierten wegen der gravierenden Verletzungen der Menschenrechte angeprangert, schottet sich Ankara ab. Unterstützung erhält die Regierung nur noch vom Militär, das wegen der zunehmenden Isolation des Landes seine Machtposition zu behalten hofft.

it. Der vor seiner Pensionierung stehende türkische Generalstabschef, *Dogan Güres*, hat vor kurzem die Bilanz aus seiner militärischen Tätigkeit gezogen. Höhepunkt seiner Karriere sei gewesen, sagte er der armeerfreundlichen Zeitung «Hürriyet», als türkische Soldaten den Berg Dedeören im Osten des Landes befreit und auf dessen Berggipfel nach Jahren wieder die türkische Fahne gehisst hätten. Die Worte des Generals lösten weitherum Erstaunen und Wut aus. Die türkische Öffentlichkeit werde seit über zwei Jahren täglich aus dem Büro des Generalstabs mit Erfolgsmeldungen im Kampf gegen kurdische Terroristen bombardiert. Diese hätten mit der Realität aber offenbar wenig gemeinsam, kommentierte die Tageszeitung «Sabah». Der Berg Dedeören sei also erst seit dem «Befreiungskrieg» der Armee wieder türkisches Territorium, stellte die englischsprachige Zeitung «Daily News» mit Verwunderung fest. Der Kolumnist Cengiz Candar, ehemaliger Berater des verstorbenen Präsidenten *Özal*, forderte den sofortigen Rücktritt der gesamten Armeeführung. In der Kurdenfrage beziehungsweise in der Bekämpfung des Terrorismus habe die Armeespitze erfolglos agiert.

Leere Versprechen

Zehn Jahre nach Beginn der Kämpfe in Südostanatolien zwischen den türkischen Sicherheitskräften und der Guerilla der Kurdischen Arbeiter-

partei (PKK) wird sich eine dünne Schicht von Persönlichkeiten in der Politik und in der Wirtschaft allmählich bewusst, dass mit dem von Ankara verfolgten militärischen Vorgehen die Kurdenfrage der Türkei nicht gelöst werden kann. Die 1978 von einer Handvoll Marxisten, Stalinisten und Desperados gegründete PKK begann am 15. August 1984 ihren bewaffneten «Kampf gegen die Kolonialmacht Türkei» mit Anschlägen auf zwei entlegene Dörfer in der Grenzregion zum Irak. Damals konnte die PKK auf die Unterstützung von maximal 200 Kämpfern zählen. Heute verfügt sie laut Schätzungen über 15 000 hochmotivierte Bewaffnete. Sie ist die grösste Bewegung der Kurden in der Türkei und kontrolliert im Südosten Jugend- und Frauenorganisationen sowie Gewerkschaften.

Seit etwas mehr als zwei Jahren verspricht der Generalstabschef, die PKK durch Waffengewalt auszulöschen. Statt der Vernichtung der PKK wurden laut Angaben des türkischen Menschenrechtsvereins in dieser Zeit von der Armee oder von paramilitärischen Organisationen 1360 kurdische Dörfer in Brand gesetzt und zerstört. Todesschwadronen, die von den Sicherheitskräften zumindest geduldet werden, haben im selben Zeitraum über 1550 Zivilisten, meist Menschenrechtler, Intellektuelle, Gewerkschafter oder kurdische Aktivisten ermordet, ohne dass auch nur ein Täter gefasst werden konnte. Kurdische Quellen schätz-

zen, dass in dieser Zeitperiode rund zwei Millionen Personen zur Binnenmigration aus dem kurdischen Südosten in Richtung Westtürkei gezwungen wurden. «Seit über 10 Jahren bombardieren wir unsere Berge und Dörfer. Was haben wir denn davon?» empörte sich unlängst der populäre junge Politiker Cem Boyner, ein Vertreter der unter Özal gewachsenen Wirtschaftselite.

Der ehemalige Aussenminister *Cetin* spürte als erstes Mitglied der Regierung Ciller, wie katastrophal die anhaltenden Verletzungen der Menschenrechte sich auf die Beziehungen der Türkei zu Europa und den USA auswirken. Nach dem letzten Golfkrieg war die Türkei als regionaler Stabilisierungsfaktor von ihren westlichen Alliierten umworben worden. Damals entwarf *Cetin* Pläne, wie die Türkei in den islamischen Republiken Zentralasiens und im Nahen Osten als Modell eines demokratischen, säkulareren Staates propagiert werden könnte. Die Stimmung an den internationalen Konferenztischen hat sich aber seit diesem Frühling unübersehbar verändert. In einem Brief machte *Cetin* im Juli die Regierungschefin Ciller und den Justizminister auf den deutlichen Stimmungsumschwung bei den westlichen Alliierten aufmerksam. Diese seien nicht mehr bereit, die Menschenrechtsverletzungen in der Türkei länger hinzunehmen, erklärte er. Wenige Tage später wurde *Cetin* als Aussenminister vom strammen Nationalisten *Soysal* ersetzt. Über eine eisige Atmosphäre während Gesprächen im Ausland berichtete nach einer kurzen Europareise auch der Parlamentspräsident *Cindoruk*. Selbst die ehemaligen kommunistischen Länder wollten heute Ankara wegen der Verletzungen der Menschenrechte zur Rechenschaft ziehen, sagte er resigniert. An die türkische Demokratie glaube niemand mehr.

Ohne Demokratie kein Geld

Die während der letzten zwei Jahre propagierte Strategie einer militärischen Lösung der Kurdenfrage wurde vom Generalstabschef Güres organisiert und von der Regierungschefin Ciller ohne Widerrede akzeptiert. Sie liess auf ausdrücklichen Wunsch der Militärführung auch die Parlamentarier der prokurdischen Demokratie-Partei (DEP) festnehmen, die des Hochverrats beschuldigt werden. «Wir haben die DEP-Mitglieder mit einem Fusstritt aus dem Parlament hinausgeschmissen», teilte die Regierungschefin ganz im Sprachgebrauch der Kasernen mit. Frau Ciller ist offenbar davon überzeugt, dass lediglich die Generale ihr eine Teilnahme an der Macht garantieren können. Als Gegenleistung dafür scheint sie bereit zu sein, alle Kosten hinzunehmen – selbst eine zunehmende Isolation ihres Landes auf internationaler Ebene.

Ende Juli hat der amerikanische Kongress die Militärhilfe für die Türkei wegen der Menschenrechtsverletzungen und des anhaltenden Zypernkonflikts um 10 Prozent reduziert. Amerikanische Kongressmitglieder und Senatoren haben zunehmend Mühe zu akzeptieren, dass zwei DEP-Mitglieder nur deshalb des Hochverrats angeklagt werden, weil sie vor wenigen Monaten auf dem Capitol Hill über die Situation der Kurden in der Türkei sprachen. Der liberale Senator *Claiborne Pell* forderte, dass die USA ihren Einfluss auf Institutionen wie die Weltbank ausüben sollten, um Kredite für die Türkei zu annullieren. Auch Staatssekretär *Christopher* hat Distanz zu den Praktiken der türkischen Regierung genommen. Die Verletzungen der Menschenrechte trügen

kaum zur internen Sicherheitslage der Türkei bei, sagte er vor dem Kongress.

Die internationale Protestwelle lässt nicht nach. Die Konferenz über Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (KSZE) hat kürzlich beschlossen, eine Delegation in den Südosten der Türkei zu entsenden. Der ehemalige französische Aussenminister *Dumas* legte gegen die Inhaftierung der DEP-Parlamentarier Beschwerde beim Gerichtshof für Menschenrechte in Strassburg ein. Im Europarat bezeichnete er das Verbot der DEP und die Anklage gegen deren Parlamentarier als Krebsgeschwür in Europa. Gemeinsam mit 13 weiteren europäischen Anwälten forderte er den Ausschluss der Türkei aus dem Europarat. Die Kritik des Westens war in den letzten vier Jahrzehnten noch nie so harsch ausgefallen wie jetzt. Der Prozess gegen die DEP gilt in Europa und in den USA als Paradebeispiel dafür, dass die Türkei sämtliche Konventionen über Menschenrechte unterzeichnet, ohne diese allerdings als verbindlich zu empfinden.

Gefährliche Tendenz

Präsident *Demirel* hat die Kritik aus dem Ausland als unberechtigt und erbarmungslos bezeichnet. Gegenwärtig wird in der Türkei von einer breiten Öffentlichkeit jeder Hinweis auf das Thema Menschenrechte als antitürkische Propaganda empfunden. Menschenrechte gelten in weiten Kreisen als ein Luxus, da sich der Staat seit Jahren ohnehin nicht um deren Einhaltung kümmert. Dass die Alliierten plötzlich darauf aufmerksam werden, erklärt man sich mit Verschwörungstheorien. Die Amerikaner hätten seit über 70 Jahren zum Ziel, die Türkei entlang ethnischen Linien in autonome Kleinstaaten aufzuteilen, sagte etwa der bestandene sozialdemokratische Politiker *Bülent Ecevit*. Alte Gespenster aus der Geschichte, wie der Vertrag von Sèvres von 1920, in dem die damaligen Grossmächte die Türkei in kleine Einflussphären aufgeteilt hatten, werden von Presse und Politikern bewusst wachgerufen. Die Wahl *Soysals* zum Aussenminister, der das Land dem Einfluss des Westens entziehen und die Kontakte Ankaras zu Ländern wie Iran und dem Irak intensivieren will, ist klarer Ausdruck einer Tendenz zur Isolation.

Das Militär unterstützt vorerst diese Abschottung. Türkische Generale waren es im kalten Krieg gewohnt, die Politik Ankaras mit Dekreten oder Militärputschen zu bestimmen, ohne dass die Alliierten massgebliche Schritte dagegen unternommen haben. Fünf Jahrzehnte lang galt die Türkei als Bollwerk gegen den Kommunismus. Obwohl seit dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion nun diese Rolle hinfällig ist, wollen die Generale ihre bisherigen Privilegien nicht aufgeben. Dieser Umstand wurde während der diesjährigen Beförderungen der Offiziere deutlich. Rund eine Woche lang kämpfte Generalstabschef Güres darum, die Oberkommandierenden der Marine und der Luftwaffe gegen den Willen des Staatspräsidenten um ein Jahr länger im Generalstab zu behalten. Beide sollen laut Presseberichten Getreue von Güres sein. Ende August wird Güres, dessen Amtszeit schon einmal wider alle Gepflogenheiten verlängert wurde, in den Ruhestand versetzt. Präsident *Demirel* hat sich schliesslich dem Willen der Armee gefügt. Von offizieller Seite wurde die damit von neuem bestätigte Machtstellung der Armee damit begründet, dass im Kampf gegen die PKK Kontinuität notwendig sei.

Blutige Gefechte am Jahrestag des Kurdenaufstands

Ankara, 15. Aug. (dpa/afp) Am zehnten Jahrestag des bewaffneten Aufstands der Kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (PKK) sind im Südosten der Türkei insgesamt 28 Personen ums Leben gekommen. Nach Angaben türkischer Sicherheitskreise kamen 13 PKK-Rebellen und drei Angehörige der türkischen Sicherheitskräfte am Montag bei Zusammenstößen in der Provinz *Hakkari* um. Die halbamtliche Nachrichtenagentur Anatolia berichtete aus Gaziantep von elf weiteren getöteten kurdischen Kämpfern. Am Sonntag abend hatte nach Angaben von Anatolia eine Rebellen-Gruppe das Feuer auf einen Kleinbus in der Provinz *Sivas* eröffnet. Dabei kam ein Zivilist um. Die Rebellen entführten drei Insassen des Busses, liessen sie jedoch später wieder frei. Unterdessen hat die türkische Armee ihre Sicherheitsvorkehrungen verstärkt, weil befürchtet wird, dass die PKK das zehnte Jahr des Unabhängigkeitskampfes mit vermehrter Aktivität beginnt.

Zahlreiche Festnahmen

Ankara, 16. Aug. (ap) Mit der Festnahme von Demonstranten und Journalisten haben die türkischen Behörden mögliche Ausschreitungen am zehnten Jahrestag des kurdischen Kampfes für Autonomie zu verhindern versucht. Laut Angaben der Agentur Anatolia wurden am Wochenende in *Adana* 35 kurdische Demonstranten in Gewahrsam genommen, nachdem zuvor in der Provinz *Konya* 50 Personen unter der Beschuldigung inhaftiert worden waren, sich zu einer verbotenen Kundgebung versammelt zu haben. Sowohl *Adana* als auch *Konya* haben einen hohen kurdischen Bevölkerungsanteil. Die prokurdische Tageszeitung «*Özgür Ülke*» berichtete am Montag, dass vier ihrer Korrespondenten am Wochenende in der südosttürkischen Provinz *Mardin* festgenommen worden seien. Ein Haftgrund sei nicht mitgeteilt worden, schrieb das Blatt.

Attentat des Hizbullah im Süden Libanons

Drei Tote bei Sprengstoffanschlag

Marjayoun, 16. Aug. (afp) Bei einem Sprengstoffanschlag des Hizbullah sind am Dienstag in Südlibanon drei Kämpfer der pro-israelischen Miliz Südlibanonische Armee (SLA) getötet worden. Vier weitere seien bei dem Anschlag am Rande der von Israel besetzten sogenannten Sicherheitszone verletzt worden, teilte die SLA am Dienstag mit. Unter den Getöteten ist nach Angaben der libanesischen Sicherheitskräfte auch ein führender SLA-Vertreter. Ein Sprecher des Islamischen Widerstands, einer Untergruppe des Hizbullah, sagte in Beirut, der Sprengstoffanschlag habe sich gegen einen Fahrzeugkonvoi der SLA gerichtet.

LE MONDE — 17 août 1994

TURQUIE

Dixième anniversaire de la rébellion du PKK

Pour le dixième anniversaire, lundi 15 août, du début de la rébellion armée du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), l'armée turque a poursuivi ses opérations habituelles dans le Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde, sans action d'éclat de la part du mouvement séparatiste, qui se réclame toujours du marxisme-léninisme. Créé en novembre 1978 par une dizaine de militants kurdes, dont son actuel chef Abdullah Ocalan dit « Apo », le PKK a déclenché la lutte armée le 15 août 1984. Le dernier bilan publié par les autorités porte à 14 404 personnes – dont 3487 civils – le nombre des victimes, en dix ans d'une lutte sanglante entre les rebelles et l'armée.

Dans un entretien paru lundi dans un journal turc, le représentant en Europe du PKK, Kani Yilmaz, a réitéré l'intention de son organisation d'intensifier la lutte armée. Il a ajouté que le PKK avait les moyens de continuer la lutte dans le Sud-Est pendant au moins deux décennies. De son côté, « Apo » affirme, dans des propos rapportés le même jour par le quotidien turc pro-kurde *Ozgur Ulke*, que la rébellion a « assuré la résurrection » du peuple kurde et que le moment de sa « libération » est venu. – (AFP)

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE — 17 août 1994

■ **TURQUIE.** La rébellion kurde appelée à « négociation ». Le chef de la rébellion kurde de Turquie, Abdullah Ocalan dit « Apo », a appelé les autorités turques à « négociation » à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de son mouvement séparatiste. Il menace par contre les autorités que « si elles n'ouvrent pas de négociations politiques (avec les rebelles), elles devront faire face à un état de faillite plus profond ». (AFP)

Britain debates banning PKK

Three Kurd separatists sentenced for bombing Turkish banks

TDN with Wire Dispatches

LONDON/ ANKARA - Following the sentencing of three Kurdish separatists for bombing Turkish banks in London as well as an attack on a Turkish daily's London office, British politicians and the press stepped up efforts to ban the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Dev-Sol, an ultra-leftist group.

Sir James Spencer, the head of the Conservative Party, told a BBC program that the activities of the PKK have been harming both the British and Britain's ties with Turkey, "an important ally." Spencer called upon the British government to follow the French and German decisions to ban the outlawed PKK. But Sir Ian Lawrence, head of Parliament's Interior Commission, told BBC Newsnight that banning the organization would cause them to go underground, making it more difficult to monitor their activities.

The program highlighted the concern that London was becoming a base for Middle East terrorists and the British government is taking an "extremely lax" stance against terrorist organizations.

The Press Association quoted an unnamed government spokesman as saying that the government did not intend to impose an umbrella ban on all terrorist groups. The British government has banned the IRA and related groups, but has not done so for the PKK.

The debate on Newsnight took place after Dev-Sol attacked the Hürriyet office in London. Four attackers, reportedly wearing masks, broke windows and damaged communications equipment at the Green Lane office, the Anatolia news agency reported. They also stuck slogans reading, "We are going to revenge the Bağcılar massacre," on the office walls.

Hürriyet's London representative Faruk Zabcı said the attack caused five thousand pounds worth of damage and reminded everyone of a similar attack two years ago.

On Tuesday, three members of the PKK were sentenced to up to 15 years imprisonment for their bombing campaign on Turkish targets in London. All three, convicted of conspiracy to damage property by fire with intent to endanger life, were seeking political refuge in Britain.

Cafer Kovaycin, 30, and Hikmet Bozat, 33, were sentenced to 15 years at London's Old Bailey. Zervet Özen, 19, will spend 12 years in jail. Judge Ann Goddard, who sentenced the men, said she chose to ignore any political beliefs the trio might hold. "What I am concerned with is petrol bomb attacks on the streets of London," she said. "There are no legitimate targets for such attacks."

The three, who all lived in London, were involved in attacks on two Turkish banks in the financial district on November 4, 1993 — part of a wave of attacks against Turkish offices across Europe. Leaflets left outside the scenes of the attacks declared: "We are protesting against the genocide campaign of the Turkish state in Kurdistan. We are protesting against the torture and murder of Kurdish villagers."

Goddard recommended that the men eventually be deported, despite a claim by the defence that at least one of them feared for his life if he returned to Turkey.

As the convicted trio were escorted from the Old Bailey courtroom, a protester in the viewing gallery repeatedly shouted: "Long live Kurdistan!" Police pulled him from the room.

turkish daily news

Thursday, August 18, 1994

Holes in blockade of Iraq help Saddam's survival

By Jack Redden

Reuters

BAGHDAD- On paper, banning all oil exports and nearly all imports should have brought Iraq quickly to its knees; the real world has provided enough loopholes to keep Iraq still limping along four years later.

"You can get anything in Baghdad," said a senior diplomat. "You can buy it under the counter as long as you can pay the price. It was like that six months or a year ago. It's like that now."

Certainly there are hardships — the cost of most imports is far beyond the reach of average Iraqis — but there has been sufficient leakage through the economic blockade to help explain President Saddam Hussein's survival long after many had predicted his demise.

From smugglers to legal exemptions and secret bank accounts, Iraq has found ways to ease the pain.

U.N. trade restrictions imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, 1990 were aimed at forcing a quick withdrawal without the need for war.

Although that failed and U.S.-led forces drove Saddam's troops from the emirate the following February, sanctions remained to force compliance with U.N. demands intended to ensure Iraq could not intimidate its neighbors.

Oil exports, virtually Iraq's only source of foreign income, were banned completely. Imports of anything except food and medicine were also halted. Commercial air connections were severed and Iraqi financial assets around the world frozen. But orders on paper can be hard to translate into reality. Iraq has long, loosely controlled borders with six different countries that provide ample opportunity for smugglers, both official and private.

Diplomats in Baghdad reported that Iran, despite denials, has even bought bargain-priced oil from the country it fought ferociously from 1980 to 1988, although they say the trade has stopped for the moment.

On the other side of Iraq, there was no missing the volume of goods arriving from former ally Jordan soon after the Gulf War. Diplomats reported trucks roaring by with loads of steel for Iraqi reconstruction.

"It was only in '92 that the Americans and the United Nations put Jordan under strong

pressure," said one frequent traveler. "Until that time you could see trains of trucks on the road, everything was imported."

Even the United States has accepted exceptions to the oil embargo, agreeing that indebted Jordan could not pass up Iraq's low-price oil. Jordan is now officially allowed to import 65,000 barrels per day of Iraqi oil.

Washington also did not object when Turkey let its heavy trucks weld extra fuel tanks underneath and bring back thousands of liters (gallons) of Iraqi diesel fuel on return trips. Iraq sold the fuel to truckers at giveaway prices as an incentive to bring goods.

The trade, up to 1,500 trucks a day in the first half of 1992, was halted only when the Turkish finance department complained of lost tax revenue. But Turkish officials are hoping to resume business.

Iraq has offered free fuel to foreign ships unloading food at the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr instead of Jordan's Red Sea port of Aqaba, another small export of oil.

An Iranian demand several weeks ago that Iraqi ships stop flying Iranian flags on the river between their two countries pointed to another hole in the trade wall.

Even if all these leaks were plugged, the United Nations would still face a formidable challenge — how to control the money Iraq had secretly stored abroad.

Although Iraqi assets were officially frozen, western analysts have long puzzled over how much was hidden under other names — individuals, companies or friendly governments.

"It is still the great unknown and it will continue to be the great unknown until things return to normal," said a diplomat. "Whenever they need money, they make recourse to it. They may have less and less of it but they still have it."

Iraq is estimated to need \$1 billion to \$1.2 billion each year for imports for its vital food ration system. Part is financed by the oil shipped to Jordan, which is supposed to be used both to repay old debts and to exchange for imports allowed by the United Nations.

No one knows exactly where the rest comes from. Some purchases may be on credit; there has been a stream of foreign businessmen, especially West Europeans, through Baghdad in recent months eyeing Iraq's vast oil reserves.

PKK in Europe:

Strength through intimidation...but what will happen next?

We sat in the car surrounded by a group of armed policemen. Only two hours into Brussels and for the first time in my life, I'd been detained. One police car is parked to our left and another behind us as if to prevent our escape. As I went for the pack of cigarettes in my vest pocket, one of the uniforms warned: "keep your hands where we can see them!"

In the heart of a Brussels street with stunned Belgian pedestrians watching, we are prevented from leaving the car, which with five passengers is quite crowded.

An officer came up and collected our passports. "They will be verified," he says. I think about all the tales we have heard of European politeness. "They would do well in the Southeast," jokes one of the passengers.

As we wait there, having been forced to pull over to the side of the road, I considered calling the Turkish embassy to protest. But what would I have said? How would they react to the news that I'd been "caught" along with a group of senior PKK people in the heart of Europe? How do I explain why I was travelling with the notorious Kani Yilmaz, registered with Turkish intelligence as one of the most senior Central Committee members of the organization?

"This is boring," comments Yilmaz. "They don't know what they are doing. They should not pester us."

Suddenly I had a flashback of another car trip and roadblock incident we had together, some three years ago in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa valley of Lebanon. As we sped up the hills in a white Mercedes, this tall and lean guerilla leader with a gun-butt protruding from under his shirt and a Kalashnikov tucked tightly under his seat had not even blinked when three machine-gunned Syrians suddenly blocked our way. "The Mohabarat," he explained. "You don't move, I'll solve everything," he said before taking out two packs of sugar and tea from the trunk and buying our entrance into the internationally famous guerilla training fields.

"I don't think we can buy these guys off with sugar and tea" he laughed as we sat tight in Belgium, this time taking care to keep our hands where they could be seen. He has changed little over the years, other than his building confidence in the movement. "I never go around without a gun," he explained as I groaned inside.

The Belgians are a worried lot and despite their authority, and the harassing attitude of one French-speaking policeman, got a bit anxious when our "escort car" pulled up some 20 meters ahead of us and four people got out.

No one was allowed near us and no one allowed out. Yilmaz and I smoke, making things worse.

One passenger has no identification at all. "How can this be?" an officer asked me — being one of the only two who understand English. "I don't know, I'm only here for an interview" I responded. His eyes told me he didn't believe me as he ordered me back to the car. The car was our prison for over an hour. "I demand that we be allowed to go," said the other passenger in beautiful British accented English.

"We are currently sponsoring twenty students who all go to Oxford and we have already 30 other graduates who know all sorts of languages," boasted Yilmaz when I later questioned him. In 1991, I

recall, he had boasted the same way when he explained in Bekaa that the PKK was sponsoring three students to go to the American University in Beirut. "One day we will need to open up to the world and these youngsters will do this for us," he explained.

"We are involved in diplomacy," the same Yilmaz told me last week, sitting tight in that car. "We are everywhere, talking to everyone and explaining ourselves. The age is an age of diplomacy." Despite this, it is hard to change the heart of someone who has been fighting for 15 years and patience is something which seems to expire fast with Yilmaz.

About half an hour after becoming a captive in the car, Yilmaz starts tapping at the window towards a policeman. I'm excited for I know what the end of his patience means. As he lowered the window, a head bobbed in: "What do you want?"

Turning to us, Yilmaz asks for a translation. "Tell them, if they go on like this and they even attempt to take our friend, Brussels will see our strength." The friend, is the one without a passport and I feel Yilmaz is serious about what he says. "Remind them of what happened in Germany," he uttered — referring to a recent rally of 150,000 Kurds. "They all know our power and they don't want problems with us."

Indeed, after another five minutes one officer explains that although the person sitting up front is illegal and should not be in Belgium, he will be let go. "We are not supposed to do this," he said, looking straight into Yilmaz's eyes, "but go ahead and take him."

Alas, after 40 minutes of Belgian detainment on the road, we are freed and head for the Kurdistan Committee office with a distant police tail.

Intimidation is clearly the key to many PKK affairs in Europe and one which works swiftly, providing all means for the organization to operate.

"When Ali Sapan was caught," Yilmaz explains later in a proud moment, "I had a meeting with the Interior Minister official in charge of Turkey. They treated me with all the formality shown official guests." Sapan, the European spokesman for the PKK, was later released. Allegedly, ministry officials apologized to the PKK saying he was caught mistakenly by customs officials who did not know who he was.

In Belgium, I am sure, the police knew Kani Yilmaz and even though they tried to please Turkey at one point, saying they did not allow the PKK to move freely, they had no intention of creating problems.

"The PKK is too big," is how Yilmaz would explain it. Indeed, compared to all armed movements coming out of the Middle East, compared even to the Hezbollah and Hamas, the PKK is the only organization that with one order moved a radical, 150,000 strong, crowd to the streets.

Rallies, demonstrations and clashes with German police clearly stated the message of intimidation. Three years ago when in Bekaa, one could not have imagined that they would have this strength.

Now the strength of the organization comes not only from local support in Southeastern Turkey but from larger Turkish provinces as well due to Kurdish migration there. And, as more and more news comes in from the country of new human rights abuses, village raids and torchings, the PKK's force in Europe is growing. It is a force which is increasingly radical in its reactions to what is happening and a force that

wants to fight. "Hundreds are applying every day to go back to the country and join the war," Yilmaz explained amidst an approving crowd of militants.

"Before, we were a sail without wind," added another senior leader, Mustafa Karasu. "Now we have the wind behind that sail." His remark reflects the growing tide of radicalization within the movement. "The hatred and revenge of a thousand years is coming out," Yilmaz said during his TDN interview.

PKK leaders trust that even if all of their 30,000 alleged fighters were destroyed, they could still put some 50,000 on the ground before next year. According to them, the organization could keep up fighting for another two decades even with its current force.

And, Europe is a haven for new recruits — open both to propaganda, political training and military exercises. "We have several hundred in training now and they will graduate and go back to the country in two months," Yilmaz explained. He added that the number of recruits is being kept low to ensure they have the best training. "Some we actually hold back for additional time so they can improve," he said.

There is also the money issue where Europe is as vital. Intimidation and our threat is enough to pull in more "donations" than necessary. "We don't have a single financial problem," explained the chairman Abdullah Öcalan on Sunday. "We have no problems with money, weapons or ammunition." Extortion, as British security calls it, is so widely spread that one wonders why such an organization should even take the risk of getting involved in narcotics. Money comes in not only from the Kurds but from the thousands of scared Turks in Europe as well. Most Turkish businessmen in London, for instance, "donate" from month to month.

Much of the PKK's strength in Europe comes from demonstrations of strength with raids, rallies and protests — including the occupation of buildings. Almost always these activities have had an immediate backlash but again have served to heighten the intimidation.

Why, after all, should the Belgian police take on another problem when they could avoid it? Why should the police in Britain or Germany do so?

"The spill over of terror" is feared everywhere and by all governments, for the violence concerned is not yet violence directly targeting them.

The Kurdistan Committee office in Brussels is a building of several floors with bunkers — made of pure iron — serving as beds upstairs. It is only one of the "diplomatic achievements" the PKK has boasted about since last year. Throughout Europe there are committees, even offices in Washington and Moscow. Kurdish activists, perhaps not openly using the PKK name but well known to local officials, have established contacts with many foreign officials and are actively propagating. Some have original sympathy for the "oppressed" be they Kurds or whatever. Others have a prejudice against Turks altogether and are willing to support anyone or anything against them. Most, however, are intimidated into an "understanding" of the problem which has led to an immense "tolerance" in this part of the world. All security officials here in the West are certain that the PKK, like other Middle Eastern groups, enjoys the support and sponsorship of some regional powers and intelligence groups. Syria is cited at top of the list. Iran, Iraq (Baghdad in contrast to the Turkish claim of Iraqi Kurds) and Libya are cited among its staunchest allies.

All are countries which have in this way or the other been involved in terrorism.

Ironically though, this knowledge seems only to add to the intimidation effect of the PKK as the security services of Europe seem not to want to provoke any unwanted enmity. Europe has had its share of terrorism in many ways. It has had the Jackal and Abu Nidal. It has had the Baeder Meinhoff and the Red Brigades. It has had the Basques and the IRA.

Now, it faces a worse phenomena which, bluntly, it explains as "Islamic terror." Radical Muslims of various groups are used by the very countries which support and facilitate the PKK to carry out activities, which in the past could only be trusted to professionals.

Even if he had not been caught, the star of the Jackal was falling along with that of Abu Nidal, and perhaps in another five years both would have been buried into literature, only running training courses for the newly recruited masses. There is a realization, clearly, that the PKK's strength here also comes from the position it holds in Turkey and in the Middle East. "Any policy in the region," claimed Yilmaz last week, "has to take us into account."

Indeed, even if overconfident, one has little to do but to agree that the PKK holds a trump card, especially when longer term business or regional interests are concerned. A trump card efficient enough to bring the director of an international finance establishment to PKK leaders asking whether they would interfere with a new project in a specific area.

I asked a specialist working for a research center preparing risk analysis for British companies whether this is possible. "Until about a year ago, the companies here did not concern themselves with the Kurds, human rights or things like this," he explained. "Today, they want us to constantly monitor the situation and give them reports."

More and more, Turkey fails to find an alternative to the military campaign launched to solve a political crisis and more and more the PKK becomes the heart of the matter. Intimidation or not, it is gradually getting more attention in the West, showing itself as an alternative.

Reluctance to pull the crisis into their own territory has for the time being allowed the PKK to flourish throughout western democracies and Turkey's "solution," an indiscriminate army operation which seems to produce no major result, helps to channel the current tolerance to support for the PKK. Turkey understandably boasts higher numbers of casualties on the PKK side, announced them on a daily basis. It sees it as reflection of success. Never once does Ankara appear to realize that the more specialized in the field of terrorism read data in a different way. That the increase in casualties could also be a reflection of an increase in the strength of the organization. That the death tolls are comparable and relative, not necessarily reflecting the true outcome of warfare. "Indeed we know that the PKK has suffered some blows and has lost people," explains a western diplomat based in Ankara. "But it is difficult to say that anything substantial has changed." Tuesday morning, a columnist friend who I truly respect for his objectivity, called from Istanbul. "What is their true strength?" he asked. I replied with a question: "Why not look into official statistics of the past three years?"

Since 1990, Turkey's annual statistics on the number of detained, arrested and killed "terrorists," have not dropped lower than 10,000 per year. Is this to say that the PKK truly has 30,000 people? No one

can know. Not, at least, until the restrictive 8th article of the anti-terror law is lifted. But here in Europe one gets the image that western "agencies" actually know more than we do and this is part of the reason for the tolerance for the PKK.

The only question now is how long European countries will actually go on living on the razor's edge. How long will Europe tolerate the PKK knowing that its supporters or sponsors are in the same league as those who blew up the World Trade Center

and exploded bombs in Buenos Aires and London. How much patience will Europe show before it is too late?

Yes, the PKK is indeed getting stronger in Europe and there is official tolerance owing to the desire to avoid complications. There is also "sympathy" allowing this growth. It is the same way Muslim radicals grew here and the same reason racist Bengalis were allowed to stab a fifteen year old white boy to death in my neighborhood this week.

The question is, what will happen next?

Iraqi Kurdish leaders agree once again

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Northern Iraqi Kurdish leaders have agreed to put an end to conflicts between Kurdish groups in the region. Kurdistan Democratic Party leader Massoud Barzani and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan leader Jalal Talabani made a joint declaration after attending the Northern Iraqi Kurdish National Assembly's session, which was held on Monday in Erbil. A British parliamentary delegation comprised of Lord Eric Avebury, chairman of the Human Rights Commission; Baroness Cox and Tom Clark, the shadow minister for overseas development, also attended the Parliamentary session.

"The plan of action of the parliament of 25 July was passed and the memorandum of the two parliamentary commissions of inquiry who visited Qofa Diza and Halabja was discussed. We pledge to the people of Iraqi Kurdistan that we will fully support the plan of action and the parliamentary memorandum. We pledge also in front of the elected representatives that we will do whatever is needed to implement your recommendations and to work to eradicate all

obstacles that may prevent their implementation," Kurdish leaders said in their joint declaration. The memorandum addressed to Talabani and Barzani from northern Iraqi Kurdish parliamentarians stated that a public joint declaration by Mr. Barzani and Mr. Talabani should be released and should include a firm pledge to:

- 1- Preserve the cease-fire;
- 2- Prevent any violations and bring perpetrators to justice;
- 3- Immediately disengage forces;
- 4- Withdraw forces to the line of the June 8, 1994 agreement;
- 5- Stop arming people and forming new militias. It also called for the designation of senior leaders known for their peaceful and conciliatory behavior to the normalization committees of the provinces; the forming of a subcommittee of normalization at the district level in towns to be entrusted with the disengagement of forces if required; the expedition of the signing of the Paris agreement by Mr. Barzani and Mr. Talabani; the fixing of a timetable for the withdrawal and disengagement of forces and for completing

the normalization measures.

The memorandum stated that the Supreme Normalization Committee should pass a resolution demanding the following:

- 1- Preservation of the current cease-fire;
- 2- Release of all detainees;
- 3- An end to intimidation and respect for the freedom of political activity for all;
- 4- Guarantee of the safe return of the displaced and those who were forced out of their homes during the conflict;
- 5- Guarantee of job reinstatement for regional government employees;
- 6- Prevention of provocative slogans and counter propaganda by all sides;
- 7- Guarantee of the return of personal belongings and property to the original owners;
- 8- Annulment of all one-sided illegal administrative decisions taken during the crisis;
- 9- Immediate hand over of the custom revenues to the regional government public treasury;
- 10- The addition of the representative of the Islamic Movement in Iraqi Kurdistan (IMK) to the Normalization Committee;
- 11- Reflection of these recommendations in the media of the parties;
- 12- The setting of a deadline for the implementation of these recommendations not to exceed one week from the day the Supreme Normalization Committee announces its decision.

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Allemagne-Kurdes

Neuf blessés lors d'une manifestation kurde à Bonn

BONN, 18 août (AFP) - Neuf personnes, dont huit policiers, ont été blessées jeudi à Bonn dans des affrontements lors d'une manifestation en faveur du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), a indiqué un porte-parole de la police.

Une centaine de manifestants se sont réunis en fin de matinée dans le centre-ville en scandant des slogans et portant des T-shirts avec des inscriptions en faveur du PKK, a expliqué le porte-parole.

La police leur a alors ordonné d'interrompre la manifestation, le PKK étant interdit en Allemagne, puis est intervenue lorsqu'ils ont refusé d'obtempérer.

Les manifestants ont opposé une "très forte résistance", a indiqué le porte-parole. Un groupe d'une trentaine d'autonomes sont également intervenus aux côtés des Kurdes.

La police a d'abord procédé à 28 interpellations puis à 40 autres lorsque les manifestants ont occupé la poste centrale.

La manifestation devait marquer le départ d'un tour cycliste de jeunes Kurdes qui veulent rejoindre Genève où la commission des droits de l'Homme de l'ONU doit se réunir le 27 août sur le thème du droit à l'autodétermination.

vl/bm

AFP /JO0245/181648

AOU 94

AMBASSADE TURQUE

Un manifestant kurde écope d'une amende de cent francs

La fusillade mortelle déclenchée depuis l'ambassade est restée impunie. Des associations kurdes protestent.

Un tribunal de district de Berne a condamné un Kurde à une amende de 100 francs pour avoir participé à la manifestation sanglante de juin 1993 devant l'ambassade de Turquie. Les procédures contre les auteurs présumés des coups de feu ont en revanche été abandonnées. Deux groupes kurdes ont vivement critiqué cette décision hier.

Le 24 juin 1993, un Kurde avait été tué par des coups de feu tirés depuis l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne. Huit manifestants et un policier avaient été blessés, dont certains grièvement.

La condamnation du manifestant à une amende de 100 francs survient une semaine après l'abandon des poursuites contre les six employés de l'ambassade, tenus pour responsables

de la fusillade, a indiqué hier Ralph Hofer, président du tribunal.

Le manifestant kurde a été reconnu coupable de troubles de la paix publique. La peine a été fixée à un minimum. La Cour a estimé que l'escalade de la violence n'avait pas été le fait des manifestants, mais du personnel de l'ambassade, a indiqué M. Hofer.

DÉCISION «INACCEPTABLE»

Les représentants de la Fédération des associations culturelles et des travailleurs kurdes et du comité Kurdistan se sont élevés hier contre le classement des enquêtes visant le personnel de l'ambassade. Cette décision, qu'ils jugent inacceptable, a clairement une dimension politique, ont-ils déclaré à Berne.

L'abandon des poursuites est d'autant plus injustifiable que des participants kurdes à la manifestation devant l'ambassade ont reçu des amendes, alors que les vrais auteurs des tirs sont restés libres et impunis, a déclaré l'un des responsables de la fédération. Pour des raisons de sécurité, il a souhaité conserver l'anonymat.

PRINCIPES VIOLÉS

Le Gouvernement suisse entend améliorer ses relations avec la Turquie. Les Kurdes risquent d'en pâtir, a critiqué un des membres des associations kurdes. La Suisse viole les principes élémentaires d'un Etat de droit et des droits de l'homme. Elle se rend complice du génocide kurde par le biais de l'Etat turc, a-t-il poursuivi.

Les intervenants ont exigé que la Suisse porte le cas du meurtre du Kurde devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme et qu'elle abandonne son assistance militaire à la Turquie. Ils ont aussi demandé la libération de tous les Kurdes emprisonnés en Suisse. ATS

24 Heures — 18 août 1994

Kurde mis à l'amende pour avoir manifesté

Les associations kurdes protestent vigoureusement.

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depuis l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne. Huit manifestants et un policier avaient été blessés, dont certains grièvement.

Ironie, la condamnation du manifestant à une amende de 100 francs survient une semaine après l'abandon des poursuites contre les six employés de l'ambassade, tenus pour responsables de la fusillade, a indiqué hier le président du tribunal. Le juge d'instruction responsable du dossier et le procureur l'ont classé le 4 août, faute d'avoir pu réunir les conditions pour la tenu d'un procès.

Les associations kurdes en Suisse ont qualifié, hier, la condamnation de leur membre inacceptable et l'abandon des poursuites injustifiable. — (ats)

Le Nouveau Quotidien — 18 août 1994

Voyage au Kurdistan turc

Tansu Çiller évoque une solution politique.

« Une solution politique ne doit pas être présentée comme une stratégie qui menace l'intégrité du pays », a déclaré hier le premier ministre turc, Tansu Ciller, au début d'un voyage de deux jours dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde.

Le gouvernement turc rejette catégoriquement toute idée d'un Etat kurde indépendant, en se fondant sur l'un des principes du fondateur de la République, Kemal Ataturk, selon lequel celle-ci est indivisible.

Tansu Ciller a cependant indiqué que « des pas pourraient être accomplis sur le plan culturel » en faveur des Kurdes. Et qu'une aide économique allait être débloquée étant donné les succès remportés dans la lutte contre la guérilla séparatiste du PKK.

AFP

New threat in Southeast: Land mines

By Kemal Balci
Turkish Daily News

ŞANLIURFA- The tour of Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to southeastern Turkey revealed that a new threat in the troubled region is land mines which the separatist terrorists have planted in roads across the region.

The problem is acute especially in the Mardin province where the people are asking for the roads to be asphalted to prevent the terrorists from laying mines.

Çiller, who was giving a rousing welcome in Mardin, was also greeted with placards which read "we are isolated, we can't travel. Open our historic roads."

The people of the townships of Dargeçit and Uludere as well as the locals in Mardin complained about travel safety and said land mines are the greatest threat.

Çiller's visit to the region was marked with an abundance of "promises" but security concerns posed a nightmare for the local authorities wherever she went.

In Hakkari on Wednesday Çiller's entourage had to be diverted to another route to get to the provincial center when fighting erupted between government troops and separatist terrorists of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Air Force fighters continue to bomb mountains in the area and those accompanying Çiller could see the Alo mountains in flames.

In Batman, meanwhile, the fight between the PKK and the pro-Islamic Hezbollah is still going on, according to local officials. Emergency Rule Governor Ünal Erkan told the Turkish Daily News that the mystery killings in the area have gone down to one a month compared to dozens last year. PKK and Hezbollah militants are reportedly involved in the murders.

Meanwhile a military official said there is gossip in the city that the PKK terrorists who were previously holed up in the mountains have now come down to Batman and have settled in the city. He said this is disturbing the locals.

Political angle

Prime Minister Çiller and Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın seemed to be engaged in a race of promises which sparked speculations that they were making "early election investments."

Karayalçın tried to dispel any idea of early elections and keeps on saying "we really don't care if early elections are held or not, I am here to serve the people." Çiller on her part said her government had overcome terrorism in southeastern Turkey and was now trying to start an economic drive in the region.

Çiller said the southeastern region was a special case and thus the austerity measures will not be applied there. However, Çiller went out of her way when she started dishing out money and had to be subdued.

At first she promised TL 27 trillion in investment for the provincial capital of Diyarbakir but then her aides told reporters the money would be spent in the region in two to three years.

In Mardin where Çiller and Karayalçın got a rousing welcome Çiller promised TL 5 trillion but then she said that this year only TL 568 billion would be sent to the city.

When Çiller announced that the Habur border gate with Iraq would be opened in two weeks the crowd gave her a standing ovation.

Çiller and Karayalçın received a rather subdued welcome in the region on Wednesday but had a better day on Thursday in most places they visited. On Wednesday Karayalçın was booed in Siirt. Security was extremely tight in the area. Local officials were unhappy with the presence of so many VIP guests including Chief of Staff General Doğan Güreş, ten ministers and an array of state officials.

On Wednesday night newly appointed State Minister Ayvaz Gökdemir suffered from a severe nose bleed in the city center in Diyarbakir and there were suggestions that he should be rushed to the University Hospital outside the city. However, security officials said they could not allow anyone outside the city at night because they could not secure the roads...

turkish daily news

Government troops kill eight PKK militants and arrest 48

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- In the continuing security force operations, eight militants of the outlawed organization Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), one of whom was a woman, were killed in Hakkari's Karadağ region on Thursday morning.

The number of terrorists killed by government troops in the Karabağ region has reached 53 over the past

two days and two armed terrorists have turned themselves over to the security forces in Bitlis and Siirt. The operations in the Karabağ region began on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, 48 separatist organization members were arrested in Bitlis, Hakkari, Şırnak, Siirt and Tunceli. The captives had been collaborating with the PKK in several illegal activities.

During searches carried out on houses in Muş, Şırnak, Siirt and Van, one howitzer carriage and 29 howitzers, 32 long-barrel guns, 63 mines, 33 hand grenades, 75 rockets, several rounds of ammunition, two tons of food, and large amounts of medical equipment were confiscated. Thirty suspects were also taken into custody with regard to these weapons.

FROM THE COLUMNS

PKK's tenth anniversary balance sheet

From an Aug. 18 article by SABAH's Mehmet Ali Birand: Ten years have passed since the PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party) became a daily item in our lives and upset the established order in the country. The nature of the "balance sheet" of these years depends on the perspective from which you view the developments.

This year especially the PKK has received a severe military setback. It has been rooted out from places where it had free rein a year ago. From the standpoint of security, the Turkish forces have largely gained control of the region and for the first time this summer there were no reports of major massacres staged by the PKK. There has been a relative improvement in the law and order situation. Journalists report from the region that people are now able to go out at night. This comes as a relief to everyone.

Although at one stage the PKK almost gained some of the over-ambitious targets they had set for themselves (without fully believing in them), it has become apparent by now that, as their leader Abdullah "Apo" Öcalan has admitted on various occasions, they will not be able to beat the Turkish army. As we have stressed repeatedly in this column, there was no way the PKK could gain a military victory against the Turkish armed forces. In reality the organization's aim was "attrition." The latest developments have shown that they have not attained that goal. Rather than becoming exasperated, the general public has become more and more determined on this issue.

During these ten years the PKK was unable to obtain its military targets but it could not be totally eliminated either and has gained the support of an unknown number of Kurdish citizens.

One cannot expect the total elimination of organizations such as the PKK. The important thing is whether the people's voluntary support for such an organization continues or not. This should be Turkey's most important target for now. Keeping terrorism under control to a certain extent, the Turkish Republic is now, for the first time, engaged in trying to satisfy the aspirations of the local people.

During these ten years the PKK has brought about a change in public opinion and the attitude of the Ankara government. Turkey has advanced from the original supposition, "There is no such thing as a Kurd. Those who live here are all Turks," and is now actively trying to find a solution.

It is not clear yet what kind of solution this will be. One thing is certain, though. For the first time this issue is being discussed at the highest levels.

A considerable number of people now think that the PKK can not be wiped out by military measures alone and that it will continue to exist in some form or other so long as the basic problem continues, and that peace can be achieved in the region only when the local people have adequate job opportunities and a climate of respect exists for the fundamental human rights. Over the years in this column we have reiterated that military measures should be accompanied by economic, social and cultural measures. This is now a more widely-held view as can be seen from the report prepared by former Deputy Governor of Diyarbakır Yılmaz Aydoğanlı. He says that the Kurdish factor has become entrenched in various areas by now, and suggests that, at a time when the PKK is faced with a deadlock, economic and social reforms should be launched without losing time. It is also a significant change that a "Kurdish report" now before the National Security Board makes references to "Kurds." This is the first time that word appears in such a report according to newspapers.

During a BBC program Apo referred to the possibility of a cease-fire. A new era may be approaching. The PKK now sees that it can not keep up the armed struggle forever. The West in general and the United States in particular has launched a campaign for a political solution. Either we will expand the economic package for the region and bolster it with other measures to win over the inhabitants of the region. Or the armed struggle will go on and on.

The final balance sheet of these ten years: too many losers, too few winners.

Police, Kurdish youth clash in Bonn

Compiled by TDn Staff from Dispatches

BONN- Police used tear gas and clubs to subdue Kurdish youth Thursday after they put on T-shirts embossed with an illegal symbol of the banned Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) on Bonn's central square.

There were at least 28 arrests and six policemen and a few Kurds were injured, police said. About 150 Kurds, some as young as 13 years old, tussled with about 80 police officers under the large Beethoven statue on Bonn's Muensterplatz.

The Kurdish youths had gathered from around Germany and the Netherlands to begin an 800-kilometer (480-mile), 10-day bike ride to Geneva to draw attention to alleged atrocities in southeastern Turkey. About 400,000 Turkish Kurds live in Germany. "Europe is asleep and has closed its eyes to the situation in our homeland," claimed organizer Çetin Kucak. "We're taking a long ride to show the long struggle of the Kurdish people." After a rally, the Kurds pulled on red T-shirts bearing the yellow-and-green star of the National Kurdish Liberation Front (ERNK), the political wing of the PKK which was banned in Germany last November after members attacked Turkish consulates and businesses. Police announced on megaphone that exposure of the banned symbol left them no choice but to confiscate the T-shirts and briefly detain those wearing them. The Kurds resisted and a standoff ensued, during which elderly Germans gathered around, many of them grumbling that rowdy foreigners should be thrown out of the country. Police moved in and some of the Kurds resisted arrest or threw bottles or eggs. Police used mace and clubs to subdue them.

Earlier dozens of Kurds went on hunger strike in German prisons to protest against what they see as Bonn's support for Ankara's fight against separatist Kurds, officials reported. The justice ministry of Hesse state said 22 Kurds, most of whom were detained during violent demonstrations five months ago, had begun to refuse food.

In the states of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Bavaria and North-Rhine Westphalia, at least another 11 Kurdish prison inmates had gone on hunger strike, officials said.

Kurds protesting against German arms sales to Turkey set themselves on fire, clashed with police and blocked motorways in several days of protest coinciding with the Kurdish New Year in March. Kurdish organizations based in Germany said more than 100 detainees had stopped eating and that at least 1,000 sympathizers outside the jails had followed suit. Some of the Kurds, charged with taking part in the March violence, face deportation to Turkey. But the expulsions have been held up because of concerns about human rights in their homeland and legal squabbles in Germany. (Reuters, Associated Press)

Friday, August 19, 1994

turkish daily news

Friday, August 19, 1994

turkish daily news

Turkey looks past pipeline to Iraqi trade deals

By Jonathan Lyons
Reuters Staff Writer

ANKARA- From the boardrooms of Istanbul to the long-haul lorries on southern highways, Turkey's businessmen are looking beyond an expected one-off sale of Iraqi oil to the restoration of trade between the two big neighbors.

So far Baghdad and the United Nations remain at odds over a proposal to sell 27 million barrels of crude flushed through the corroding 985-km (612-mile) pipeline from Iraq to Turkey's Mediterranean terminals.

But with the two sides seen inching toward an eventual agreement — and beyond that, the far greater promise of an end to U.N. sanctions and a restoration of trade — Turkey is eager to reap the benefits and ease its own economic crisis. "The embargo must absolutely be removed. All Turkey and all Iraq need abolition of the embargo," Şark Tara, head of a leading Turkish holding company, said on Thursday. Tara, who said his company was seeking to revive its construction interests in Iraq, is one of about 60 Turkish businessmen and officials set to spend three days later this month in Baghdad drumming up future business.

At stake in the current U.N. proposal are 27 million barrels of oil — 12 million trapped in the twin pipelines that reach from Kirkuk to Turkey's southern ports — and the rest to flush the pipeline and prevent further deterioration.

Under the plan, the proceeds from the oil sale will be used to buy humanitarian supplies, largely food. Virtually all that money is expected to be spent in Turkey.

Western analysts say the final take from any oil sale is likely to be modest, once various set-asides and other fixed costs are deducted. However, any sudden injection of cash could help jump-start the weak Turkish economy.

"We have many members who were doing business with Iraq before the Gulf War," said Mesut Ölcal, secretary general of the Chamber of Commerce in the southeastern city of Gaziantep. "They still have unpaid accounts receivable from Iraq. They might get paid when Iraqi oil is liquidated, and this would boost economic life in our region," Ölcal said in a telephone interview. In all, Iraq owes Turkey \$700 million, but payments are on hold and Baghdad is hoarding hard currency for vital imports. The Turkish government says its already battered economy has lost at least \$20 billion from U.N. trade sanctions against its southern neighbour. Western analysts dispute the figure but not the fact that severe damage has been done. The annual loss of transit fees from the pipeline alone totals \$250 million.

Official trade figures show pre-embargo exports to Iraq were worth \$445 million in 1989, when it was Turkey's third biggest trading partner after economic superpowers Germany and the United States. Imports, mostly oil, totalled \$1.65 billion. By 1992, with U.N.-mandated sanctions in full swing, trade with Iraq had virtually stopped.

Before the war an estimated 2,500 lorries in each direction crossed the Iraqi-Turkish border each day. The ripple effects of this trade, and the unofficial barter that accompanied it, helped underpin economic life in impoverished southeast Turkey.

Cumhur Atılğan, secretary-general of the International Transport Association, told Sabah newspaper that sanctions have cost the trucking industry \$350 million a year.

The newspaper said a return to trade would put thousands of drivers, repairmen, waiters and hotel employees back to work. Food processing plants and light industry, now shut, would also come back on line, easing the region's chronic unemployment.

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Eco.-energie-agri.

Turquie-Irak: Ankara s'apprête à rouvrir le poste frontalier turco-irakien

ANKARA, 20 août (AFP) - Le gouvernement turc a annoncé son intention de rouvrir le poste frontalier turco-irakien de Habur pour une reprise des activités commerciales à petite échelle dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, frappé gravement par l'embargo imposé par l'ONU à l'Irak en août 1990.

Le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, a déclaré l'intention de son gouvernement lors d'une tournée mercredi et jeudi dans le sud-est anatolien, sans fournir de détails.

Cette "relance des activités à Habur" d'ici deux semaines selon Mme Ciller, devrait permettre une reprise du commerce portant sur les produits alimentaires non frappés de l'embargo entre le nord de l'Irak, sous contrôle des Kurdes irakiens, et le sud-est anatolien, théâtre de la rébellion du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

Habur, seul point de passage entre la Turquie et l'Irak, avait été fermé par les autorités turques en septembre 1991 après l'interdiction de l'importation du gazole irakien par des camionneurs turcs pour le revendre en Turquie, jusqu'alors tolérée.

Les cammionneurs transportaient des vivres à l'Irak et importaient du gazole irakien, à l'époque 30 fois moins cher que celui vendu en Turquie, dans des réservoirs de carburant supplémentaires qu'ils avaient fait monter sur leur véhicule.

Les douaniers turcs fermaient les yeux depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe (février 1991) sur cette revente qui permettait aux cammionneurs de compenser leurs pertes dues à l'embargo.

Ce trafic a été interdit notamment pour de raisons de sécurité et rumeurs sur le prélèvement de tribut par le PKK sur l'importation du gazole, ce qui a entraîné l'arrêt total des transports vers l'Irak sur l'ancienne "Route de la soie". Une route qui était empruntée, avant la crise du Golfe, par plusieurs milliers de camions par jour, ce qui créait une vie économique très active dans la région.

Avant l'embargo, le volume d'échanges commerciaux turco-irakiens s'élevait à près 2 milliards de dollars et les autorités turques, dont Mme Ciller, estiment à 20 milliards de dollars les pertes de la Turquie en raison de l'embargo.

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AOU 94

TURQUIE

Des milliers de Kurdes déportés

Une association dénonce la guerre menée par Ankara.

Malgré les déclarations du premier ministre turc, M^{me} Tançu Ciller, qui indiquait en début de semaine que «des pas pourraient être accomplis sur le plan culturel»¹ en faveur des Kurdes, la répression qui s'abat sur la population kurde de l'est de la Turquie ne semble pas s'atténuer, bien au contraire. C'est ce qu'est venu dire hier à Genève un représentant du comité du Kurdistan (proche du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), M. Abdo Ziman, appuyé par le Centre Europe-tiers-monde (CETIM) et par des membres du parti politique Solidarités. Selon un rapport de la Ligue des droits de l'homme de Turquie, portant sur le premier semestre de cette année, 1136 villages kurdes auraient été détruits, 144 personnes auraient été exécutées par la torture alors qu'elles étaient en garde à vue, 122 personnes seraient portées disparues, sans compter les associations fermées, les publications kurdes interdites, etc.

«Les Kurdes subissent une politi-

que forcée de déplacement, explique M. Ziman. Ils se retrouvent dans une situation de réfugiés sur leur propre territoire, des milliers de personnes sont sans foyer et les enfants souffrent de la faim, de la soif et de maladies.» Une situation de guerre que M. Jean-Michel Dolivo - de Solidarités-Vaud - compare à certains moments de la guerre du Vietnam, quand les forces américaines pratiquaient une stratégie de terre brûlée.

UN SILENCE COMPLICE

L'opinion internationale et les Gouvernements ne se penchent pourtant pas vraiment sur le destin de ce peuple. Certains Etats font même un pas en faveur d'Ankara, comme l'Allemagne ou la France qui ont interdit au PKK toute activité sur leur territoire. De son côté, le Gouvernement helvétique a renoncé à sa procédure contre les membres du corps diplomatique turc, auteurs présumés des coups de feu tirés depuis l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne, cible d'une manifestation kurde en juin 1993. Une faveur que Berne n'a pas voulu reporter sur un des manifestants kurdes, qui a été condamné mercredi à une amende de 100 francs.

Selon le représentant du comité du Kurdistan, il n'y a pas de prise de conscience internationale de l'ampleur des violations des droits de l'homme perpétrés par l'armée turque au Kurdistan, «qui sont considérées comme normales en Turquie.» Le CETIM tente pourtant de réveiller les instances internationales. Lors de la dernière session de la commission des droits de

l'homme, en février 1994, cette ONG soulignait que «les méthodes de déportation sont extrêmement violentes et que l'intensification de ces opérations a pu s'effectuer en échappant à toute contrainte internationale: depuis le mois d'août 1990, la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme a été suspendue pour les 13 provinces habitées par les Kurdes, tandis que la communauté internationale observait un silence compliqué.»

TOURISTES TOUJOURS VISÉS

Afin d'attirer l'attention de l'opinion internationale, le PKK avait adopté des méthodes plus que contestables. Il annonçait en effet en février 1993 qu'il allait «utiliser tous ses moyens afin de viser les cibles économiques de la Turquie. Notamment le tourisme, qui est une source de financement importante de la guerre spéciale menée contre notre peuple.» Ces menaces furent mises par la suite à exécution, causant la mort de nombreux touristes innocents. Interrogé sur la poursuite de ces pratiques, M. Abdo Ziman s'est contenté de souligner que les financements issus du tourisme sont directement réinjectés dans l'armée. Bien qu'il affirme qu'en aucun cas les actions ne visent directement les touristes, il a pourtant laissé entendre que les sites touristiques resteront des cibles pour la branche armée du PKK.

DENIS INKEI

¹ Cité par l'agence de presse AFP le 17 août.

A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. —

FRA0317 4 GI 0087 FRA /AFP-KE78

Manif-Kurdes

Une cinquantaine de Kurdes manifestent à Paris

PARIS, 21 août (AFP) - Une cinquantaine de Kurdes dont vingt femmes se sont rassemblés dimanche vers 19H00 devant le Centre Georges-Pompidou à Paris, a-t-on appris de source policière.

Les manifestants ont déployé une banderole demandant au gouvernement turc de "cesser le massacre du peuple kurde".

Les manifestants demandent en outre au gouvernement français d'intervenir auprès du gouvernement turc pour faire cesser la guerre au Kurdistan.

jr/chb

AFP /JO0245/212146

AOU 94

TURQUIE

LA LIBERTÉ — 19 août 1994

Les Kurdes intensifieront les attentats contre les touristes

C'est en Suisse que l'annonce en a été faite. La guerre du PKK s'intensifie. Les actions contre les étrangers aussi.

Le représentant du comité du Kurdistan en Suisse, Abdo Ziman, a déclaré hier à Genève que les attentats contre les touristes en Turquie vont se poursuivre. Il les a justifiés par l'intensification de la guerre au Kurdistan ces derniers mois. Le nombre de touristes suisses en Turquie est déjà en forte baisse depuis plusieurs mois.

«L'industrie touristique est l'une des principales sources de devises pour la Turquie. Les touristes étrangers financent directement la guerre au Kurdistan. Nous regrettons que des touristes soient tués, mais nous les avons avertis en leur demandant de ne pas se rendre en Turquie», a déclaré le représentant des Kurdes, lors d'une conférence de presse.

«La guerre ne se limite pas au sud-est du pays, a-t-il ajouté. Il n'est pas possible que les gens s'amuse, fassent la fête dans une partie du pays, alors que dans l'autre se produisent des massacres.»

VILLAGES DÉTRUITS

Le représentant des Kurdes en Suisse a expliqué que la guerre s'est intensifiée ces derniers mois. Le Gouvernement turc applique une politique systématique de la terre brûlée pour lutter contre la guérilla kurde. Plus de

mille villages ont été détruits au Kurdistan depuis le début de l'année. La population est regroupée dans des camps d'internement ou déportée vers l'ouest ou encore obligée de se réfugier au Kurdistan irakien.

Selon un rapport de la Ligue des droits de l'homme de Turquie, pour la période allant de janvier à fin juin 1994, 1136 villages ont été détruits, 144 personnes exécutées en garde à vue, 122 autres portées disparues. 193 assassinats non revendiqués ont été commis, 311 civils tués lors des opérations de l'armée turque. 105 intellectuels ont été emprisonnés et 228 publications interdites.

Abdo Ziman a déclaré que «sans le soutien économique et militaire international, la Turquie ne pourrait pas poursuivre la guerre au Kurdistan». Il a justifié les manifestations kurdes en Allemagne en raison du soutien de ce pays à la Turquie.

MOINS DE SUISSES

Pour les sept premiers mois de 1994 (janvier à juillet), le tourisme en Turquie a baissé de 1,42 % par rapport à l'an dernier, selon les chiffres fournis hier à l'ATS par le consulat général de Turquie à Zurich.

La baisse du nombre de touristes



Les visions de guérilla sont le quotidien à l'est de la Turquie.

Keystone

suisses est beaucoup plus forte: moins 56% en sept mois. La Suisse détient le record de baisse. Pour les sept premiers mois de l'année, 21 079 Suisses ont visité la Turquie, alors que pour la même période de 1993, ils étaient 47 886. Au total en 1993, 82 000 Suisses s'étaient rendus en Turquie.

Le nombre de touristes en provenance d'Allemagne a baissé de 27 % pour la même période. La baisse est de 36 % pour les Autrichiens. Par contre, la Turquie a enregistré une augmentation record de 245 % concernant les touristes en provenance d'Israël et une hausse de 34 % pour les Russes, ce qui a partiellement compensé les baisses enregistrées dans les pays européens.

ATS

LE MONDE — 19 août 1994

TURQUIE

M^{re} Ciller évoque une « solution politique » du problème kurde

A l'occasion d'un voyage de deux jours dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, Tansu Ciller, le premier ministre turc, a déclaré, mercredi 17 août, qu'« une solution politique [au problème kurde] ne doit pas être présentée comme une stratégie qui menace l'intégrité du pays ». Ce voyage avait lieu dix jours après le dixième anniversaire du déclenchement de la rébellion armée du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste). Les dirigeants turcs rejettent catégoriquement toute idée d'un Etat kurde indépendant, en se fondant sur le principe d'indivisibilité de la République, formulé par son fondateur, Mustapha Kemal Atatürk. Les alliés occidentaux de la Turquie encouragent Ankara à trouver une solution politique au problème kurde, tout en approuvant sa lutte contre les activités du PKK. — (AFP.)

LE MONDE — 20 août 1994

Quinze morts dans des combats entre Kurdes. — A proximité de la frontière iranienne, dans le Kurdistan irakien, quinze personnes ont été tuées depuis mardi dans des combats entre formations kurdes rivales, a rapporté, jeudi 18 août, l'opposition irakienne. Ces affrontements opposent l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK de Jalal Talabani) au Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK de Massoud Barzani) et à la Ligue islamique du Kurdistan (LIK, pro-iranienne). — (AFP.)

Neue Versprechen für die Kurden in Türkei

Pünktlich zum 10. Jahrestag des bewaffneten Kampfes der Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK) gegen die «Besetzung» Südostanatoliens versprach die türkische Regierungschefin Tansu Ciller der kurdischen Bevölkerung einmal mehr wirtschaftliche Besserstellung.

Istanbul. Auf dem Weg zur Unesco-Preisverleihung an die nahöstlichen Friedensinitianten Arafat und Rabin hatte die türkische Premierministerin Tansu Ciller vor Monatsfrist versichert, sie wolle auch in ihrem Land für ein gutes Einvernehmen zwischen den Völkern sorgen. Als ersten Schritt versprach sie den 15 Millionen Kurden kulturelle Zugeständnisse, namentlich kurdischsprachige Schulen und einen eigenen Fernsehkanal.

Diese Woche nun erklärte sie, dass die «Zeit für politische oder gar kulturelle Reformen nicht reif» sei. Statt dessen propagierte sie auf ihrer dreitägigen Reise durch die kurdischen Provinzen eine Verbesserung der wirtschaftlichen Situation im anatolischen Südosten. Konkret nannte sie den Aufbau kollektiver Agrarsiedlungen ähnlich dem israelischen Kibbuz-System. Mit einem Hinweis auf die zehn Generäle in ihrer Begleitung verlangte Tansu Ciller jedoch vorgängig die völlige Eliminierung des «PKK-Terrors» in der Region.

Das Echo auf ihre Besäftigungsversuche war gering. Das Versprechen des türkischen Staates, den anatolischen Südosten zu befrieden, ist so alt wie der «Befreiungskrieg» der Separatistenorganisation Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans – nämlich genau zehnjährig. Jeweils im Frühjahr und im Herbst verspricht Ankaras Generalstab, die «Handvoll Terroristen» zu vernichten. Ohne jeden Erfolg. Seit ihren ersten bewaffneten Attentaten auf türkische Armeeposten Mitte August 1984 ist die PKK von 200 marxistischen Aktivisten zu einer Abwehrfront von schätzungsweise 30000 Milizen und mehreren hunderttausend Sympathisanten gewachsen. «Wir wollen kein Blutbad zwischen Türken und Kurden provozieren», betont Kani Yilmaz, die rechte Hand des angeblich «unumstrittenen» PKK-Chefs Abdullah Öcalan. Dessen Gefolgschaft habe sich im Gegenteil zu einer eigentlichen «sozialistischen Volksbewegung» entwickelt mit dem Ziel, innerhalb der «türkischen Föderation» ein selbständiges Kurdistan zu schaffen. «Das kurdische Volk lechzt nach kultureller Identität wie nach Wasser und Brot.»

Gleichzeitig jedoch gesteht Yilmaz in einem Interview mit der türkischen Tageszeitung «Daily News» ein, dass der bewaffnete «Abwehrkampf intensiviert werden muss», solange Ankara einer politischen Lösung des Kurdenproblems gegenüber «taub bleibt». Dabei bestreitet Yilmaz Anschuldigungen, statt Militärs würden oft unschuldige Frauen und Kinder Ziel ihrer Angriffe. Erst vergangene Woche sind bei einem Guerilla-Überfall auf einen Bus in der Provinz Van zwölf Menschen erschossen worden. Laut PKK-Angaben handelte es sich um Angehörige paramilitärischer «Dorfwächter», die der Armee als Antiterror-Einheiten dienen.

Offiziell forderte der Krieg zwischen der Kurden-Guerilla und dem türkischen Staat seit 1984 über 12000 Menschenleben. Während die türkische Armee inzwischen eine halbe Million Soldaten gegen die Separatisten im Einsatz hat, verbessert die PKK ihre Kampfbereitschaft ähnlich den Hizb'-Allah- oder Hamas-Milizen in Trainingslagern im libanesischen Bekaa-Tal.

Martin Peter

Freitag, 19. August 1994

Nr. 192

Basler Zeitung

Turkey plans to reopen Iraqi crossing at Habur

Wire Dispatches

ISTANBUL- Turkey is set to open the Habur border crossing into northern Iraq in the very near future, Turkish officials said over the weekend.

The decision will permit small-scale local trade, mainly Turkish food exports to Iraq which are permitted under U.N. trade sanctions.

But on past experience the food will probably be exchanged for petrol, which the Gulf War sanctions forbid Iraq to export. Government spokesman Yildirim Aktuna told Reuters Turkey's adherence to the U.N. embargo would not be undermined. "We will continue to obey the embargo, as we have always done, but for the economy of the southeast we should allow traffic through the crossing point," he said.

Aktuna said the revival of low-level trade across the border did not mean Turkish business, which was once heavily invested in Iraqi commerce, would be allowed to resume its activities. Prime Minister Çiller, who was on a tour of the impoverished southeast last week, was quoted as saying the Habur crossing would be reopened within two weeks.

The crossing was formally closed in 1990 when the United Nations slapped an embargo on Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait. But Ankara turned a blind eye to flourishing unofficial trade. Turkish

lorries carried fruits and vegetables to northern Iraq and on to Baghdad, and brought back cheap petrol. Kurds in northern Iraq, under the protection of U.S.-led forces, also benefited from the border trade by taxing the lorries.

The U.N. allows Iraq to import food and medical supplies, but with its oil exports blocked Baghdad lacks hard currency to pay for them.

Turkey halted the traffic at the end of 1992, saying Kurdish guerrillas fighting for control of southeast Turkey were extorting money from drivers and using the vehicles to transport weapons.

Aktuna said the government decided to reopen the crossing because the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party had suffered big losses over the past year at the hands of Turkish security forces.

"There is great unemployment in the region and the PKK draws some support because of this," Aktuna said. "For this reason we think it will be better to open Habur again," he said. The Turkish government says its already battered economy has lost at least \$20 billion from U.N. trade sanctions against its eastern neighbour. Western analysts dispute this, but they acknowledge Turkey has paid a heavy price for sanctions. The closing of the 985-km (615-mile) oil pipeline from Iraq to Turkey's Mediterranean ports has cost Turkey \$250 million a year in lost transit fees.

Sunday, August 21, 1994

turkish daily news

Iraqi Kurdish officials hold emergency contacts with Ankara on "confidence crisis"

By Ilnur Çevik
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Iraqi Kurdish officials have told the Turkish authorities that the Kurdish administration in Northern Iraq, based on power sharing between rival groups, has collapsed and the only alternative to avert a power vacuum is to hold new elections in 1995 to select who will run the region. They warned that such a power vacuum will create the environment in northern Iraq for Turkey's separatist Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK) to flourish.

Ranking Iraqi Kurdish officials held a series of emergency contacts with Turkish government and military officials last week in an attempt to iron out some of the "misunderstandings" and convince Ankara that there is no reason for the Turkish government to lose confidence in the Iraqi Kurds.

Last week the Turkish Daily News reported the Turkish government had lost confidence in the Iraqi Kurds who held a series of meetings in Paris and decided to hold elections in northern Iraq in 1995 as part of a new peace deal between the feuding Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdish Democracy Party (KDP).

The Iraqi Kurds explained at length that the 50-50 power sharing scheme in northern Iraq between the KDP of Mesoud Barzani and PUK of Jalal Talabani had failed badly leading to a series of bloody clashes in the region. "The scheme resulted in duality in administrations, duality in the military set up, duality in all forms and thus created bottle necks. Now it has become apparent that this system will not work so we have to find an alternative on how the area will be governed with a single voice and no confusion," a ranking Iraqi Kurdish official told the Turkish Daily News.

The official, who asked not to be named, said power sharing and duality had prevented the Iraqi Kurds from becoming one voice on many issues. "Even if one side wanted to discuss a peace settlement with Saddam Hussein the other side would sabotage it," he said.

"Consensus has been lost in northern Iraq. Old rivalries have surfaced and a new arrangement is clearly needed," he said. The official pointed out one alternative is for the PUK and the KDP to battle it out and try to win military superiority against each other and then whoever wins can try to run the region. He said this would not only be too bloody and costly but would still create a dangerous power vacuum which would allow both Saddam Hussein and the PKK to exploit the situation. Iraqi Kurds say they want to live up to their commitments to Turkey to provide border security and curb activities of the PKK militants. However, they stress that when the PUK and the KDP are fighting their own war it would become impossible to fulfill their commitments and the PKK militants could well exploit the situation not only by stepping up their clandestine activities against Turkey and expanding their terrorist bases but also find a political base among the dissatisfied people of northern Iraq and flourish at the expense of the PUK and the KDP. Iraqi Kurds also say Iran may

try to exploit the instability in northern Iraq and intervene in the area as well. "So the simple question is: Does Turkey want so much instability at its back yard?"

He said the only way out was to "go back to the people of northern Iraq and ask for a mandate to run the country." He said whoever received the mandate would then have the free hand to govern the area. The official stressed a coalition could be formed between the KDP and the PUK after the polls but at least the new administration would not be based on "equal power sharing" and would have proportional representation and a single voice.

Iraqi Kurds say they need the elections badly but are aware that many regional countries including Iran and Syria may oppose the polls. They say that is why the emergency contacts with the Turkish government coincided just before the tripartite talks between Turkey, Iran and Syria in Damascus. The Iraqi Kurds had the opportunity to meet the members of a technical delegation travelling to Damascus to attend the preparatory meetings of the foreign ministers which was held on Sunday.

The Iraqi Kurds feel without Turkey's blessing these elections cannot be held. "Turkey may well oppose the elections but we sincerely wish that the Ankara government at least does not block them," the official said.

They say the first elections were held in great haste to fill the power vacuum and thus several mistakes were made.

Now they stress the elections have to be held in a more orderly and organized manner which means intensive outside help is needed. "Without Turkey's assistance this cannot be done," he stressed. Meanwhile, the Turkish Daily News learnt that the United States, Britain and France support the elections and may not be too pleased if Ankara opposes them.

The Paris meeting

The Iraqi Kurds explained that the Paris meeting in July between the PUK and the KDP and the communique which was issued later which angered Ankara was designed to bring the rival factions together in a venue away from the conflict area and try to iron out their differences.

The Iraqi Kurds say they agree that it was a mistake that Turkey's efforts to bring KDP and PUK together should have been mentioned in the communique but stressed this was opposed on grounds that many countries had contributed to a rapprochement between the rival sides and a mention only of Turkey would have created complications.

They stressed the Paris meeting was organized by Madame Danielle Mitterrand, the French first lady, who had opposed the participation of a Turkish representative as an observer. The French Foreign Ministry was represented at the meetings along with the American and British embassies as nonparticipant observers.

The Iraqi Kurds explain that a story in the London based daily Al Hayat in July had irked the British and the Americans that France was planning to use the Paris meeting as a platform to convince the Kurds to forge a deal with the Saddam Hussein administration in Iraq. At the time of the Paris meeting an Iraqi delegation was also visiting the French capital and a correla-

Iraqi Kurds: Either elections or power vacuum with stronger PKK in North Iraq

turkish daily news

Monday, August 22, 1994

tion was being made between the meeting and the Iraqi visit. So, apparently they were left with no alternative but to invite the British and the U.S. representatives to show there was no ulterior motive.

Ankara has complained that the objectives of the Paris gathering and the communique issued after the meeting went far beyond a reconciliation effort between the PUK and the KDP and had long term implications.

Turkey said the communique set long term guidelines for establishing all the institutions of a separate state in northern Iraq while not mentioning any commitment to respect to Iraq's territorial integrity.

Iraqi Kurds said they feel the aim of creating "one

voice in northern Iraq" was the main aim of the communique and that establishing a separate was not realistic in view of the clear cut objections of Turkey, Iran and Syria.

Iraqi Kurds said they wanted to sort out their differences internally but when the Paris meeting was offered they could not reject it because neither the PUK nor the KDP wanted to be branded the side which walked away from talks and were obstructing the peace process.

Kurdish sources say they expect Talabani and Barzani to travel to Paris at the end of the month or in early September to sign the deal at a meeting chaired by President Francois Mitterrand.

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FRA0088 4 GI 0207 FRA /AFP-LJ53

Divers-manifestation

Violents heurts entre manifestants kurdes et policiers à Paris

PARIS, 22 août (AFP) - 190 Kurdes ont été interpellés et six policiers légèrement blessés au cours de violents heurts survenus entre les forces de l'ordre et plus d'une centaine de manifestants Kurdes, devant le centre Georges Pompidou à Paris, dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi, apprend-on de source policière.

Dimanche, vers 19H00, une cinquantaine de Kurdes dont vingt femmes s'étaient rassemblés devant le Centre Georges-Pompidou, derrière une banderole demandant au gouvernement Turc de "cesser le massacre du peuple kurde".

Les manifestants demandaient en outre au gouvernement français d'intervenir auprès du gouvernement turc pour faire cesser la guerre au Kurdistan.

Dans le courant de la nuit, aux environs de 23H00, les manifestants ont été rejoints par une centaine d'autres Kurdes qui, apportant des matelas, voulaient s'installer sur le plateau Beaubourg.

La police est intervenue et des heurts très violents se sont produits vers 04H00. Des cocktails molotov ont été lancés sur les forces de l'ordre, faisant six blessés légers parmi les policiers. Deux voitures ont été retournées et incendiées et une vitrine brisée.

GR/cs/mfo

AFP /JO0245/220821

AOU 94

LIBÉRATION — 23 août 1994

GREVE DE LA FAIM

Bagarre nocturne entre police et Kurdes à Paris

Les CRS ont délogé 200 personnes installées devant Beaubourg pour dénoncer la situation en Turquie.

L'oubli ou la matraque: les manifestants kurdes ont choisi. Une cinquantaine d'entre eux, dont 20 femmes et enfants, menaient depuis le 18 août une grève de la faim passée totalement inaperçue. «Ils s'étaient installés dans nos locaux», explique Alil Bozan, porte-parole de la Fédération des associations kurdes en France, mais devant le peu d'écho rencontré, ils ont décidé d'aller s'installer à Beaubourg. » Chose dite,

chose faite vers 19 heures. Les grévistes de la faim déploient des banderoles pour protester contre la situation des Kurdes en Turquie et demander la libération des 7 Kurdes détenus dans les prisons françaises. Ils sont rejoints par 150 sympathisants kurdes. Vers minuit, les premiers matelas font leur apparition.

La nuit sera courte, car vers 3 h 30, CRS et policiers interviennent. «Les fonctionnaires ont fait les sommations

d'usage, assure la préfecture de police de Paris, mais les manifestants les ont bombardés à coups de pierres et de bouteilles pleines d'essence. Ils ont ensuite mis le feu aux matelas.» Plusieurs manifestants et 6 policiers ont été blessés.

Les Kurdes affirment avoir été attaqués par la police, avant d'être interpellés sans ménagement. «Nous avons été frappés à coups de pieds, traînés par terre, insultés», témoigne Suleyman, 39 ans, l'arcade sourcilière ouverte. Sur les 198 personnes conduites au commissariat pour vérification d'identité, 13 font l'objet d'une procédure pour violence à agent, et une dizaine d'autres, en situation irrégulière, étaient toujours en garde à vue hier soir.

G.Bn.

FRA0218 4 I 0205 TUR /AFP-SM33

Turquie-Kurdes-Irak

Opération de l'aviation turque contre le PKK en Irak du nord

ANKARA, 23 août (AFP) - L'aviation turque a bombardé mardi matin un centre logistique du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) en Irak du nord, a annoncé l'agence Anatolie.

32 chasseurs-bombardiers ont fait chacun une sortie pour bombarder le centre, situé dans la vallée de Badawan-Khidran dans le nord-est irakien et dont toutes les installations ont été détruites, a précisé l'agence.

Anatolie cite le porte-parole de l'Etat-major des armées, le colonel Dogu Silahçioğlu, qui n'a pas pu donner le bilan de l'opération.

L'armée turque a intensifié ses opérations aériennes depuis début août en Irak du nord, sous contrôle kurde irakien, pour couper tout soutien logistique du PKK. Quelque 500 rebelles du PKK ont été tués depuis cette date lors de raids dans les régions de Sinad-Khaftanine, Mézi, Zahlé et Badawan-Khidran.

Les opérations s'inscrivent dans le cadre de l'offensive générale de l'armée turque en Turquie et dans le nord irakien pour "venir à bout" de la rébellion du PKK, déclenchée le 15 août 1984, notamment dans le sud-est anatolien, pour y créer un Etat kurde indépendant marxiste-léniniste.

YM/bd

AFP /J00245/231347

AOU 94

LA CROIX — 24 août 1994

PERSPECTIVES

Violences en Turquie

■ Trois personnes ont été tuées lundi par l'explosion d'une bombe dans un bureau de recrutement du ministère turc de la défense, à Istanbul. L'attentat n'avait pas été revendiqué mardi midi. Il s'inscrit dans une liste d'attentats commis en milieu urbain et attribués par les autorités d'Ankara au Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) qui réclame l'autonomie sinon l'indépendance des régions kurdes de Turquie.

Cette formation avait déclenché sa lutte armée contre le régime turc le 15 août 1984. En dix ans, le conflit a fait plus de 14000 morts dont plus d'un tiers de civils. Durement éprouvé depuis l'automne dernier par une offensive tous azimuts de l'armée dans ses bas-

sions du Sud-Est turc, le PKK a porté le fer depuis le début de l'année dans les grandes agglomérations de l'ouest du pays et sur des sites touristiques.

Bien qu'ayant placé le PKK sur la défensive, l'armée ne se risque pourtant plus à prédire la fin du mouvement, ce qui devrait contraindre le pouvoir à réévaluer la stratégie suivie depuis un an envers le problème kurde. Un récent rapport de la Fondation turque pour les droits de l'homme (1) - un organisme indépendant soutenu par l'Union européenne - le montre : un tournant dramatique a été pris par le gouvernement en 1993. Le premier ministre Tansu Ciller a adopté le parti des jusqu'au-boutistes militaires : l'examen des

« exigences démocratiques du peuple kurde a été renvoyé à plus tard, en attendant la liquidation du PKK », souligne Yavuz Önen, le président de la Fondation. Et tout mouvement politique, syndical ou d'opinion kurde a été assimilé au PKK.

Résultat selon la Fondation : tandis que 1854 combattants sont morts en 1993 dans des accrochages entre forces de sécurité et guérilla, 3492 personnes ont été tuées hors du « champ de bataille », victimes de tortures, d'exécutions extra-judiciaires, de mines... Neuf cents villages ou hameaux ont été rasés dans le Sud-Est. Une guerre à outrance qui n'a pas éteint le particularisme kurde.

Jean-Christophe PLOQUIN

(1) *Menekşe 2 Sokak 16. 6-7-8 Kızılay, 06440 Ankara, Turquie.*

Violents heurts entre Kurdes et policiers

Cent quatre-vingt-dix Kurdes ont été interpellés et six policiers légèrement blessés au cours de violents heurts survenus dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi entre les forces de l'ordre et des manifestants kurdes.

DIMANCHE, vers 19 heures, une cinquantaine de Kurdes dont vingt femmes s'étaient rassemblés sur le parvis de Beaubourg. Les manifestants demandaient au gouvernement turc « d'arrêter le massacre du peuple kurde » et à la France « d'intervenir auprès d'Ankara pour faire cesser la guerre au Kurdistan ».

Les choses se sont gâtées lorsque, aux environs de 23 heures, plus d'une centaine d'autres Kurdes sont arrivés en renfort, matelas sous le bras, avec l'intention de s'installer devant Beaubourg. La police est violemment intervenue vers 4 heures du matin pour



La manifestation a mal tourné. Les ressortissants kurdes dénoncent la «sauvagerie» de l'intervention de la police.

déloger les manifestants : « Ils nous ont chassés à coups de pied, de matraques et de bombes lacrymogènes », s'insurgent ces derniers.

Halil Bozan, porte-parole des Kurdes en France, a dénoncé la « sauvagerie » de l'intervention policière et évoqué de « possibles représailles contre les intérêts français au Moyen-Orient ».

Le porte-parole a indiqué

que les Kurdes blessés allaient porter plainte contre la police. Cette dernière répond que les manifestants avaient refusé de se disperser avant de mettre le feu à leurs matelas et de lancer des projectiles sur les forces de l'ordre.

Sur les cent quatre-vingt-dix Kurdes interpellés, une vingtaine ont été placés en garde à vue.

I.B. (avec A.F.P.)

Jeune kurde grièvement blessée

Une jeune kurde de 15 ans, Tekiner Eylem, qui faisait partie des 200 manifestants interpellés dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi devant le Centre Pompidou à Paris, et dont on était sans nouvelle est réapparue mercredi en piteux état : sérieusement blessée par un coup de matraque, elle risque de perdre un œil. La plupart des manifestants interpellés ont été relâchés mais deux d'entre eux ont été condamnés mardi à 6 mois de prison et deux autres sont toujours en garde à vue parce que leur papiers n'étaient pas en règle.

KURDES. Deux des manifestants kurdes interpellés dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi devant le Centre Beaubourg à Paris ont été condamnés hier par le tribunal correctionnel, selon la procédure de comparution immédiate, à cinq et six mois de prison, pour le jet d'un cocktail Molotov sur des policiers. Au total, treize manifestants ont été déférés au parquet suite à cette manifestation.

TURQUIE: Mme Ciller promet de nouveaux investissements dans le Sud-Est anatolien. — A l'occasion de la visite, mercredi 17 et jeudi 18 août, du premier ministre turc Tansu Ciller dans la région déshéritée du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, Ankara a annoncé le lancement d'un « programme d'aide économique et de développement ». La région, théâtre de la lutte armée entre les séparatistes kurdes et les forces de sécurité, devrait bénéficier d'environ 1 milliard de francs d'investissements, principalement dans le secteur de l'agriculture et du logement.

SYRIE Réunion tripartite

Les ministres des affaires étrangères de Syrie, de Turquie et d'Iran se sont réunis dimanche soir à Damas pour parler de la situation en Irak et notamment au Kurdistan irakien. A l'issue de cette réunion, ils ont réitéré leur attachement à l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak.

TDN interview with Ankara State Security Court Chief Prosecutor Nusret Demiral

'The punishments set forth in the Anti-terrorism Law are very lenient'

By Hayri Birler*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Nusret Demiral, the chief prosecutor of the Ankara State Security Court argued that the punishment given to those who commit crimes should be a deterrent otherwise they will lose their purpose.

"In my opinion, the penalties set forth in the Antiterrorism Law are lenient," Demiral argued.

In an interview with TDN, Demiral said he had found "unjust" the criticism directed against him in regard to his assessment of the writer Aziz Nesin's place in the Sivas incidents. "I am not out for Nesin's head. I am only telling the court to file a complaint against him," Demiral said and added that he would not file a libel suit against Nesin for remarks the author had made about Demiral.

The full text of the interview with Demiral is as follows:

TDN- How long have you been serving as the chief prosecutor of the Ankara State Security Court?

DEMİRAL- I am living through the 11th year. I have been in this post since 4 May 1984. I will reach the retirement age of 65 next year.

TDN- Is there a possibility that your tour of duty may be extended?

DEMİRAL- There cannot be an extension, because our age limit is not regulated by laws, but by the Constitution.

Demiral said the former DEP deputies Hatip Dicle and Orhan Doğan had been taken into custody at the entrance of Parliament since their lives were in danger.

TDN- How long have you been waging your struggle against terrorism?

DEMİRAL- Since 1966. I have been part of this struggle for almost 28 years. The first case I prosecuted was the one filed against Deniz Gezmiş and his colleagues (Deniz Gezmiş was one of the leaders of the leftist youth in Turkey since 1968. In 1970, he founded an illegal organization called the People's Liberation Army of Turkey and carried out urban guerrilla actions. Gezmiş was later arrested, tried at the Martial Law Military Court and was hanged in 1972 along with two of his colleagues.) The Deniz Gezmiş case file had come to me first but later sent to the martial law courts when they were set up. Today there are those who say Deniz Gezmiş and his colleagues were innocent of any crime. To speak badly of the dead does not honor my family or our national customs but these people were

responsible for the clash at the Middle East Technical University which resulted in the death of a soldier. They abducted three American citizens, sprayed bullets at the police post in front of the U.S. Embassy and robbed the İş Bank Emek branch office. In other words, they were the people who first used the urban guerrilla system in Turkey. In the following years, I prosecuted the case involving all the crimes committed against Turkey's missions abroad.

"Praising PKK terrorism cannot be considered a thought, it is an action. Therefore, no one has been convicted of perpetrating crimes of thought in Turkey."

TDN- They were the attacks carried out by ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia), weren't they?

DEMİRAL- Yes, I investigated the ASALA attacks. As a matter of fact, ASALA is still active. It is challenging Turkey using the name of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The PKK is the continuation of ASALA. In Turkey, terrorism is of foreign origin. It is a terrorism which has been developed with the assistance of some states abroad. If we were alone, we could solve this terrorism problem. However the "man" and his operation is supported from abroad. He has been given a place at a certain spot outside of Turkey. Not only has he been provided housing, but he has been allocated a place for training militants. They have set up training camps and have ample arms and money. They get money by illegal means. Some of the money is supplied from within and some from outside. I do not have the authority to make a statement on behalf of the state, however the source of terrorism is abroad. Because, I conscientiously carry out my duties in all these cases they even compared me to Hitler when my dog died. That kind of comparison was very ugly. They poked fun at the death of my dog. If they had known my dog they would have been as sorry as I was. It understood around 200 English words.

TDN- As someone who has struggled against terrorism since 1966, how do you judge the point reached by Turkey in 1994?

DEMİRAL- We are trying to protect the state by legal means. The state is trying to prevent terrorism by activating other bodies within itself. Today the source of terrorism in Turkey dates back to 1920. When you read the Sevres Treaty, you will see that it

makes the same demands for the Kurds as are being demanded today. The Ottoman Empire was coerced into signing that treaty. Terrorism in Turkey is a terrorism which completely targets the state. It is not against the economy. It is sometimes said that the economy will improve if terrorism is overcome but that is not the case, because terrorism targets the state and within the framework of the Sevres Treaty it aims to narrow the borders of the National Pact (The declaration which the Istanbul Parliament passed at a closed session on January 20 1920. It contained the peace conditions which Turkey could accept in view of the principles agreed during the Erzurum and Sivas congresses. One of the articles of this declaration stipulated that the borders of the Ottoman Empire which were existent at the time when the Mondoros Treaty was signed cannot be altered).

TDN- In other words, can't terrorism be prevented if the economic situation improves, if southeast Anatolia develops further and if new employment possibilities are created?

DEMİRAL- The people there are unemployed. If job opportunities are created the people will not support the other side. However, I do say that foreign countries will always sincerely want the Sevres conditions. In fact the people there have absolutely adopted the Kemalist nationalism. That is to say, we are no longer separate Kurdish or Turkish nations. Atatürk called this the Turkish nation. It has been stated that everyone affiliated to the Turkish Republic by ties of citizenship were Turks and that is in the Constitution. However some people want this clause to be crossed out. Those who want to cross out that sentence are not my fellow citizens who live in these regions. This atmosphere is intended to be developed with a support from abroad and even without Kurdish support.

"There is no such thing as human rights violations in Turkey. We have laws and we apply them."

TDN- Your duty is to protect the state. Whereas isn't it the duty of the state to protect the individual? That is to say, doesn't the state exist for the individual?

DEMİRAL- This is like the question of the chicken and the egg: which came first? Of course the state exists for individuals however it is the individuals who ensure the continuation of the state. If individuals, considering that the state is for individuals and approach the issue in that manner, it will be a wrong that the state will maintain its existence.

TDN- It is said that you are a hard person and intolerant towards those who

come up against you.

DEMİRAL- These allegations are not justified. First of all, I am a very emotional person. I like people and animals very much. The death of Goldie proves the point. (Demiral was very upset by the death of his dog Goldie and wrote a poem about it). I take my job very seriously and this seriousness is qualified as being hard. I believe that everyone who commits a crime should be prosecuted with the same vigor regardless of who they are. Just because a person's level in society is different, just because he is from an upper class, he should not be treated with more tolerance. This is where I am very tough. In other words, can't a deputy be taken into custody? Why not? Where is democracy? Where are human rights? Where is the principle of equality? All these should be taken into consideration together? This is perhaps where my toughness stems. Every one should be shown the same meticulous behaviour.

Noting that he will not file a libel suit against Aziz Nesin, Demiral says, "I am not after Nesin's head. I am only telling the court to file a complaint against this person."

TDN- You are also tough in the sentences you request in your capacity as prosecutor. When the Penal Code contains minimum and maximum sentences

for a particular crime you always request the maximum for your cases.

DEMİRAL- Punishment is effective as long as it acts as a deterrent. If punishment does not deter it loses its purpose. For example, sentences are applied in accordance with the Penal Code but they can be reduced by 50 percent under the Law on the Execution of Punishments. Why, just because of good behaviour by the convict. In other words, a 10 year sentence drops to five years. Besides, if you deduct six days for each month which makes 72 days a year, and take that amount from the convict's sentence, what is left behind? In fact, the court has given a 10 year prison term to that person. If he served 10 years someone else might think twice before committing the same crime. In addition, we have the amnesty laws. You may say no amnesty has been issued in recent years. However when the Antiterrorism Law was passed some articles of the Penal Code were abolished, namely articles 141, 142 and 163. People in jail for violating these articles were set free immediately. We have a somewhat different execution of punishments system from other parts of the world. I have studied the text of the British anti-terrorism law and in comparison I believe that the sentences in the Turkish law are in fact very lenient.

TDN- Another issue is the fact that terrorist crime is confused with the crime of thought or expression. Individuals are tried and convicted for expressing their views and for writing books although they have not committed any violent action.

DEMİRAL- This is a very mistaken claim. If someone comes along and says "I will destroy this state. The actions of this and that organization are right," I cannot treat that as freedom of expression. This is a

provocation and provides assistance to that organization. The Antiterrorism Law in Britain even regards many circumstances, which are tolerated in Turkey, as crime and thus restricts them. A situation which is considered a crime in Britain will be asked to be removed in Turkey. Can there be such a thing? If a thought aims to remove the existence of the state, this is exploitation of the right to express one's opinions. Article 14 of the Constitution has been prepared in accordance with the European Human Rights Convention. No one has been convicted of perpetrating crimes of thought in Turkey. One can express his view as to how a state should be. However if he tries to spread the views of an outlawed organization for destruction of the state and is convicted in that regard, he will not be considered to have been convicted because of expression of his thought, because the crime he has committed is the crime of spreading propaganda. Everyone who it is alleged has been convicted for expressing their opinions in Turkey are the people who have praised PKK terrorism and who have claimed that PKK terror acts are legitimate. When this is the case, this certainly cannot be considered a thought, it is an action. Action does not absolutely mean to beat someone. The freedom of expression has also legal limits. This limit has been stipulated in constitutional article 14. This article prescribes that none of the rights and freedoms set forth in the Constitution can be used to upset the indivisible integrity of the state with its nation and country, to endanger the existence of the Turkish state and the republic for removing the fundamental rights and freedoms. For this reason, the Antiterrorism Law in Turkey is more simplified when compared to the legislations in other European countries. In my opinion, the Antiterrorism Law in Turkey is lenient.

'The punishments set forth in the Anti-terrorism Law are very lenient'

TDN- You file lawsuits against some people for committing crimes against the state however some of them are acquitted. Why do you sue them without having sufficient evidence?

DEMİRAL- The crime can be proved with the evidence we present to the court but the court also has its own opinion. If the court cannot decide whether the suspect is guilty based on the evidence presented to it then the suspect is given the benefit of the doubt. Therefore, the evidence we present to the court is insufficient for conviction. As a matter of fact, the suspects whom we face are conscious enough to create such an atmosphere. However the situation has now changed. Since terrorism started to pose a danger to the existence of the state, our courts and the High Appeals Court have now begun to use their opinion against the suspect. As a matter of fact, in recent years, although there has been no change in the method of our collecting evidence, there has been increase in the number of convictions. Before we had presented the same evidence however using its own judgement, the court had acquitted the defendant. However since the same person has come to the court for few times the court has now altered its opinion. In Turkey, courts' opinions are no longer in favor of defendants, because the same person has faced the court many times and he has been convicted with the belief that his action is against the indivisible integrity of the state with its nation and country. In fact this is what we want.

TDN- In your previous statements you had said "I am the state." Besides this there are claims that you are the spokesman for a certain group within the state.

DEMİRAL- These are all distortions. Of course the state exists with its individuals. You cannot regard the state as an abstract concept. That is why the state cannot say "I am the state." So who can say this? People who are charged by the state to undertake duties can say "I am a state official" and all these officials put together say they represent the state. This is not wrong. They have appointed me here as a chief prosecutor of the republic. I have been charged with dealing with crimes against the state. So when I am undertaking this mission I do not think there is anything wrong with me saying "I am the state" or "I am a state official." People cannot be "the state" on their own, they obtain that position by appointment. When you leave such a post then it is meaningless to continue to claim you represent the state. So when I say "I am the state" it is because of the office I hold and the authority given to me. When I go, someone else will replace me. That is what the state is all about. But it would amount to distortion if you only quoted remarks made by me like "I am the state" and did not mention what I said in full.

TDN- You were at odds with the speaker of the Parliament during the detention of the former DEP deputies. Do you see the judiciary as being superior to the legislative body?

DEMİRAL- No. There is a separation of powers in Turkey and all the state bodies are equal. There are times however, when one body is more prominent than others. The scope of my responsibilities is such that I have more authority as regards tracking down those who commit crimes. But in the event of legislating a law, Parliament is at the forefront. If I have to take someone into custody, even if that person is within the walls of the Parliament or if he or she is a parliamentarian, I will detain them if I have the authority to do so. As a matter of fact we asked the Constitutional Court whether they had officially informed the Parliament speaker-ship about the decision to close down the DEP. We were informed that they had. We wanted to detain these people. The Parliament refused to hand them over. That was their view. But the application should have been made the way I felt, that is how I interpreted the Constitution.

Arguing that the Armenian terrorist organization ASALA is still active and that it is challenging Turkey using the name of the PKK, Demiral said, "The PKK is the continuation of ASALA."

TDN- But you say "I felt." So it is only your view.

DEMİRAL- Yes, but if I was not here and another colleague was handling the case he too would act in the same manner.

TDN- But the Parliament speaker is also a jurist, although he does not think like you.

DEMİRAL- My counterpart is not the Parliament speaker. And the counterpart of the Parliament speaker is not the chief prosecutor. We are both bound by laws. We open up the Constitution and the laws and we read them. The Constitutional Court says they have informed the Parliament (that the party is closed and its deputies have lost their parliamentary seats). At that point it is my duty to act. I will not go into a debate on this any longer. If the Constitutional Court had not informed the Parliament of its decision then I could not have done anything. But the court did inform the Parliament about its ruling and that is when it was time for me to act.

TDN- You waited until the decision of the Constitutional Court was made public in the Official Gazette before you took the two ex-DEP deputies into custody. Was this a show of goodwill on your part in view of the actions of the Parliament speaker?

DEMİRAL- No. The idea was to prevent those two persons from creating a favorable atmosphere in public. Or else we could have taken them into custody at any time. There was also the fact that the five others (ex-DEP deputies who are now abroad) could have also come back, that was the kind of situation we were in. As a matter of fact the two deputies gave themselves up when the Constitutional Court decision was made public. But please remember that they had announced publicly that they would not give themselves up. That is why I prepared a warrant for them. But that was not all. Their lives were in danger. When the lives of suspects are threatened you take them into protective custody. That is why we detained the other two deputies at the entrance to the Parliament.

TDN- Did you get a tip off or did you have prior information about the threat to their lives?

DEMİRAL- Of course, it is the duty of the Security Department to protect people. We told them to detain these people and that is what they did. The reason why they were taken into custody was because there was a strong possibility that some existing evidence might be destroyed, some evidence might be hidden, that they might contact certain people and that they might be shot by someone in the crowd just as they left the Parliament. There were no tip offs but such possibilities existed. That is why we took them into custody.

TDN- There has been criticism of the fact that the indictment at the DEP trial is too long. Did you have to have such a long indictment?

DEMİRAL- Of course. There is the preamble. We have to explain why the indictment was prepared, why we started the investigation, how the crime was committed, what crimes are involved and what is covered by Article 125 of the Penal Code. We had to explain all these things. Then we studied the incident within the legal structure. Then we took up the persons involved and what crimes they had committed. I had to write all this in detail. The other side of course has the reply in writing to all these claims. I did not want someone to come up tomorrow and say "such things were not written and such things were not defined." So I put everything down in the indictment. That is why the indictment was so long. Maybe it would take even longer for me to elaborate on the basic charges. We have to show that they are cooperating with an organization bent on the destruction of the state.

TDN- Yes, but did you have to read all the indictment in court?

DEMİRAL- The law says the prosecutor may read a summary of the indictment or the whole document. The defendants said the indictment should not be read in full because everyone knew about it. They say they know what is contained in the indictment but what is their information based on? People know the indictment based on the defendants' assessments. I wanted people to hear it from me and see the other side of the coin. Do the people know that the 22 people who were included on the list of parliamentary candidates (before the 1991 elections) were selected upon the directive of the PKK (the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party)? They don't. They killed the witness who told us this four days after he gave us his testimony. Do the citizens know this?

TDN- The defendants at the DEP trial are being tried for violating Article 125 of the Constitution. This means that if found guilty they will face capital punishment. Is it true that the prosecutor's office is planning to scale down the charges connected with violation of Article 168 of the Penal Code in case these people are acquitted on charges of violating Article 125 of the Constitution?

DEMİRAL- I will not say anything on this. It may be misunderstood. They will be tried for violating Article 125 of the Constitution. I have made my charges as the prosecutor. Please don't ask me this question.

TDN- Let our last subject of debate be the Aziz Nesin issue. A year after the Sivas trials started you brought accusations against Aziz Nesin. Why did you do this?

DEMİRAL- You know it is wrong, it is not that way. The case was not in Ankara earlier. It was at the Sivas criminal court, the criminal court of first instance and the Kayseri State Security Court. The case files from Sivas criminal courts and from the Kayseri state security court were transferred to the Ankara state security court where they were unified and then sent to us. When it came to us, I examined the case file and in my opinion dated Sept. 20 1993, I argued that Aziz Nesin was among the reasons which set the scene for the incidents. There were those who had taken part and committed crimes and there were the reasons which led to the incidents. A meeting was held a day before the incidents and a moment of silence was observed for the martyrs of the revolution. Who are these martyrs of the revolution?

TDN- Was it Kubilay? (The lieutenant who was killed during his resistance against fundamentalists who wanted Shariah order in the Menemen township of Izmir on 23 December 1930).

DEMİRAL- No, sir. It has got no link with them. They perceive the revolution martyrs as those who are killed during their clashes against security forces. You can remember Kubilay but they would not remember people like him. There are those who raise their left arms in the air and chant the slogan "Long Live PKK." That is what they understand by the term martyrs of the revolution. There are also events like holding the celebrations on Friday and beating drums during prayer time. Of course some fundamentalists had taken that situation as an opportunity. We have explained the events in an objective manner. We have explained the roles of people who had taken part in the incidents. No one should be offended, I am demanding the death penalty for 29 people. Furthermore, I am not demanding anything for Aziz Nesin. I am just telling the court to file a complaint against that person. If there are any of Nesin's actions which contravene the Turkish Penal Code, look into it, examine and file a complaint accordingly. Otherwise as it is alleged, Nusret Demiral is not asking for Aziz Nesin's head. As a matter of fact, article 146 of the Penal Code does not contain any clause regarding those who incite. There are provisions about those who encourage. If the law contained the element of provocation, there would be no need for that controversy.

TDN- Following your initiative, Nesin has made various statements and expressed his opinions about you. Will you file a libel suit against Aziz Nesin as citizen Nusret Demiral?

DEMİRAL- I will not respond to them. I will not file a lawsuit. As a matter of fact I have never filed such a lawsuit against any person. I don't think it necessary. I am fulfilling my duty. However every one is writing articles on this issue. Of course, this is the role of the people who have ideological structure in the system. You know what the ideological structure is.

TDN - When all these allegations are combined, the European countries criticize Turkey for issues such as human rights and democracy. How do you respond to such accusations?

DEMİRAL- There is no such thing as human rights violations in Turkey. We have laws and we apply them. The laws in the Republic of Turkey have been passed in a form which is in accord with the relevant paragraph of the 10th article of the European Human Rights Convention. They do not contain provisions which are against that convention, because the state has been granted the right to take measures in that respect. If every one analyzes the issue in his own way, I will say this or that movement is against human rights. However if there is a law in that regard, I have to stop. For this reason those who make direct allegations in this respect, who claim the existence of violations should first check whether there are laws or not. Where laws exist, there will be those who apply them and they should not be made the subject of criticism. This is the core of the issue and the claims are wrong.

TDN- I thank you for this interview.

DEMİRAL- The truth should be known. We are the people who work for the state and the nation. The allegations are not correct.

Turkey to impose tighter control on travel to northern Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal has requested his ministry to evaluate the use of tighter controls on the passage from Turkey to northern Iraq via Habur border gate.

Soysal's request followed Turkey's growing displeasure about the activities of foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and some western deputies in Northern Iraq. It also comes at a time when

the Kurds in northern Iraq are concentrating efforts on a new round of elections — something Turkey does not look upon with favor.

"Northern Iraq will no longer be a free passage zone," Soysal told journalists in Damascus on Sunday after the meeting between Turkey, Syria and Iran. He said Ankara's intention had been conveyed to Syria, Iran and Iraq and he planned to sound out the Western allies on the issue.

Soysal pointed out that the situation in Northern Iraq is of great importance to Turkey's security.

Meanwhile, foreign ministry sources said that the studies on the issue had started but had not been completed. "We are working on this issue but the framework of the implementation is not clear yet."

We are going to determine the rules taking into consideration the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 688, which

asks states to provide the necessary assistance to humanitarian aid operations in Iraq," sources noted.

Turkey's uneasiness about the activities of some westerners reached its peak after the session of the northern Iraqi local parliament held on Aug. 18 with the participation of the chairman of the Human Rights Commission Lord Eric Avebury, Baroness Cox and Tom Clark, shadow minister for overseas development.

Publisher Ünsal Öztürk to be jailed on Friday

Öztürk's company also published 'September 12 Fascism and the PKK Resistance' by PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan

By Sinan Yilmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The owner of the "Yurt" publishing company, Ünsal Öztürk, will start a six-month prison sentence on Friday and will also have to pay a fine of TL 50 million. Öztürk's sentence was upheld by the Court of Appeals on June 5.

Öztürk had published the book "A nation that discovers itself, the Kurds" by writer Ismail Besikci, who is currently in prison for his other books.

Öztürk was tried under Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law, which enables the government to convict individuals on the following charges: conducting written and verbal propaganda against the indivisible integrity of the state within its territory and nation and holding meetings, protests and marches. In the case of committing one of the above offences, an individual can face a prison sentence of between two and five years as well as a fine of TL 50 million.

The DGM draws attention to the judgement of the 9th criminal panel that "publishers can be classified as newspapers chief editor and therefore can be punished."

Öztürk talked to the TDN about his publishing career and the cases opened against him. Öztürk indicated that 54 cases had been launched in connection with 37 of the 81 books printed by his company.

A verdict had been reached in 32 of the 54 cases and Öztürk had been acquitted in five cases. A total of 17 cases are still continuing against the publisher.

Öztürk pointed out that 25 of the books carried Ismail Besikci's name and added that for 10 of his books Öztürk would be receiving a second sentence.

Indicating that he had published "The diary of torture" by Nihat Behram, Öztürk said: "The State Security Court opened two different cases, one against me and the other

against Behram under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code. I was sentenced and Behram was acquitted in the case."

The 37-year old publisher claimed that he had been convicted for printing a book, whereas the writer of that book had been judged to be innocent and said: "Did you ever hear of such a trial?"

Öztürk furthermore claimed that he was regarded as a "terrorist" rather than a perpetrator of "crimes of conscience." "I was sentenced to eight years and 10 months in prison and fined TL 1.4 billion," said the owner of the "Yurt" publishing company. He continued:

"For the same books, Ismail Besikci received 24 years and 10 months in prison and an additional fine of some TL 3.45 billion. These sentences resulted from 23 different cases which had been opened against him."

During our little talk, Öztürk told us that he would not pay the fine since it was against his principles and indicated that he did not have that amount anyway. If he refuses to pay the fine then he will have to serve an additional 36 years in prison. According to the law, a fine can be converted into a jail sentence.

Öztürk had also published the book "September 12 Fascism and the PKK Resistance" by the leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan. According to Öztürk, he was tried for claiming the "existence of a Kurdish entity" and disregarding the Constitution since "Under the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, everybody who has Turkish citizenship is considered Turkish."

The young publisher emphasized that a publishing company owner can only be required to pay fines and cannot be sentenced to serve a prison term and said no



Ünsal Öztürk, the owner of the "Yurt" publishing company, will be going to jail on Friday. Öztürk is pictured in front of a panel made up of the covers of the books he printed, which were the cause of his conviction.

Photo TDN Ali Fiat Ulay

one should be sentenced for a crime not defined by the law.

The publisher also complained that since the start of his career he had been trapped within a triangle made up of the police, prosecutors and judges. "I have not earned any money since the majority of my books

have been confiscated. We just worked for the prosecutors," said Öztürk.

Meanwhile, the government announced the setting up of a commission to present a motion to abolish "crimes of conscience," but the commission was not able to hold its first meeting.

L'Irak survit d'espoir

Le Monde • Mercredi 24 août 1994 •

Après quatre années d'embargo l'Irak réussit à sauver les apparences et à survivre, malgré le rationnement et l'hyperinflation. Avec un seul espoir : la levée des sanctions. Nous entamons la publication d'une série de deux articles sur l'économie irakienne.

BAGDAD

de notre envoyé spécial

On songe à un mauvais polar. Le serveur du restaurant vient de récupérer le billet de 100 dollars glissé discrètement sous une facture par le client étranger. En échange il lui remet une boîte en aluminium extraite d'un placard, près de la caisse enregistreuse. A lire l'inscription sur le couvercle elle contient du bœuf surgelé. En fait de bœuf ce sont des billets de banque : 650 billets de 100 dinars (la plus grosse coupure disponible) soigneusement rangés par liasses. L'équivalent de six à huit années de salaire dans l'Irak d'aujourd'hui.

Ainsi va le pays après plus de quatre années d'embargo. Le dollar est roi. La monnaie nationale n'inspire plus confiance et le marché noir ne s'est jamais aussi bien porté. En 1990, avant que l'Irak n'envahisse le Koweït, un dinar valait officiellement plus de 3 dollars (1). Aujourd'hui, sur le marché noir, il faut 650 dinars pour obtenir un dollar. Rude sanction pour le pouvoir. Plutôt que l'admettre, le ministre des finances, Ahmed Hussain, préfère relativiser la dégringolade. « Le dinar irakien se porte finalement mieux que le rouble russe. Et la monnaie des Serbes, qui sont soumis comme l'Irak à un embargo, a davantage baissé », fait-il observer. L'homme a raison de ne pas trop s'engager. Ancien premier ministre, son incapacité à endiguer l'effondrement de la monnaie nationale lui a valu au printemps dernier de perdre son poste de chef du gouvernement au profit du président Saddam Hussein.

N'était la dérobaude du dinar, les effets de l'embargo ne sautent pas immédiatement aux yeux du visiteur. Dans la capitale, les bâtiments officiels détruits au cours de la guerre sont debout, flambant neufs. Les ponts sur le Tigre et l'Euphrate également. Celui du « 14 juillet », à Bagdad, un pont suspendu qui compte parmi les ouvrages d'art les plus sophistiqués du Proche-Orient, sera remis en service « dans les prochains mois » en s'appuyant sur « le savoir-faire et des équipements irakiens », a annoncé le ministre de l'industrie, le général Hussein

I. - L'économie au ralenti

Kamil Hassan.

D'ailleurs, comme s'il s'agissait de narguer « l'agresseur » occidental, le régime ne s'est pas contenté de reconstruire. Il a vu plus grand, plus majestueux, plus beau. L'ancienne tour de télécommunications plafonnait à 117 mètres ? La nouvelle dépasse 200 mètres. Avec restaurant panoramique au sommet.

Au total, Bagdad évoque davantage Riyad ou Koweït-City que la capitale d'un pays en développement. Le long des larges avenues qui la sillonnent comme dans les villes du sud du pays la circulation automobile reste dense, et les embouteillages sont monnaie courante. Partout, l'éclairage public fonctionne. Et si la gare ferroviaire de Bagdad est loin d'avoir retrouvé son trafic d'avant-guerre, la gare routière tout proche connaît une bruyante effervescence. Les deux chaînes de télévision irakienne sont au diapason. Entre deux émissions, la publicité vante telle marque de shampoing, une griffe locale de « haute couture », l'efficacité d'un garage automobile... Ne manque que la lessive.

Côté cour et côté jardin. Le décor et la réalité. Devant, la sauvegarde forcée des apparences ; derrière, un pays menacé d'asphyxie lente. La chute de la monnaie ne trompe pas. L'hyperinflation qui l'accompagne non plus. Elle est démesurée.

Pour avoir laissé publier par son administration un rapport faisant état d'une hausse des prix de 24 000 %, le ministre du plan, Samal Majid Faraj, vient d'être relevé de ses fonctions. Qu'importe le chiffre ! Un tour dans les marchés de la capitale suffit à mesurer l'ampleur des difficultés. Certes, en dépit de l'embargo, des marchandises sont disponibles : au souk *Arabia*, dans le centre de Bagdad, les boîtes de sardines sont estampillées « made in Croatia ». Et, si les piles électriques et les articles en plastique sont de fabrication locale, les biberons viennent d'Espagne, les sachets de lait en poudre de Hollande, les fournitures scolaires de Chine et le savon à barbe d'Istanbul...

Mais la plupart de ces produits sont hors de portée des bourses irakiennes : à la mi-août, il fallait une semaine de salaire d'un fonctionnaire pour se payer un tube de dentifrice, quinze jours pour s'offrir un kilo de viande. La spirale à la hausse semble ne jamais devoir s'arrêter avec son cortège de privations accrues. « Il y a quatre ans, avec 300 dinars de revenus on vivait bien. Aujourd'hui, avec 3 000 dinars, on est condamné à être végétarien », résume un fonc-

tionnaire : « Je connais des familles qui n'ont pas mangé de viande depuis six mois », confirme le représentant d'une organisation internationale.

Le régime conforté

La brutalité du régime, sa poigne de fer n'est sans doute pas étrangère à l'apathie d'une population malmenée. Mais le bourrage de crâne n'explique pas tout. Pays à économie dirigiste, l'Irak offrait depuis longtemps à ses citoyens des logements à bon marché, une éducation et une médecine (de qualité) gratuites. Avec la guerre, il a su y ajouter un système de rationnement à l'efficacité remarquable. Farine de blé, riz, sucre, thé, savon... tous les Irakiens sous la tutelle de Bagdad bénéficient d'un approvisionnement minimum. Du coup, les mendiants restent rarissimes dans les rues de la capitale et, comme le fait remarquer un officiel, « personne ne meurt de faim en Irak ».

On ne meurt pas de faim mais on souffre de plus en plus de malnutrition. « Quoique le système gouvernemental de rationnement a été augmenté, amenant la ration calorique quotidienne à 1 734 calories par jour et par personne, il ne fournit que les deux tiers de l'énergie indispensable », estime un rapport récent de l'UNICEF. L'Organisation des Nations unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture (FAO), également présente en Irak, n'est guère plus optimiste. Le système de rationnement, selon ses calculs, « fournit la moitié du niveau calorique d'avant-guerre et sa qualité nutritionnelle est médiocre ».

Ce que le pouvoir ne peut assurer, le marché devrait le procurer sans peine, d'autant que le gouvernement fixe chaque semaine le prix des denrées alimentaires de base : melon, pomme de terre, raisin, citrouille, dattes... Rien de plus abordable en théorie qu'un kilo de

tomates (25 centimes le kilo). Mais en pratique rien de plus difficile à dénicher. Les commerçants les écoulent en catimini - *idem* pour les pommes de terre - à des prix quatre fois supérieurs au cours officiel. S'ils sont pris, ils encourent désormais un an de prison.

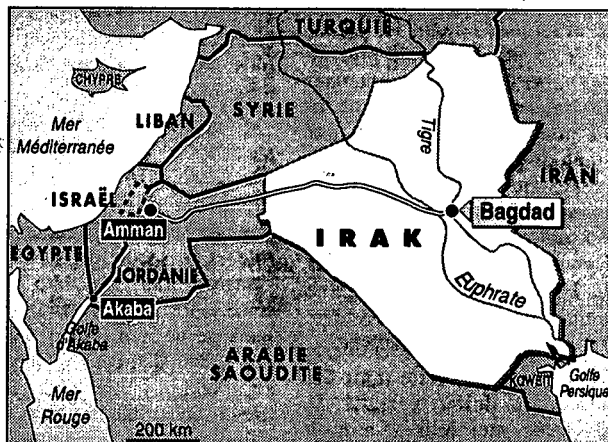
La dégradation des conditions de vie quotidienne pèse sur les catégories les plus faibles : les femmes et les enfants. « Près de cent mille enfants » sont morts dès le début de la guerre du Golfe et des sanctions qui ont suivi, selon l'UNICEF. La poliomyélite, la diphtérie, la rougeole font des ravages faute de vaccins. Les accidents à l'accouchement se multiplient. Les malformations à la naissance aussi.

Le tableau ne peut que se noircir avec le temps. « D'ici deux mois, les problèmes d'approvisionnement en eau potable vont devenir dramatiques », prévient par exemple un responsable de l'UNICEF. Pour autant, l'accroissement des difficultés n'aura sans doute pas raison du régime irakien. « Si les Américains espèrent faire tomber Saddam Hussein en maintenant l'embargo, ils peuvent laisser tomber. C'est l'inverse qui se produit », lance David Steel, l'ancien leader du parti libéral britannique, qui vient d'effectuer une visite dans la capitale irakienne.

Le fait est que les sanctions, loin d'affaiblir le régime, semblent paradoxalement l'avoir conforté. La fierté nationale joue, et un sentiment d'injustice prévaut. « Nous avons fait tout ce que l'ONU nous demandait. Pourquoi l'embargo n'est-il pas levé ? Où est le respect des droits de l'homme dont les Américains se réclament ? », s'interroge une religieuse irakienne résumant un discours largement répandu dans la capitale.

Du point de vue économique, le bilan de quatre années de sanctions n'est guère plus probant. Blessée, sur les genoux, l'Irak vit au ralenti, économisant ses forces. Mais préparant déjà « l'après-embargo ».

JEAN-PIERRE TUQUOI



Thursday, August 25, 1994

turkish daily news

RP claims some people benefit from state of emergency

Says if extension of emergency is demanded again, his party will give information on issue if there is a secret debate

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- The pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP,) which is believed to be gaining further support in Turkey's southeastern Anatolia region, is preparing to launch a new offensive by assuming the role of spokesmen for the problems of the region.

Şevket Kazan, the RP parliamentary group deputy chairman, noted that some people opposed the lifting of emergency rule in the region because of their own interests. He said he and his colleagues would request a secret parliamentary session to debate the requests for the extension of the existing practise. Kazan explained his impressions and proposals regarding his own and his colleagues' tours in August in Diyarbakır, Mardin, Elazığ, Tunceli, Bingol and towns in those provinces. Noting that an "emergency rule business" is in place in the region, Kazan claimed that there were some people who wanted the existing practise to continue. He said those people were not only taking advantage of the financial possibilities granted by the state due to the state of emergency, they were also benefiting by adding additional possibilities to these conditions.

Kazan commented that some people were worried when his party said earlier that it would lift the emergency rule. He said he and his colleagues knew who these people were. If

the extension of the state of emergency, which is to expire on November 19, is demanded again, his party will give information on the issue if there is a secret parliamentary debate. Pointing out that the people in the Southeast were following the RP and that his party would win the majority of the parliamentary seats in the region if by-elections were held, Kazan said no one should be surprised if his party obtained more than 40 percent of the votes; perhaps as many as 55 percent. He defended his party, saying it could not be a radical party as it voiced its views to 60 million people in Turkey.

Kazan's conclusions and proposals regarding the southeastern region of Anatolia are as follows:

- The security forces are striving to end terrorism but the local people are very disturbed by the emergency rule. The onslaught of terrorism has been stopped but its roots have not yet been cut off. If the state of emergency is examined even from the point view of military operations alone (TL 400 billion a day,) it is very costly. It should be lifted immediately because it does more harm than good. The principal duty of the security forces should be the protection of the borders.

- While some security forces integrate with the local people the majority regard them as if they were potential criminals. Some security personnel, furious of not being able to arrest a criminal, vent their spleen on the people for their failure.

- Security personnel who do not look on the locals as criminals should be assigned to the region. Existing personnel should certainly be trained in this respect.

- The vacuum which will be created by the withdrawal of the military following the lifting of the state of emergency should be filled with religious experts and civilian security personnel.

- Commandoes who are assigned to the

special teams attached to the Interior Ministry are displaying political bias and racist tendencies rather than bringing peace to the region. They use the sign (grey wolf) which has become the symbol of a political party (Nationalist Movement Party). They grow a moustache in the form of the symbol and intend to instill a political ideology based on racism. Since Kurdish propaganda is spread on the other side, this situation increases the tension.

- Inhabitants of the small hamlets and villages are forced to migrate without any social and economic measures being taken. This has reached to such an extent that the provinces and towns cannot support it any longer. The people live in poverty in plastic tents or in open area along the streams and rivers. Fifty of 54 villages in Lice have been evacuated. Villages in towns of Hani, Lice and Kulp in the province of Diyarbakır have been evacuated almost completely. If these places are to be vacated for security reasons then the state should take adequate measures to help the inhabitants in advance. Why are the General Directorate for Disasters and the Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay) mobilized? The people are experiencing a disaster there.

- No serious work has been done to determine the amount of damage in the vacated and burnt-out villages. Hundreds of thousands hectares of forests have been burnt with the excuse of security operations. A migration policy should not be employed without setting the scene for social and economic facilities.

- In the town of Lice, 108 houses and four workplaces were burned on July 18. It has been said that the fire was started by terrorists but this is difficult to believe since the area is under very tight military control and no attempt was made to put out the fire in spite of military and civilian fire units being available. The state wants to vacate Lice and used this mise-en-scene to achieve its aim.

- The people in the region have reached breaking point with migration on one hand and unemployment on the other.

- People's seeking their rights are deadlocked. Some are taken into custody while security operations are underway. When their relatives search for them after a week or 10 days, they cannot get information from any source.

- The village guard system has become weakened. Chief village guards threaten and pressure people against whom they bear grudges.

- Foreign agents should be sent away from the region. The state of emergency rule governor estimates there are around 2,000-5,000 foreigners in the region.

- The mandate of Operation Provide Comfort (Poised Hammer) should be ended immediately. By applying to the United Nations, the Iraqi embargo should be lifted as far as Turkey is concerned.

- The decisions on privatization or the closure of the state economic enterprises in the region should be cancelled and unfinished projects should be completed.

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Irak-Kurdes

Appel à l'arrêt immédiat des combats dans le Kurdistan irakien

ERBIL (Irak), 25 août (AFP) - Les deux principaux dirigeants kurdes irakiens ont ordonné jeudi l'arrêt des combats entre leurs partisans en Irak du nord, qui ont fait au moins 350 morts en trois mois, selon des sources officielles kurdes.

Dans un appel radio-télévisé, MM. Jalal Talabani, chef de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), et Massoud Barzani, chef du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), ont appelé "à l'arrêt immédiat de la guerre dans toutes les régions du Kurdistan" irakien qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad.

Les affrontements doivent stopper à partir de maintenant et toute personne qui ne respecte pas cet ordre sera "sanctionnée et emprisonnée", ont-ils indiqué.

Cet appel est intervenu après une session extraordinaire du "parlement" kurde à Erbil, au cours de laquelle les députés ont violemment critiqué les deux dirigeants qui participaient à la réunion, les accusant de mettre en danger la vie des civils, a constaté l'AFP.

Un conflit endémique pour le contrôle du Kurdistan irakien oppose depuis mai dernier les formations kurdes, en particulier les deux plus importantes, l'UPK et le PDK, pourtant alliées dans la lutte contre le régime irakien.

ta/tp/hj/phb

AFP /J00245/252052 AOU 94

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Kurdes-manif

Des Kurdes manifestent près de la tour Eiffel

PARIS, 25 août (AFP) - Une quarantaine de Kurdes distribuait des tracts près de la tour Eiffel jeudi peu avant 17 heures, a-t-on appris de bonne source.

On ignorait la teneur de ces tracts. Aucun incident n'a été signalé. Des manifestants kurdes ont indiqué à l'AFP que certains d'entre eux étaient en grève de la faim depuis plusieurs jours pour demander au gouvernement français de ne plus soutenir le gouvernement turc qui réprime le mouvement séparatiste kurde.

Dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi, 198 Kurdes avaient été interpellés après s'être rassemblés sur le parvis du centre Beaubourg où il y avait eu des incidents avec la police. Deux d'entre eux ont été condamnés, mardi, par le tribunal correctionnel de Paris à cinq et six mois de prison.

jg/but/sp

AFP /J00245/251738 AOU 94

Türkei: Gewalt vorprogrammiert

Bombenanschläge in Istanbul und den Mittelmeerstädten Adana und Mersin haben dieser Tage mehrere Menschenleben gefordert. Doch sind das «Terrorakte der PKK-Separatisten», wie es so oft heisst?

Istanbul. Als die türkische Regierungschefin Tansu Ciller vergangene Woche zusammen mit dem Generalstab den Südosten des Landes, wo seit zehn Jahren Kriegszustand herrscht, bereiste, wurde sie vielerorts mit Transparenten «Wir haben Hunger» und «Wir wollen Arbeit» konfrontiert. Die Taktik der «verbrannten Erde», die Ankaras Militärs seit dem Sommer 1993, dem Start ihrer Grossoffensive gegen die 30000 Milizen der als separatistisch bezeichneten «Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans» (PKK), verfolgen, hat ganze Landstriche der Region unbewohnbar gemacht.

Jede Woche werden neue Dörfer auf der Suche nach Kurdenmilizen bis auf den Grund niedergebrannt, die Bevölkerung ihres gesamten Hab und Guts beraubt. Auf der Flucht vor dem Kriegsgeschehen müssen sie Ernte und Viehbestand zurücklassen. Einige wenige finden bei Verwandten in den benachbarten Städten Unterschlupf. Andere fahren in überfüllten Bussen und auf Lastwagen in die nächstgelegenen Wirtschaftsmetropolen. Jüngste Medienreportagen aus den Mittelmeerzentren Adana und Mersin berichten über völlig neue Kurdensiedlungen am Stadtrand, wo pro Tag «40 bis 50 Familien Quartier beziehen». In selbstgebastelten Hütten müssen sich oft Dutzende von Menschen eine Unterkunft teilen. Die Männer, häufig des Lesens und Schreibens unkundig, verdienen sich an Landwirtschaftsbetrieben und Bauunternehmen oder versuchen sich als fliegende Händler. Doch der Verdienst reicht meist nicht aus, die kinderreichen Familien zu ernähren.

Zur finanziellen Misere kommt der soziale und politische Druck auf die

vertriebenen Kurden. Das Stadtleben ist für die Dorfbauern aus den anatolischen Bergen ungewohnt. Zudem werden die Flüchtlingsghettos von der Polizei strikte überwacht, «nachts fahren Panzerfahrzeuge durch die Strassen», heisst es in den Vorortsberichten. Und wie schon in ihren Dörfern im Südosten, wo sich die Sicherheitskräfte und die PKK gegenüberstehen, geraten die vertriebenen Kurden auch hier wieder zwischen die Fronten. Gezielte Attentate auf Militäreinrichtungen in Adana und Mersin lassen darauf schliessen, dass die Separatisten ihren Aktionsradius auf die besagten Städte ausdehnen und versuchen, die Bevölkerung zu radikalisieren. «Gewalt gebiert Gewalt», schreibt das Wochenmagazin «Briefing» und fürchtet, dass die heimatlosen Kurden angesichts ihrer desolaten Lage dazu neigen könnten, sich den politischen Aktivisten anzuschliessen, sei es den sogenannten Separatisten, den Anti-Terror-Einheiten

oder islamischen Fundamentalisten. «Sie alle wollen unter der lokalen Bevölkerung Verunsicherung schaffen und verwandeln die türkischen Metropolen in gefährliche Zeitbomben.»

Allein deswegen sind sich viele türkische Medienkommentatoren derzeit nicht mehr sicher, wer hinter der zunehmenden Zahl von Bombenanschlägen in den türkischen Grossstädten, nicht zuletzt in Istanbul, steht: ob «Provokateure» der autonomen oder der nationalistischen Szene. Und je rascher die Migrationswelle aus dem kurdischen Südosten anschwillt – die Städte Diyarbakir, Adana und Mersin (beide am Mittelmeer) sind innert zwei Jahren von mittleren Provinzorten zu Millionenstädten gewachsen – um so eher wird die Sicherheitslage vollends ausser Kontrolle geraten. «Massenarbeitslosigkeit ist der beste Nährboden für Kriminalität und politischen Radikalismus», schreibt die liberale Tageszeitung «Cumhuriyet». *Martin Peter*

Kontakt mit Ausländern verboten

Ankara. DPA. Die Türkei hat Delegationen von ausländischen Parlamentariern Gespräche mit Richtern und Staatsanwälten im Rahmen von Untersuchungen über die Menschenrechtslage und Demokratisierung in der Türkei untersagt. Die Zeitung «Hürriyet» berichtete am Mittwoch, diese Entscheidung habe Aussenminister Mümtaz Soysal unter Hinweis auf das von ihm bevorzugte «Prinzip der Gegenseitigkeit» getroffen. Soysal habe erklärt, da türkische Parlamentarier nicht mit Richtern und Staatsanwälten sprechen

dürften, um laufende Verfahren nicht zu beeinflussen, könnten auch ausländische Parlamentarier von dieser Regelung nicht ausgenommen werden. Davon wird dem Bericht zufolge als erster der Präsident der parlamentarischen Versammlung des Europarates, Miguel Angel Martinez, betroffen sein. So seien die Gesprächstermine von Martinez mit dem Präsidenten des türkischen Verfassungsgerichts, Yekta Güngör Özden, und dem Chefankläger der Staatssicherheitsgerichte, Nusret Demiral, abgesagt worden.

LIBÉRATION - 25 août 1994

TURQUIE-IRAK. 32 chasseurs-bombardiers turcs ont bombardé des positions du PKK (Kurdes séparatistes), mardi, dans le nord de l'Irak. Le raid a été dénoncé par l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan, l'un des principaux mouvements kurdes irakiens, qui affirme qu'il n'y a aucun camp du PKK dans la région visée. Sept Kurdes irakiens, dont des femmes et des enfants, ont été blessés dans l'opération.

Blessés lors du raid turc

Les 32 chasseurs bombardiers turcs qui ont mené mardi un raid contre des positions présumées du PKK (les séparatistes kurdes de Turquie) dans le nord de l'Irak ont fait sept blessés parmi les Kurdes irakiens, dont trois femmes et deux enfants, selon l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), l'un des principaux mouvements kurdes irakiens. L'UPK ajoute que des dépôts de vivres ont été détruits et des champs brûlés. Or, *il n'y a absolument pas de camps d'entraînement du PKK dans cette zone*, a affirmé l'UPK, invitant les autorités et journalistes turcs à venir visiter la région. (AFP.)

Teil I

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LE SOIR DE BRUXELLES - 25 août 1994

PKK militants arrested for extortion

Alaattin Kanat and Ahmet Demir are alleged to have been responsible for many crimes still unsolved in Turkey's southeast Anatolian region

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA-- Three confessed militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party were caught extorting DM 100,000 from a businessman in Silivri and were arrested.

Alaattin Kanat, Ahmet Demir and Mehmet Yazıcıoğulları, are alleged to have participated in the killings of Mehmet Sincar, former Mardin deputy of the defunct Democracy Party (DEP), writer Musa Anter, Elazığ Human Rights Association Chairman Metin Can and Dr. Hasan Kaya.

Besides the three militants, two other people, namely Kadir Akbıyık and Nizamettin Kutlu were also taken into custody. It has been claimed that Kanat and Demir, who are alleged to have been responsible for many crimes still unsolved in Turkey's southeast Anatolian region, had been threatening gas station owner Sener Er for years.

Kanat is claimed to have telephoned Er and told the businessman that he, like Sincar, would be killed if he did not give them the DM 100,000. Kanat is also alleged to have told the police officers who took him into custody that he was a powerful man, that they should not take him into custody and that the police would be sorry for their actions. Kanat, Demir and Yazıcıoğulları are quite well-known in the region.

Kanat is one of former chiefs of the PKK militants. It is known that he carried out actions in Mardin and Batman in 1986

when he joined the PKK. In 1990, Kanat was removed from his post and sent to Istanbul. Later the PKK issued a death warrant with his name on it. A PKK hit-man named Bayram Akkuş was sent to Istanbul to carry out the killing, but Kanat got wind of the plot and eliminated the would-be assassin.

After this, Kanat surrendered to the security forces and was sent to Diyarbakır where he was put on trial at State Security Court No. 2 for involvement in the killings of 90 people.

After serving a two-year prison term (Docket Number: 1991/357), he applied to benefit from the Repentance Law under which criminals can have their sentence quashed if they see the error of their ways and turn informer. Kanat's application was accepted and thus the charges against him were dropped.

Kanat, under the code name General Zinnar, was involved in many operations against the PKK. Using his information many PKK militants were arrested or their links with the PKK were cut.

It was claimed that while Kanat was in prison he had taken part in many operations for the Gendarmerie Intelligence and Anti-terrorism Department (JITEM) and that his exits from the prison were permitted and that he had forced other PKK inmates to become repentants.

No official acknowledgement was ever made of these claims. Kanat was also alleged to have been involved in the

killings of Anter and Sincar but there was no conclusive evidence.

Demir, who was born in Elazığ, once served as guard for Alpaslan Türkeş, the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). He was later seen in the environs of Bingöl and Tunceli.

It was known that he used the nicknames, "The Bearded One." Deputy Parliament Speaker Kamer Genç earlier stated that a bearded man with this name had exerted pressure on the people in the region and had been involved in various terrorist actions.

In his memoirs, Major Ahmet Cem Ersever, one of the founders of JITEM who was killed by unidentified persons, had also stated that Demir had participated in various terrorist operations. Demir's name is also mentioned in connection with the killings of Can and Kaya and journalist Halit Güngen.

Demir is also alleged to have killed five people who were claimed to have been slain by the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) members. Yazıcıoğulları, who described himself as a businessman from Bingöl and who worked in the same team as Demir, was at one time a parliamentary candidate for the True Path Party (DYP).

In Ersever's memoirs, Yazıcıoğulları, along with Demir and Kanat, is claimed to have been involved in arms and drug smuggling and also extortion.

'Arbitrary arrest' claims from Yurttaş and Sadak

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The two former deputies of the banned Kurdish-based Democracy Party (DEP) Sedat Yurttaş and Selim Sadak who were taken into custody on June 1 after they had lost their parliamentary immunity protested their arrest in a written statement.

The two former Kurdish deputies claimed that a case against them could have been opened a few days after their offi-

cial arrest and criticized the attitude of the Ankara State Security Court (DGM) as arbitrary.

In their written statement, Yurttaş and Sadak indicated that the DGM chief prosecution had been preparing the case against them for the past three years and claimed that they had been kept under custody for twelve days for an interrogation which lasted only for three hours since there are no

legal time limits for opening a case.

"The delay in the opening of cases against us only means that they had been trying to prepare evidence for the artificial creation of charges against us," stated the former deputies of the party banned by the Constitutional Court.

Yurttaş and Sadak said: "The current situation can only be connected with the messages which we gave to the public between the closure of the DEP to our arrest," and added "This is only an act of revenge."

Turkish Daily News - August 26, 1994

Rival Iraqi Kurdish factions clash again

Reuters

ANKARA - Fresh fighting has broken out among rival Kurdish factions in northern Iraq with casualties on both sides, reports from the region said on Thursday. The reports said the clashes between the main Kurdish groups, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), were centered in Suleymaniya province, near the border with Iran.

Ankara-based spokesmen for the two factions, who make up an uneasy coalition in Kurdish-controlled north Iraq, confirmed the fighting at Sayyed Sadeq, Seraisuphanagha and Shanderi, but they declined to give casualty figures.

Forces of the Islamic Movement of Iraqi Kurdistan (IMK), backing the KDP, were also involved in the fighting, they said. The official Iranian news agency IRNA said "tens of people" had been killed and hundreds wounded.

It said officials in Suleymaniya had put out public appeals for blood donors. Safeen Dizayee, Ankara-based spokesman for the KDP said party leader Massoud

Barzani and his PUK counterpart, Jalal Talabani, were likely to meet later on Thursday to discuss territorial disputes between their factions.

"I expect the leaders to meet in the assembly building in Irbil," Dizayee said. He blamed the fighting on KUP designs on strategic positions now held by KDP and IMK forces. But PUK spokesman Shazad Saib said his party's guerrillas fought back in self-defence, recapturing a number of positions from unprovoked KDP attacks in and around Penjwin.

Saib said KDP-IMK coalition fighters were pushed back from their local headquarters at Halabja, near the Iranian border. "Most of the coalition forces fled to Iran," he said. Under the protection of western forces, Kurds seized control of much of northern Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War. In 1992, they held elections, which created a regional government dominated by the KDP and the PUK.

But the powersharing deal is showing signs of wear and Iraqi Kurdistan has been largely fragmented into separate spheres of influence.

Le Journal de Genève- 31 août 1994

IRAK Violents combats interkurdes dans le nord

Des dizaines de personnes ont trouvé la mort au cours des derniers jours dans des combats qui opposent des factions kurdes irakiennes rivales à Halabja, dans le Kurdistan d'Irak (nord du pays). Aucun bilan précis n'a été rendu public et les chiffres varient de 50 à 300 morts, selon les sources. Les affrontements opposent principalement les combattants de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK de Jalal Talabani) à ceux du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK de Massoud Barzani). Un conflit endémique oppose l'UPK et le PDK pour le contrôle du Kurdistan d'Irak, passé aux mains des formations kurdes dans la foulée de la guerre du Golfe au printemps 1991. (AFP)

A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. — A.F.P. —

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Turquie-Kurdes

23 rebelles et 11 soldats turcs tués dans le sud-est anatolien

ANKARA, 26 août (AFP) - Vingt-trois rebelles kurdes et onze soldats turcs ont été tués en 24 heures lors d'opérations militaires dans le sud-est anatolien, principal théâtre de la rébellion du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), a-t-on appris officiellement vendredi.

Ces opérations ont été effectuées dans les régions de Hakkari, Bingol et Sirnak, selon un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir chargée de la coordination de la lutte depuis juillet 1987 contre la rébellion du PKK, déclenchée en août 1984 contre le gouvernement central d'Ankara.

Ce bilan porte à quelque 200 le nombre de tués lors de combats et opérations depuis le dixième anniversaire du début de la rébellion kurde le 15 août, dans différentes localités de cette région à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran.

YM/mnv/phb

AFP /JO0245/261743

AOU 94

In Worten kaum zu fassen

A.T. ist Kurde. Im folgenden dokumentiert die DAZ seinen Bericht über ein Massaker in Kurdistan, das er nur knapp überlebte. Das Gespräch führte er mit einem Journalisten der einzigen oppositionellen Tageszeitung der Türkei, «Özgür Ülke», und im Beisein von Mitgliedern der internationalen Beobachterdelegation, die im August in der Türkei und in Kurdistan weilte. Sein Name ist der Redaktion bekannt, die Veröffentlichung würde A.T. und seine Familie erneut in Lebensgefahr bringen. Die Veröffentlichung in der DAZ erfolgt in Zusammenarbeit mit der Redaktion von «Özgür Ülke». Bearbeitung Klaus Rozsa.

Vor einem Jahr war A.T. mit einem Teil seiner Familie aus dem Dorf Gercs in der Nähe von Batman nach Südkurdistan (irakischer Teil) geflüchtet. Ihr Dorf war immer wieder vom türkischen Militär und der Konterguerilla heimgesucht worden. Sie wollten Dorfbewohner/innen zwingen, paramilitärische Dorfschützer zu werden. Im folgenden erzählt A.T. mit welcher Grausamkeit das türkische Militär gegen die kurdische Bevölkerung vorgeht.

«Ich machte mich am 17. Juli 1994 von Südkurdistan aus auf den Weg, um den in Nord-Westkurdistan verbliebenen Teil meiner Familie auch zu uns nach Südkurdistan zu bringen. Schmuggler brachten mich bis nach Silopi, von dort aus ging ich alleine weiter.

Begegnung mit einer PKK-Gruppe

Es war die Zeit, in der die Flüchtlingslager in Südkurdistan immer wieder vom türkischen Militär aus der Luft und vom Boden aus angegriffen und bombardiert wurden. Bei Zorumla, einer Hochebene, auf der Nomaden wohnen, begegnete ich einer Gruppe bewaffneter Männer. Ich fürchtete mich zuerst, da ich nicht wusste, um was für eine bewaffnete Gruppe es sich han-

deltete. Die aus fünf Männern bestehende Gruppe erblickte mich auch, kam auf mich zu und sprach mich an. Sie gaben sich als Guerillaeinheit der PKK zu erkennen, eine Einheit des Kommandanten Yilmaz Uzun.

Yilmaz Uzun fragt mich, was ich hier mache, wohin ich gehen wolle. Als sie hörten, dass ich meine Familie holen möchte, rieten sie mir dringend davon ab, da zur Zeit in der Gegend massive militärische Operationen stattfänden. Ich solle zurück nach Südkurdistan gehen und zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt meine Familie holen. Die Gruppe von Yilmaz Uzun bot mir an, mit ihnen gemeinsam bis an die Grenze zu gehen.

In der Falle

So änderte ich meinen Plan, und entschied mich bis zur Grenze bei ihnen zu bleiben. Wir brachen auf, zurück Richtung Grenze. Vor dem Dorf Ferik trennte sich Yilmaz Uzun von uns, um ins Dorf zu gehen, woher er nach einiger Zeit zusammen mit einem Bauer zurückkam. Der Bauer begrüßte uns kurz und kehrte dann ins Dorf zurück, um für die Guerilleros Zivilkleider zu suchen. Nach etwa einer Stunde kam zu der Stelle, wo sich der Bauer von uns verabschiedet hatte, ein Taxi, des-

sen Chauffeur der Gruppe die zivilen Kleider mitbrachte. Die fünf Guerilleros zogen sich um und legten ihre Waffen in den Kofferraum. Zwischen 16 und 17 Uhr, es war der 21. Juli, stiegen wir alle sechs zusammen in das Taxi des Taxichauffeurs Ismet ein.

Wir waren nicht lange unterwegs, als zwei Helikopter über uns hinwegflogen. Kurz danach begegneten wir einem türkischen Panzer. Der Taxichauffeur grüßte die Soldaten. Yilmaz fragte den Taxifahrer, warum er die Soldaten begrüßt habe, worauf er antwortete: «Die Polizei und die Soldaten kennen mich hier, weil ich als Chauffeur arbeite und ihnen häufig begegne, ihr könnt unbesorgt sein.»

Da es keinen anderen Weg gab, mussten wir am Militärstützpunkt Hacilar vorbei. Dort wurden wir von türkischen Soldaten und Spezialeinheiten angehalten. Ismet der Chauffeur begrüßte die Soldaten und sagte ihnen: «Das sind jetzt die Schmuggler, von denen ich euch erzählt habe, ich bringe sie über die Grenze und auf dem Rückweg bringe ich euch euren Anteil, die versprochenen Sachen mit.» Die Spezialeinheiten antworteten darauf: «Wir glauben dir, aber trotzdem müssen wir das Auto durchsuchen.»

Noch bevor wir aus dem Auto aussteigen konnten, war das Taxi von mehr als 50 Soldaten und Spezialeinheiten umstellt. Ohne uns irgend etwas zu fragen, zerrten uns die Soldaten sofort aus dem Auto, wir wurden an Armen und Beinen mit gefesselt. Die Einheiten fingten sofort an, uns zu schlagen.

Sie haben uns dann gleich die Augen verbunden und weitergeschlagen. Durch die Schläge rutschte meine Augenbinde etwas herunter und ich sah in diesem Moment den Taxichauffeur Ismet, der lachend zusammen mit einigen Soldaten weglief. In dem Augenblick verstand ich, dass wir in eine Falle geraten waren, ein Komplott des Chauffeurs mit den Soldaten.

Standhafte Bäuer/Innen

Das Militär brachte uns in den Stützpunkt des Hacilar Bataillon. Dort wurden wir vier Tage lang mit allen Grausamkeiten gefoltert, die man sich nur ausdenken kann. Im gleichen Stützpunkt befanden sich viele, vor allem ältere Bauern und Bäuerinnen aus der Gegend bei Silopi und den Cudi-Bergen. Sie waren allesamt festgenommen worden, und wir hörten, wie sie gefoltert wurden; hörten, wie die Soldaten zu ihnen «arbeitet mit uns zusammen oder es werden hunderte Kurden sterben» sagten. Wie sie ihnen drohten, Kinder und Frauen zu ermorden, ganze Dörfer zu vernichten. Aber die Bauern und Bäuerinnen verweigerten die Zusammenarbeit mit dem türkischen Staat.

In den ersten beiden Tagen sah ich viele Kleider der Bauern und Bäuerinnen voll Blut, auf dem Boden flossen Blutbäche. Immer wieder hörte ich die Soldaten die Bauern und Bäuerinnen fragen, wo sich die Stützpunkte der Guerilla befänden, wo sie ihre Verstecke hätten, wer ihnen helfe. Aber die Bauern und Bäuerinnen antworteten immer wieder, dass sie das nicht wüssten und «ihr könnt uns umbringen, aber verkaufen, das tun wir uns nicht.»

Die fünf Guerilleros riefen unter der Folter Parolen «Es lebe die PKK, es lebe die ERNK, es lebe die ARGK, es lebe der nationale Befreiungskampf in Kurdistan». Immer wieder riefen sie den Folterern zu «Wir sind Kriegsgefangene, behandelt uns so, wie wir als PKK-ler euch als Gefangene Soldaten behandeln.» Doch die Soldaten, von denen jeder einzelne ein Mörder war, folterten mit aller Grausamkeit weiter. Die Guerilleros sagten den Soldaten, dass ich nicht zu ihnen gehöre, aber sie machten keinerlei Unterschied zwischen uns.

Mutwilliger Mord

Nach 4 Tagen wurden wir erneut an Füßen und Händen

mit Ketten gefesselt und in einen Schützenpanzer geschleppt.

Ich, Yilmaz Uzun, beide Gabar's (sie hatten den gleichen Namen), Selim, Behdinan und ein Mann, der in der Gegend von Silopi festgenommen worden war, İlhan, wurden auch mit in den Panzer geworfen. Der Panzer war noch nicht abgefahren, als die Soldaten begannen, jedem von uns die Ohren abzuschneiden. Ein Soldat der Spezialeinheit beugte sich über Yilmaz Uzun und sagte: «He du, du bist doch ein Kommandant der PKK, nicht

wahr? Schau, was wir jetzt mit dir machen.» Zuerst schnitt er ihm die Ohren ab, dann die Nase, dann die Hände und Füße, zuletzt schnitt er ihm die Kehle durch. Yilmaz verblutete im Panzer, uns anderen hatten sie die Ohren abgeschnitten, mir das linke.

Schüsse in die Grube

So fuhren wir ungefähr eine Stunde. Auf einem leeren Platz auf dem bereits eine Grube ausgehoben war, wurden wir aus dem Panzer geschmissen, in der Luft lag ein grauenhafter Geruch nach

verbranntem Menschenfleisch. Es kann sein, dass die Bäuerinnen und Bauern die mit uns gefoltert worden waren, hier hingebracht wurden. Zuerst wurden die Überreste von Yilmaz Uzun in die Grube geworfen und eine Handgranate hinterher. Danach wurde jeder einzelne von uns hineingeworfen. Wie wild schossen dann die Soldaten mit Maschinenpistolen in die Grube, sodass durch die Schiesserei etwa ein Meter Erde auf uns herabfiel.

Nach den Schüssen hörte ich den Kommandanten rufen: «Geht und schaut, ob die

A. T. mit abgeschnittenen Ohren und Verletzungen im Gesicht. Zu seinem Schutz wurde sein Gesicht abgedeckt. Vielleicht wirkt sein Bericht manchmal für unsere Ohren zu pathetisch, können wir die Fakten kaum fassen. A.T. Bericht entspricht in vielem ähnlichen Berichten aus dem kurdischen Kriegsgebiet. Soeben jedoch hat der Bührlle-Konzern der Türkei eine Waffen-Lizenz verkauft. Wir konnten es nicht verhindern», lautete der Kommentar aus Bern. Sind wir derart machtlos? Sind wir?



Armenier alle tot sind». Nachdem ein Soldat alles kontrolliert hatte und rief «Ja wohl Kommandant, die Arbeit ist erledigt», wollte sich der Kommandant selber nochmals davon überzeugen und kam an den Rand der Grube, kontrollierte und rief: «So, jetzt lasst uns schnell machen, bevor die getöteten Armenier wieder zum Leben erwachen».

Die Erde war mit Blut durchdränkt

Ich hatte mich während der ganzen Zeit tot gestellt. Nachdem die Soldaten gegangen waren, wartete ich eine Weile – vielleicht eine Stunde – um sicher zu gehen, dass niemand mehr da war. Ich schaufelte vorsichtig die Erde über mir

weg, steckte meinen Kopf aus der Grube und blickte direkt in einen Lichtkegel, worauf ich sofort wieder unter der Erde verschwand. Nochmals wartete ich, bis ich dann sicher war, dass niemand mehr da war. Das Licht, so bemerkte ich dann, kam vom Militärstützpunkt Keriyaes, der sich auf einem Hügel befindet.

Das Bild das sich vor meinen Augen auftat, ist mit Worten nicht zu beschreiben, die Erde war durchdränkt mit Blut. Ich kroch auf dem Boden Richtung Hezil – das ist ein Grenzfluss – die ganze Nacht hindurch. Gegen morgen begegnete ich einem Hirten. Mein Anblick verschlug dem Hirten die Sprache, er bemerkte einzig, dass auf der anderen Seite der Grenze je-

mand gesucht würde. Ich glaubte, die Soldaten hätten bemerkt, dass ich fehlte, und rannte so schnell ich konnte Richtung Hezil. Beim Laufen verlor ich ständig Blut aus meinen Wunden.

Ich wusste nicht, wie spät es war, noch wie lange ich gelaufen war, als ich in die Nähe eines Dorfes kam. Ich fand einen Garten, wo ich mich hinlegte und das Bewusstsein verlor. Irgendwann wurde ich von dem Gartenbesitzer geweckt, der mir sagte, dass ich mich in der Gegend von Zako (Irak) befinde. Der Bauer holte mir ein Taxi, und brachte mich ins Krankenhaus von Zako. Nachdem ich eine Woche im Krankenhaus behandelt worden war, verliess ich Zako und ging nach Dihok,

wo ich mich niedergelassen hatte. Zako verliess ich aber vor allem so schnell, weil dort viele MIT-Agenten (türkischer Geheimdienst) arbeiten, und wenn sie erfahren hätten, wo ich herkomme, und dass ich noch am Leben bin, hätten sie mich sofort umgebracht.

Dem Morden ein Ende

Ich denke, das wichtigste ist jetzt, einen Aufruf zu machen, für eine internationale Untersuchungskommission. Denn dort, wo wir in die Grube geworfen wurden, dort befinden sich grosse Massengräber und die ganze Welt muss von dieser Grausamkeit und der Barbarei wissen, die das türkische Militär gegen die kurdische Bevölkerung betreibt, um der Barbarei ein Ende zu bereiten.

Vorsichtige Annäherung Ankaras an Bagdad

Erhöhter Druck auf die Kurden im Nordirak

Seitdem die Türkei um die Normalisierung ihrer Beziehungen zum Irak bemüht ist, geraten die irakischen Kurden zunehmend in Bedrängnis. Bei einem Treffen der Aussenminister Syriens, Irans und der Türkei in Damaskus wurde vereinbart, sämtliche Versuche der Abspaltung des kurdischen Nordiraks zu verhindern. In aller Deutlichkeit hat sich Ankara gegen geplante Neuwahlen für ein Lokalparlament der nordirakischen Kurden ausgesprochen.

ii. Laut Angaben des türkischen Generalstabs ist am Dienstag eine Staffel von insgesamt 32 Kampfflugzeugen über kurdisches Gebiet im Nordirak geflogen und hat 230 Kilometer südlich der türkischen Grenzstadt Silopi Lager und Stellungen der illegalen Kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (PKK) bombardiert. Ein Armeesprecher erklärte, dies sei in diesem Monat bereits der achte Einsatz der Luftwaffe im Nordirak gewesen. Die massivsten Angriffe hätten am 15. und am 20. August stattgefunden. Dabei seien 92 Angehörige der PKK getötet worden. Gleichzeitig kündigte ein Sprecher des Aussenministeriums verschärfte Personenkontrollen beim türkisch-irakischen Grenzübergang *Habur* an. Die Türkei sei wegen der Aktivitäten einiger im Nordirak tätigen westlichen Hilfsorganisationen ernsthaft besorgt, hiess es. Deshalb dürften künftig Personen, die für die Sicherheit der Türkei als gefährlich eingestuft würden, in Habur nicht mehr passieren.

Regionales Aussenministertreffen

Diese Ankündigung hat unter den Kurden im Nordirak einige Unruhe ausgelöst. Die Hilfe westlicher Organisationen bildet für die durch die Uno-Sanktionen gegen den Irak und das Embargo Bagdads gegen den Nordirak doppelt behinderte kurdische Verwaltung noch immer eine der wichtigsten Stützen. Kurdische Politiker bringen die jüngsten Luftangriffe in Verbindung mit der angekündigten verschärfte Personenkontrolle in

Habur. Sie sprechen von einem Wandel in der türkischen Aussenpolitik. Dieser sei am vergangenen Sonntag an einem Treffen der Aussenminister Syriens, Irans und der Türkei in Damaskus eingeleitet worden. Seit dem letzten Golfkrieg haben sich die Aussenminister der drei Nachbarländer insgesamt sechsmal zu Beratungen über den Nordirak getroffen. Nach dem jüngsten Treffen fiel der ungewöhnlich harte Tonfall der Schlussklärung auf. Die drei Länder seien fest entschlossen, jede Spaltung des Iraks zu verhindern, steht in dem Text. Weiter wurden die auf nächsten Mai angekündigten Wahlen der irakischen Kurden als Versuch einer Abspaltung bezeichnet. Parlamentarische Wahlen im Nordirak liessen den Eindruck entstehen, dass in diesem Gebiet ein unabhängiger Staat gebildet werde, erklärte ein hochrangiger Beamter des türkischen Aussenministeriums gegenüber der englischsprachigen Tageszeitung «Turkish Daily News». Aber die Türkei wünsche keine Wahlen im Nordirak, und es werde dort auch keine Wahlen geben.

Auch der neue türkische Aussenminister, *Müntaz Soysal*, meldete Bedenken an. Der Nordirak sei das Hinterland der Türkei und deshalb für Ankara von vitalem Interesse, teilte er öffentlich mit. Die im vergangenen Mai ausgebrochenen innerkurdischen Kämpfe wirkten sich aber auf die gesamte Region destabilisierend aus. In Anspielung auf die Lager der PKK sagte er, dass die Quelle des (türkischen) Terrorismus im Nordirak

liege. In der Schlussklärung des Treffens von Damaskus wird auf die Bereitschaft der drei Länder hingewiesen, die nötigen Massnahmen zu ergreifen, um Frieden und Sicherheit in der Region aufrechtzuerhalten. Auffallend ist dabei, dass darin unverhohlen «gewisse Kreise in Ländern ausserhalb der Region» beschuldigt werden, im Nordirak den Separatismus zu fördern.

Stiller Wandel

Die türkische Tageszeitung «Millyet» sprach in einem Kommentar von einem stillen Wandel der Aussenpolitik Ankaras gegenüber Bagdad. Im Gegensatz zu Washington sei die türkische Regierung der Ansicht, dass Saddam Hussein noch lange an der Macht bleiben werde. Die Türkei wolle darum ihre Beziehungen zu diesem südlichen Nachbarn normalisieren. Die nach dem letzten Golfkrieg von Özal mit Billigung der Alliierten eingeleitete Politik einer Einflussnahme auf die nordirakischen Kurden werde allmählich fallengelassen.

Auf Initiative der Gattin des französischen Präsidenten, *Danielle Mitterrand*, haben sich Mitte Juli in Paris Delegationen der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistans (KDP) und der Patriotischen Union Kurdistans (PUK), die seit Mai um die Machtverteilung im Nordirak kämpfen, zu Friedensgesprächen getroffen. Nach einwöchigen Gesprächen einigten sich ihre Vertreter darauf, noch in diesem Herbst im Nordirak eine Volkszählung durchzuführen und die Wahlen für den nächsten Mai vorzubereiten. Weiter wurde vereinbart, die Kämpfer der beiden Parteien wie vor dem Aus-

bruch der Gefechte in eine gemeinsame Armee einzugliedern und ein einheitliches nordirakisches Polizeikorps zu bilden. Dem Pariser Treffen haben als Beobachter auch Beamte des französischen Aussenministeriums und der französischen Präsidentschaft sowie Mitglieder der amerikanischen und der britischen Botschaft in Paris beigewohnt. Frankreich, die USA und Grossbritannien, die gemeinsam mit der Türkei nach dem Golfkrieg das Schutzmandat für die irakischen Kurden übernommen haben, sind laut türkischen Quellen mit den Beschlüssen des Pariser Treffens einverstanden. Dass die Türkei zu diesem Treffen weder eingeladen noch über dessen Beschlüsse informiert wurde, hat Ankara tief gekränkt.

Der Wandel der türkischen Aussenpolitik gegenüber Bagdad und den irakischen Kurden könnte zu einer ernsten Verstimmung zwischen Ankara und den westlichen Golfkriegsalliierten führen. Mitte August hatte die Regierungschefin Ciller den Einwohnern des Südostens versprochen, den Grenzübergang Habur für den Kleinhandel in der Region zu öffnen. Diese Massnahme würde es ermöglichen, türkische Lebensmittel in den Irak zu exportieren. Ein Grossteil der Ware wird mit Bestimmtheit auf direktem Weg durch das kurdisch kontrollierte Gebiet direkt nach Bagdad gelangen. Gemäss den nach dem Golfkrieg verhängten Uno-Sanktionen ist dies nicht verboten. Die importierten Lebensmittel können vom Irak aber lediglich mit Erdöl bezahlt werden, da Devisen kaum mehr vorhanden sind. Damit würde Bagdad aber eindeutig gegen die Sanktionsbestimmungen verstossen.

LE COURRIER - 27-28 août 1994

MANIF

150 jeunes Kurdes devant l'ONU

Hier après midi, près de 150 jeunes Kurdes de 12 à 25 ans ont manifesté pacifiquement un soutien à leur peuple devant le palais des Nations Unies à Genève. Ils avaient notamment pour but d'attirer l'attention des autorités onusiennes sur la guerre menée contre les Kurdes et de sensibiliser l'opinion internationale. La ville du bout du lac devait être l'aboutissement d'un voyage à vélo devant débiter le 18 août à Bonn (Allemagne), organisé par la jeunesse kurde exilée en Allemagne.

Pourtant, selon les dires du porte-parole des manifestants, leur projet fut mis à mal dès le départ. «Cette action, qui se voulait complètement légale, a pris malgré nous un caractère d'aventure, explique M. Imam Kaya. Nous

avons l'autorisation de nous rassembler à Bonn, où nous étions 150 jeunes cyclistes. Mais la police allemande a tenté par divers moyens – comme des contrôles d'identité ou en essayant de nous faire signer des déclarations qui nous auraient valu des problèmes avec la justice – d'empêcher la manifestation. Nous nous sommes assis par terre pour protester et les 300 policiers se sont mis à nous battre, durant six heures.»¹

Toujours selon lui, 115 jeunes Kurdes auraient été blessés, dont 14 gravement, tandis que les vélos auraient été confisqués ou détruits. Ce qui n'a pas empêché près de 120 jeunes de reprendre la route, en car jusqu'à la frontière suisse, puis à vélo depuis Bâle pour ceux qui l'avaient récupéré. Ainsi, le voyage à deux roues, prévu depuis Bonn, n'a pu s'effectuer que sur territoire helvétique. Durant le trajet, une trentaine de jeunes Kurdes se sont joints à eux.

Devant les Nations Unies, ils ont adressé diverses revendications aux instances internationales, notamment celle du droit à l'autodétermination pour le peuple kurde. Ils souhaitent également que l'ONU intervienne pour régler pacifiquement la question

kurde; que la commission des droits de l'homme élabore un projet de résolution pour mettre fin à la guerre menée contre les Kurdes de l'est de la Turquie; ou encore que le Haut-Commissariat aux réfugiés (HCR) apporte son soutien aux réfugiés.

«En quatre ans de guerre, plus de 2000 villages kurdes ont été détruits par l'Etat turc, rappelle M. Imam Kaya. Durant cet été, la guerre a atteint son plus haut niveau, caractérisé par le génocide du peuple kurde, par des évacuations et par des camps d'internement. Dans la région de Hakkari, plus de 2000 Kurdes sont rassemblés dans un camp.» Il affirme également que 60 personnes sont tuées tous les jours, un chiffre cependant impossible à vérifier. «Nos parents et voisins sont tués au Kurdistan turc. Pour la jeunesse kurde en Europe, il n'est pas possible de rester silencieux face à une telle barbarie. C'est pour cela que nous avons organisé cette manifestation à vélo.» DENIS INKEI

¹ Il ne nous a pas été possible de vérifier ces informations. Mais il est vrai que les autorités allemandes interdisent aux organisations kurdes toute activité sur leur territoire.

Valeurs Actuelles du 27 août 1994

Comment peut-on être kurde ?

Pour un reporter, la découverte du peuple kurde est un souvenir inoubliable.

par **Edouard Sablier**

● C'était le 9 juin 1947, à l'aube. J'étais arrivé la veille à Khom, petite localité de la montagne kurde, aux confins de l'Irak et de l'Irak. Toute la nuit, une fusillade nourrie nous avait tenus éveillés.

Le *farmandar*, l'administrateur iranien, m'avait appris que, la veille, de violents accrochages avaient mis aux prises sur la frontière des éléments kurdes et un détachement de gendarmerie.

Dès les premières heures du jour, nous pûmes suivre dans nos jumelles la marche des guerriers kurdes. Leurs colonnes se déplaçaient lentement, suivies à distance par des unités de l'armée iranienne. Dans la soirée seulement, la radio nous apprit que nous avions assisté à un événement historique : le chef du Kurdistan irakien, Moustapha Barzani, venait, à la tête de plusieurs milliers de partisans, de passer en territoire soviétique.

Quittant leur réduit de Rowanduz, cheminant de piton en piton à travers les

territoires kurdes de Turquie et d'Irak, les guerriers barzanis avaient franchi à Djolfa l'Araxe, dont les eaux forment la frontière irano-soviétique et avaient trouvé refuge au Nakhitchevan. L'épisode illustre bien les aléas de l'histoire.

Longtemps, la Russie n'eut pas de politique kurde. Pour les théoriciens marxistes-léninistes, les Kurdes étaient une force contre-révolutionnaire, utilisée par la féodalité des *aghas* et servant d'instrument à l'impérialisme britannique.

Une République kurde est proclamée.

A sa tête, Barzani

Dès 1944, la stratégie du Kremlin s'était transformée. L'URSS est engagée dans une épreuve de force avec l'Occident, en Iran et en Turquie. Toutes les forces disponibles sont mobilisées pour assaillir les régimes de ces pays. Moscou découvre alors le nationalisme kurde.

Une République kurde est proclamée dans l'Azerbaïdjan iranien qu'occupe l'Armée rouge. Son commandement est confié à Moustapha Barzani, chef des tribus kurdes d'Irak. Promu à la dignité de maré-

chal, il revêt sur le champ une tenue soviétique complète, y compris les hautes bottes, les pattes d'épaules rigides, la casquette rouge et or, et une impressionnante batterie de décorations.

Les desseins annexionnistes de Staline seront balayés en 1946, lorsque la Doctrine Truman, sous la menace du feu nucléaire, exigera l'évacuation du nord de l'Irak par les Russes et l'abandon de toute visée sur l'Irak, la Turquie et la Grèce. Le *chah* marche sur l'Azerbaïdjan ; la « République kurde » s'effondre en quelques heures. Moustapha Barzani se réfugie au sein de sa tribu en Irak. C'est à l'exode de celle-ci vers le Nakhitchevan qu'il me fut donné d'assister quelques mois plus tard.

L'origine de ce peuple se perd dans la nuit des temps. Xénophon, cinq siècles avant notre ère, mentionne les *Kardoukhoï*, qui harcèlent la progression de ses troupes. Certains voient en eux les descendants des Mèdes ou des Parthes.

Leur contrée est un massif montagneux au cœur de l'Asie mineure, des chaînes du Taurus, dans le sud-est de la Turquie, aux monts Zagros qui s'étendent du lac de Van aux abords du détroit d'Ormuz. Ils sont trente millions, parlant une langue iranienne, confessant la foi musulmane. Mais alors que les Turcs et les Persans n'ont cessé de former des nations homogènes, les Kurdes sont restés divisés à travers les siècles, assujettis au joug de régimes étrangers. Leur territoire est aujourd'hui réparti entre cinq Etats : Turquie, Iran, Irak, Syrie et Azerbaïdjan, précédemment soviétique. J'ai la chance d'être

Des réfugiés kurdes fuient en Turquie pour échapper aux troupes de Saddam Hussein.



un des rares voyageurs auquel il fut donné de connaître ces cinq Kurdistan.

En un demi-siècle de reportage, les souvenirs les plus heureux, mais aussi les plus tristes, je les dois à la découverte du peuple kurde.

Les plus heureux viennent du temps où une paix relative permettait encore aux tribus du Kurdistan de mener une existence à peu près normale, dans les fraîches vallées qui coupent en lignes parallèles les hauteurs des Zagros.

La vie du Kurde est réglée par les besoins de son troupeau. Terré tout l'hiver avec ses bêtes dans des gourbis souterrains, au pied des montagnes, il entreprend dès le dégel une lente ascension vers les cimes, suivant les neiges qui reculent. Au printemps, bardé de cartouchières, le fusil prêt à accueillir un épervier ou un pillard, il accompagne ses troupeaux sur les hauts plateaux, grisé d'air vivifiant et de liberté.

L'hospitalité que prodigue le Kurde est émuante. Si misérable que soit le logis, la maîtresse des lieux s'ingénie à faire surgir devant l'invité, assis sur des *djaddehs*, magnifiques tapis en poil de chèvre, une pièce de *kaourma* (mouton rôti), des *ghattas* (beignets de pomme) et en tout cas, placé sur des feuilles de châtaigner, du fromage kurde, fermenté au placenta de brebis.

Malgré leur aspect parfois patibulaire, les Kurdes sont généralement de gais compagnons. Presque tous les moments de leur existence s'accompagnent d'un chant approprié. *Berân-berdan*, le lâcher des moutons, au cours duquel on introduit dans l'enclos des brebis les béliers reproducteurs, *Nawrouz*, la fête du printemps : toutes les occasions sont célébrées par des chants et des danses traditionnels. Les hommes se mêlent aux femmes.

D'incorrigibles et indomptables pillards

Lorsque chassés par la misère ou la persécution, ils abandonnent leurs hauteurs, les Kurdes se louent à la ville, où leur force est proverbiale. Dans tous les *souks*, entre Suez et la Caspienne, les portefaix, *hamals*, sont kurdes. Dans les ruelles de Bagdad, transformées en cloaques par la pluie, j'en ai vu transporter sur leur dos des *effendis*, soucieux d'épargner à leurs tenues bourgeoises le contact de la boue.

Tous ne sont pas employés de la sorte. Certains, Rastignac du monde musulman, affluent dans les universités, enlèvent les premières places, épousent les filles de l'aristocratie. Depuis des siècles, les Kurdes ont joué un rôle important dans les forces armées, l'administration, le négoce, la politique du Proche-Orient. Saladin fut le plus célèbre : le ministre des Affaires étrangères de Turquie, M. Cétin, l'un des plus récents.

Beaucoup sont d'incorrigibles pillards



Le général Barzani entouré de ses pechmergas, en septembre 1974.

qu'aucune autorité n'est parvenue à dompter. Marco Polo déjà, traversant sous bonne escorte le Kurdistan, décrivait ses habitants comme « vaillants et bons archers, mais souvent très méchants gens, qui dépouillent volontiers les voyageurs ».

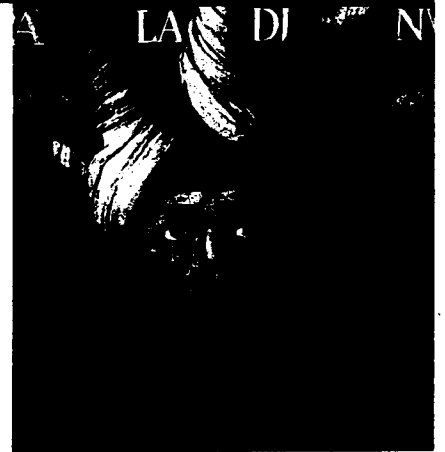
D'un bout à l'autre du Kurdistan, l'étranger est impressionné par un vouloir vivre commun, qu'il faut bien appeler le nationalisme kurde. Les Kurdes n'ont jamais accepté leur asservissement. Mais leurs divisions sont trop grandes, trop grand leur individualisme pour qu'un mouvement commun permette d'obtenir l'émancipation.

Dès lors, les souvenirs tristes s'accumulent. Dans la plupart des pays dont ils subissent la tutelle, les Kurdes sont l'objet d'une répression féroce. Leurs aspirations culturelles sont étouffées. En Iran, en Turquie, les régimes ont une politique rigide d'assimilation.

En Irak surtout, depuis sa création en 1925, la puissance mandataire britannique, qui fonde sa politique sur le panarabisme, apporte son aide entière aux Arabes pour écraser les Kurdes. La Royal Air Force, les troupes britanniques interviennent à plusieurs reprises pour noyer dans le sang toute tentative de révolte.

Le martyre va s'aggraver avec l'arrivée du régime baathiste de Saddam Hussein. Les Kurdes représentent le tiers de la population de l'Irak. Leur crime est leur refus d'abandonner leur culture et de s'intégrer dans le cadre réservé à ses domestiques par l'oligarchie sunnite de Bagdad.

Les atrocités commises par les troupes de Saddam Hussein ont fait l'objet d'un rapport d'Amnesty International en février 1989. Les assaillants crevaient les yeux de leurs victimes, coupaient les nez, les oreilles, les seins, les pénis. Les enfants surtout étaient torturés, fouettés, violés sous les yeux de leurs parents. Le Kurdistan est



Saladin, vainqueur des croisés. Le Kurde le plus connu en Occident. (Peinture du XVIII^e siècle).

soumis à l'annihilation méthodique de sa démographie et de son écologie. Sur d'immenses surfaces, la faune et la flore sont anéanties au moyen de gaz et de produits chimiques. Le jardin montagneux devient chaque jour davantage un misérable désert.

Une enquête conduite pour le Sénat américain établit qu'entre 1984 et 1988 les Irakiens ont employé à vingt-deux reprises l'arme chimique contre la population. Pourtant aucune mesure n'a été prise par la communauté internationale pour mettre fin à ce génocide. Et les grandes puissances ont continué hypocritement, jusqu'à la guerre du Golfe, à fournir les crédits et les armes sans lesquels une dictature comme celle de Bagdad ne pourrait survivre.

Lorsque les Kurdes présentent aux Nations unies une liste de villages détruits et de milliers de villageois tués par les gaz, la Commission des droits de l'homme refuse d'en prendre connaissance, tant est grande la peur d'irriter les potentats du pétrole qui soutiennent le régime sunnite de Bagdad.

Au milieu de toutes ces épreuves, les élites de la nation kurde tournent leurs regards vers la France. Après avoir espéré en

vain une aide venant de Russie soviétique, les Kurdes se retournent vers le seul pays qui dans un proche passé leur a permis de connaître une brève période de tranquillité.

A l'occasion de visites dans les cinq Kurdistan, il m'a été donné de constater combien, dans les régions les plus reculées, les populations étaient sensibles à tout ce qui vient de France. Un jour, à Méhabad, qui fut la capitale de l'éphémère « république autonome », un jeune instituteur m'avait invité, dans un français touchant, à le suivre dans son école. Il tira en grand mystère un opuscule aux feuillets jaunis qu'il me tendit avec fierté : « C'est la grammaire kurde de M. Lescot, avec laquelle nous enseignons en cachette notre langue aux jeunes écoliers. » Robert Lescot, brillant diplomate, était probablement avec le général Pierre Rondot l'un des meilleurs connaisseurs du kurde dans le monde.

Les Kurdes ont pensé que les Français avaient entendu leur appel

Un moment, les Kurdes ont pu croire que les autorités françaises avaient entendu leur appel. Au lendemain de la guerre du Golfe, des militaires français ont pris position avec les Anglais et les Américains pour assurer la protection et la survie de la petite zone kurde constituée dans le nord de l'Irak. Des appareils français basés en Turquie contribuent aussi à faire respecter l'interdiction de la zone notifiée aux Irakiens.

L'épouse du président de la République, Mme Danielle Mitterrand, en sa qualité de président de France-Libertés, a effectué une visite de trois jours dans la zone kurde, en compagnie du chantre de l'« ingérence humanitaire », M. Bernard Kouchner. Elle a été reçue au Parlement du

mini-Etat par le héros de la résistance nationale, Moustapha Barzani.

Mais les Kurdes ont été déçus. Il leur est apparu que l'objet de la visite était moins de consolider l'embryon d'indépendance kurde que de participer à la campagne de déstabilisation de la Turquie chère à toutes les organisations gauchistes et « humanitaires ». Ainsi au lieu de rendre hommage aux autorités turques, qui ont généreusement accueilli plus de cent mille réfugiés kurdes après les massacres perpétrés par le régime de Bagdad en 1988, Mme Mitterrand s'était contentée de dire, au cours d'une conférence de presse à Ankara, combien elle trouvait précaires les conditions d'accueil faites aux réfugiés.

Avec beaucoup d'humilité et d'humour, Ankara avait suggéré dans une note au Quai d'Orsay que la France accueille les dizaines de milliers de réfugiés dont Mme Mitterrand déplorait l'état. Très embarrassé, le gouvernement français en a accueilli... trente. ●

turkish daily news

Monday, August 29, 1994

Iraq presses diplomats from Pakistan and China to favor lifting sanctions

The Associated Press

AMMAN, Jordan- Iraq's foreign minister was heading home to Baghdad Sunday after visiting Pakistan and China to rally support for lifting crippling U.N. trade sanctions. Adel Ibrahim, a spokesman for the Iraqi Embassy in Amman, said Mohammed Sahaf's trip to Islamabad and Beijing were "mainly to discuss the worsening economic situation in Baghdad as a result of the sanctions."

He declined to say whether Sahaf made any progress in his mission, which came ahead of the U.N. Security Council's regular 60-day review of the sanctions scheduled for Sept. 18.

The sanctions were imposed four days after Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's Aug. 2, 1990, invasion of neighboring Kuwait. The Iraqi diplomatic effort has involved envoys visiting several European and Asian capitals in recent weeks.

According to some reports, Baghdad's initiative also involves an attempt to link a peace deal with Israel in return for the Americans softening their harsh anti-Iraqi position.

China, Russia and France, three of the permanent members of the Security Council, would like to see the embargo on Iraq's oil exports lifted since Baghdad is now complying with Security Council Resolution 687 which calls for the dismantling of its weapons of mass destruction.

China said last spring the sanctions should be gradually relaxed to ease the widespread suffering and hardship of

Iraq's 18 million people. The Baghdad government claims at least 400,000 Iraqis, mainly children and elderly people, have died because of the embargo.

The two other permanent members of the council, the United States and Britain, oppose any relaxation and want Iraq to adhere to the other U.N. conditions before allowing the oil ban to be lifted.

The Iraqis have also been seeking to win support from Russian, French, German, U.S., Canadian, Italian and other companies by luring them with lucrative contracts once the embargo is lifted, hoping to generate pressure on their governments for relaxing the sanctions.

Long-term monitoring of Iraq's military programs is expected to start next month and it will likely take six months to determine whether they are effective.

Once that has been ascertained, the Security Council will decide whether to lift the embargo on Iraqi oil shipments, the country's economic mainstay.

Lifting the oil embargo is linked only to compliance on dismantling the weapons programs and permitting monitoring. In contrast, ending the overall trade sanctions involves other conditions, such as recognizing the U.N.-demarcated border with Kuwait and improving Baghdad's dismal human rights record.

President Clinton told the U.S. Congress earlier this month that Iraq was still defying U.N. resolutions and continues to pose a threat to U.S. and regional security.

FROM THE COLUMNS

A 10 percent honorable policy

From an Aug. 28 article by SABAH's Cengiz Çandar: Prime Minister Tansu Çiller has announced that Turkey is rejecting 10 percent of U.S. aid to Turkey, that is, the part linked to Turkey's "human rights" performance, meaning primarily the situation regarding the Kurds, and the Cyprus issue. Before you promptly applaud her resolve to protect Turkey's "national honor" you should consider the fact that this is "a 10 percent honor."

The total U.S. military aid of \$365 million is not being rejected. A \$36.5 million share is being rejected in order to preserve our "national honor!"

Obviously Çiller is trying to cultivate a "patriotic" image. But the fact is that we cannot speak of "national honor" under the circumstances. It is a comedy. Even worse, it is a shameful situation.

Because:

1- As stated above, U.S. military aid is not being rejected as a whole. Only 10 percent of Turkey's "national honor" is being protected.

2- It is true that the 10 percent share of the aid to which strings have been attached, is being rejected by Turkey. But these strings were not for the Turkish Republic but for the U.S. State Department. The United States has asked the U.S. State Department to report on human rights and Cyprus developments in Turkey. What has this got to do with Turkey's "national honor"? It is a procedure involving the U.S. Congress and the U.S. State Department. Turkey is not a "party" to this.

3- Besides this, the U.S. State Department is only being asked to report to Congress on the human rights situation in Turkey. If the Turkish Republic has nothing to be ashamed of with regard to human rights in the country, if it is sure that the human rights situation is up to international democratic standards, why should it be upset by all this?

4- If there is a "shameful" situation in the country from the human rights standpoint, this is the very thing that should injure "national honor." Personally, when I go abroad, why should I be treated as a citizen of a country where human rights are violated? It would injure my "national pride" if my own country's political regime reduced me to such a state. No one should expect a "national round of applause" for acting in a challenging manner on the international plane, while not presenting the citizens of this country with an unblemished report. This would merely be an attempt to cover up a "disgrace."

There is also a "melodramatic" aspect to all this. Prime Minister Tansu Çiller had thought that by cultivating a warm personal relationship with President Bill Clinton, she had solved the problem. During her stay in the United States, she had told Clinton that she would not accept the aid if any strings were attached to it. Since in Turkey the top executives can do almost anything they want, she must have assumed that Clinton too would be able to dictate his wishes. By upholding the foreign aid bill the way it was passed by the Congress, Clinton showed that things are different in the United States. One does not conduct foreign policy with the president of the United States on the basis of personal relationships. One does not have to be a genius or a foreign policy expert to know that. Yet, Çiller may have felt "betrayed" by Clinton and this irrational reaction may have stemmed from that feeling. After all is said and done, Turkey has accepted U.S. military aid. What it has rejected is that part of the aid that is tied to Turkey's performance on human rights and the Cyprus issues. In other words, Turkey has implicitly acknowledged its shortcomings in the human rights sphere, and its inability to take the initiative to bring about a solution to the Cyprus problem.

Turkey is now in a strange position. Judging by Turkish foreign policy, Turkey's "national honor" seems to be hurt by the way the international community isolates the cruel Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein or by the way other countries refer to human rights. Reactivation of the Iraqi-Turkish oil pipeline would gain Turkey no more than \$60 million. Out "national honor" has become so delicate, it can be hurt by such sums as "\$60 million" and "\$36.5 million."

turkish daily news

Monday, August 29, 1994

Political circles welcome Turkey's rejection of part of US military aid

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey's rejection of a portion of U.S. military aid, announced by Prime Minister Tansu Çiller on Saturday, has been welcomed by political circles in Ankara.

"It is obvious that a part of the aid is to be linked to a report on human rights in Turkey and on the Cyprus issue. We repeatedly said that we were sensitive about such strings being attached to credits.

Turkey will not accept the conditional part," Çiller disclosed.

According to the U.S. 1995 budget for foreign aid signed by U.S. President Bill Clinton on Friday, Turkey will receive \$328 million of the \$363 million earmarked for Ankara in foreign military sales.

The remaining 10 percent will be released subject to progress on human rights and on Cyprus, which will be determined with a Foreign Ministry report.

Çiller's statement was widely welcomed by political circles and the Turkish press. It is considered a sign of "foreign policy with character", which has entered Ankara's political terminology since Mumtaz Soysal's appointment as foreign minister.

Meanwhile, according to the U.S. foreign aid bill, which was signed on Friday by President Bill Clinton, Israel will receive \$3 billion and Egypt \$2.1 billion in the form of grants. The ex-Soviet republics will have \$850 million and East European countries will receive \$359 million in credit. Armenia will have \$75 million while Azerbaijan has been excluded.

The seven to 10 ratio, which has been used for the credits given to Greece and Turkey, was maintained in this bill by bringing a 10 percent suspension to the credit which is allocated to Greece because of that country's violations of the U.N. embargo on Serbia.

The Clinton administration had requested \$453 million for Turkey and \$317 million for Greece from Congress, but after the discussions in the House of Representatives and the Senate, a joint commission was established and it was decided to suspend 10 percent of the credits for both countries and to cut the credits to \$328 million for Turkey and \$227 million to Greece. The United States is applying international market interest rates to foreign aid credits.

Turkish government set to revitalize Baghdad's authority in Northern Iraq

Turkey not to participate in any move that will harm Iraqi sovereignty in its northern region

Monday, August 29, 1994

turkish daily news

By Ilnur Çevik and Hayri Birler

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- In a series of high level meetings, Turkish authorities have decided to revitalize the role of the Saddam Hussein administration in Northern Iraq, where the Kurds have established their own authority, government sources reported. Sources who asked not to be identified said the series of meetings started when Hikmet Çetin was Foreign Minister and was taking final shape under Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal. The meetings included top political, military and civil service officials.

The situation in Northern Iraq and Southeastern Turkey was analyzed in depth, and authorities reached the conclusion that Turkey had sided "too much with the West" during and after the Gulf crisis and had "gained too little and lost too much in the ordeal."

They also concluded that in the past Turkey had gone along with several moves by the West and the Iraqi Kurds that undermined Iraq's territorial integrity and sovereignty and that from now on Turkey would abandon this kind of attitude. Turkish government sources stressed that this was not a "policy change" but only a change in "approach" to show to the West that Turkey should not be taken for granted by the Western coalition partners on issues regarding Northern Iraq. "We have been taken for a ride, and every time we have mentioned our great losses due to the sanctions against Iraq we have always been given friendly advice and a pat on the back but nothing else," a leading government official told the TDN.

After long debate, Turkish officials concluded that Turkey was the sole loser of the Gulf crisis. "Even Jordan received \$6 billion in aid because of its losses in the crisis. The coalition powers busted the sanctions while Turkey remained loyal to the embargo against Iraq. In the end we were the only net losers," the leading government official said. He asked to remain anonymous.

The turning point came when Prime Minister Tansu Çiller met with U.S. President Bill Clinton at the White House and later it became apparent that the Americans would not help Turkey to make up for its losses due to the sanctions. Clinton acknowledged that Turkey had done more than its share in enforcing the sanctions and had lost more than any of the coalition partners but stressed he could not offer any U.S. taxpayers' money. Sources say until then Çiller, just like late President Turgut Özal, was prepared to go along with all the wishes of the coalition partners. That was the

turning point, when Turkey realized it had to take its own decisions and enforce them. So Ankara sent Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk to Baghdad "to open new avenues."

The final analysis showed that Ankara had gone along with all the Western moves to undermine Iraq's territorial integrity and sovereignty. "We allowed people to travel to Northern Iraq with visas issued by the Iraqi Kurds and not the Baghdad administration, which undermined Iraq's sovereignty," the government official said. He said that there were several other examples.

"So Turkey seemed to collaborate with the forces which wanted the destruction of Iraq, and that we cannot accept," the source said.

According to assessments in Ankara, Turkish officials say the lack of authority in Northern Iraq has forced the Turkish government to deal with the Iraqi Kurdish groups. The authorities have concluded that both the Kurdish Democracy Party (KDP) of Massoud Barzani and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) see the separatist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) as their "life insurance" and use this in their dealings with Ankara. "Without the PKK the two organizations would not have a card to play against Turkey, whereas now they can say PKK would flourish in Northern Iraq if it were not for their efforts," Turkish officials declare.

Turkish authorities have reportedly decided that Iraq will be informed of all their dealings with the Iraqi Kurds from now on. They have reached the conclusion that the Iraqi Kurds feel the PKK has to continue to exist so that they can maintain their life insurance, and in return Ankara has to maintain good relations with the Iraqi Kurds to win their support in fighting against the PKK. Thus there is a vicious circle. Now Ankara says that to break that circle it will introduce Baghdad back into the equation.

Foreign Minister Soysal reportedly discussed such issues at the recent Damascus meeting between the Turkish, Iranian and Syrian foreign ministers. Iran is against the setting up of a Kurdish state in the region and wants Barzani and Talabani to deal with Baghdad directly. Syria also backs Iraq's territorial integrity. Officials said an in-depth analysis of the opposition groups in Iraq was made, the power balance in Northern Iraq was studied and officials decided to deal with Barzani. There are also unconfirmed reports that Ankara has been putting more and more pressure on Talabani. Turkish authorities say Ankara's decision to curb the passage of foreign NGO's to Northern Iraq, the visit of a businessmen's delegation to Iraq, as well as the decision of the government to enhance trade at the Habir border crossing with Iraq are all part of the new Turkish approach to Northern Iraq. Further steps may be expected following today's National Security Council meeting in Ankara, the sources say. Officials say there are reports that Iraq may soon issue new passports and that Ankara may then require Iraqi Kurds to travel with these documents if they want to pass through Turkey.

Tuesday, August 30, 1994

turkish daily news

*FM Soysal denies change in foreign policy***'Turkey becoming more like the west'***Turkish Daily News*

AMMAN/ANKARA- Rejecting claims about new trends in Turkey's foreign policy, which seems to be drifting away from the west, Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal said that on the contrary Turkey is now becoming more like the western world.

Speaking at length with journalists for the first time since he was appointed foreign minister on July 26, Soysal said improving the human rights situation in Turkey is the duty of the citizens of the country more than anybody else. Soysal responded to journalists' questions on his return trip from Amman where he accompanied President Süleyman Demirel. He said the Turkish public was uneasy about pressures from some western organizations on Turkey for the "release of certain detainees." They see this as an interference in Turkey's judicial independence and said foreigners cannot have rights over Turkey which even Turkish citizens do not have. "We should be able to say that we are as respectful to judicial independence as other countries are," he stated.

The foreign minister told journalists that he had spoken to the justice minister about the matter.

"Turkey alone should concern itself with its own human rights matters. Turkish citizens themselves should continue to give repeated messages to the security and police forces on human rights issues. Still, if there are

concerns on the subject from outside Turkey, and if these concerns are voiced in the way they should be, then we certainly have no objection. If foreign MPs come and discuss human rights with Turkish parliamentarians this will be very welcome," Soysal stated. "But we are against linking defence issues to human rights and receiving conditional credits," he said.

He also drew attention to the fact that Turkish authorities (meaning the judiciary and security forces) may also be angered by advice from abroad and this will not be to the benefit of Turkey's human rights. He said improving human rights in Turkey was the duty of Turkey itself and "we cannot continue as if suppressing our own people."

The foreign minister said there had been no reaction from the west on Turkey's decision to have reciprocity regarding visas. He said Turkey delayed the decision in the expectation that western countries would lift visa applications for Turkish citizens, but as this had not happened, Turkey is presently finalizing visa requirements for citizens of these countries. Responding to the question as to whether such measures mean Turkey is changing its pro-western foreign policy, Soysal said, "On the contrary we are becoming a western state in the real sense. A western state means a state which has affirmed itself. We are not a tribal state, we are taking these

steps in the fashion of modern states."

On the subject of the oil pipeline, Soysal said Turkey is trying to resolve the Kerkük-Yumurtalık pipeline issue within the framework of U.N. decisions. He said Turkey is expecting the Security Council to accept a decision that would please both western states as well as Iraq.

To a question as to how King Hussein of Jordan assessed Baghdad's situation, Soysal replied that Turkey kept Jordan abreast of events before and after all regional meetings. "We did this before and after the recent Damascus meeting too. Jordanian officials said they would do the same," he said. Like Demirel, who stressed the issue in his talks in Amman, Soysal also said the continuation of sanctions imposed on Iraq will further threaten the country's integrity. Soysal said Turkey is therefore urging Iraq to fully abide by U.N. decisions to evade this threat.

He said the embargo on Iraq is leading to the transfer of foreign aid to the northern region of the country, and certain forces there, like those of Talabani and Barzani, relying on this foreign aid are building up different hopes for the future. "We are against the continuation of the embargo on one hand and on the other the encouragement of a separate Kurdish state by foreigners who still insist that they support Iraq's territorial integrity," he declared.

'Suicide' while in custody in Istanbul*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Three days after he was taken into custody, prison wardens discovered Can Demirağ, suspected of murdering chemist Hilal Sayınbaş, dead in his cell.

Police officers had identified Demirağ as the sole suspect in Sayınbaş' murder, which took place on the night of Aug. 17 in her pharmacy located in Moda, one of Istanbul's fashionable districts.

The official explanation for Demirağ's death was "suicide" and it was said "the suspect hung himself with his shirt." According to police autopsy reports, Sayınbaş had been stabbed to death around 2:30 a.m. Furthermore, her killer had been "left-handed" and had been taking medication prescribed only to young people under 30 with heart problems. A nylon bag containing some such pills was found near the cashier's desk in the store. After evaluating the evidence, police detectives invited Can Demirağ to the station

to give a statement regarding the night of the incident.

Demirağ had previously worked as Sayınbaş' assistant in her store in Moda for four years, but had left for unknown reasons. Officers also took Demirağ's sister and two brothers — Gülcan Demirağ, Tayfun Demirağ and 14-year-old D.D. — into custody while he was giving his statement at the police station. Contradictory statements were made after Demirağ was taken into custody and then found hanging from the ceiling in his cell with his shirt wrapped around his neck.

Demirağ's family claimed there were bruises on Can's body and insisted that he never would have committed suicide. "How can someone who is 1.68 meters tall hang himself from an iron railing on a 2.5 to 3 meter-high window? We also examined the body and we came across some bruises on his chest, his arm pits and feet," said the Demirağ family.

Demirağ's brothers stated that while they were in custody, they heard their brother screaming while he was being tortured. After the "suicide" was announced, various reports regarding the incident were published in Turkish newspapers. The articles included quotes from Demirağ such as "I killed someone in my dream." They also alleged that he had written a letter in his cell confessing to the killing of Sayınbaş. It was said he had torn the letter into small pieces.

Demirağ's mysterious death in his small cell leaves many questions unanswered, such as:

"Didn't police officials take the fingerprints of the left-handed killer, which were found on the knife at the scene of the crime, and compare them with those of Demirağ?" "Was Demirağ really fired by Sayınbaş after having been accused of being a thief?"

"The police announcement said that Demirağ had confessed in writing in his cell while he was in custody, later ripping this confession to shreds. How was he able to find pen and paper, when prisoners' private possessions are taken away from them by the authorities

and only returned upon their release?" "Why wasn't an official investigation launched, even though there were claims of his having been killed in custody?" In a statement she gave to a daily newspaper, Can's sister, Gülcan Demirağ, put the blame on the police chief of the Gayrettepe Region C, Mesut Savaş, and claimed that Savaş had told her: "For us, it doesn't matter if it is a child, a woman, thief or terrorist. We can even get a trained terrorist to talk in one hour..."

The woman chemist who was murdered was a very close friend of mine. Her father raised me and it is my duty to solve the murder case." While relatives of Can Demirağ put the blame squarely on the shoulders of those entrusted to keep law and order in the country, one question still remains unanswered: Did Can Demirağ really kill Hilal Sayınbaş and then hang himself, knowing he was guilty or is the killer at large in the streets of Istanbul making plans to attack a new victim after midnight?

Crisis among DEP lawyers deepens

By Sinan Yilmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Arguments have flared following the statement by Hasip Kaplan that he will no longer represent the jailed deputies of the banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP).

Kaplan claims that he has not yet reached a firm decision about the matter and that he will make his decision known only after seeing his clients in prison.

Former DEP deputies Hatip Dicle, Sırrı Sakık, Leyla Zana, Orhan Doğan, Ahmet Türk and independent deputy Mahmut Alınak are on trial at the Ankara State Security Court on charges of treason.

Former DEP members have reacted strongly to a remark that

Kaplan made in court. "We thank Nusret Demiral, the chief prosecutor of the Ankara State Security Court for allowing us to get rich through the lawsuits we have filed at the European Human Rights Court." DEP Secretary-General Murat Bozlak, DEP Deputy Chairmen Osman Özçelik, Kemal Bilget and Bahattin Günel, Treasurer İsmail Arslan, and senior officials Şehmus Cagro and Nevzat Özbay made a joint statement accusing Kaplan of immorality and greed. They said they had lost 84 of their party colleagues and that they had not struggled at the cost of their lives just to allow some impertinent people to get rich.

They pointed out that Kaplan's

legal authority was restricted to the Ankara trial and gave him no right to file a case at the European Court of Human Rights.

The fact that he had done so they described as a "legal immorality".

Responding to such accusations, Kaplan said that before the closure of the DEP he had been defense attorney in nearly 100 cases, of which 24 were filed at the European Court of Human Rights. He said that members of DEP and HADEP (the People's Democracy Party founded to replace the DEP) and all other Kurds, well knew that Hasip Kaplan did not make money out of political cases.

He accused the HADEP officials of distorting his meaning when they criticized his remark to Demiral. He stressed that neither

he nor his jailed clients were after making billions at the European Court of Human Rights. During the last case he and his colleagues had filed at that court, he said, they had demanded only one French Franc compensation and thus made their position absolutely clear.

As far as the charge of "legal immorality" was concerned, Kaplan displayed his special power of attorney issued to him by Hatip Dicle. He claimed that he had been taken into custody only for acting as a lawyer for the DEP, and pointed out that the kind of accusations that had been made against him were injurious to the struggle for democracy. He added that he was not a member of HADEP and that his campaign for human rights would continue. He branded the accusations against him as a poor thank you for everything he had done.

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Europe-Turquie-Kurdes

Procès de députés d'origine kurde: délégation à Ankara de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe

STRASBOURG, 31 août (AFP) - Le président de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, M. Miguel Angel Martinez, sera à Ankara de jeudi à vendredi à la tête d'une délégation du bureau de l'Assemblée tandis que se poursuit le procès contre des députés d'origine kurde, a-t-on appris mercredi auprès de l'organisation paneuropéenne.

Huit députés, accusés d'être "l'aile politique" du mouvement de guérilla kurde Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK - clandestin), encourrent la peine de mort pour séparatisme.

L'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe a demandé à deux reprises, en avril et en juin derniers, la libération de six députés d'origine kurde actuellement jugés devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat turque et le retrait des accusations à leur encontre.

Cinq députés du Parti Démocratique (DEP, pro-kurde, dissout) et un député indépendant ont été incarcérés en mars dernier. Ils ont été rejoints en prison en juillet par deux autres parlementaires.

Vendredi, les six parlementaires rencontreront notamment le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tensu Ciller.

dro/bw

AFP /JO0245/311802

AOU 94

Wednesday, August 31, 1994

US aid rejection: PM Çiller eats her cake and has it too

The gesture that won points at home might raise questions about the 7-to-10 ratio

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The events that some Turks took as the harbinger of a new era in Turkish foreign policy, i.e. Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's rejection of a part of the U.S. foreign aid, so far failed to create any ripples in Washington for one simple reason: the U.S. Congress is currently in recess and all the Congress members are back in their home districts trying to convince their mostly anti-incumbent constituencies that they should be re-elected in November.

According to the FY95 Aid bill that President Clinton signed into an act on last Friday before he left Washington for his vacation on Martha's Vineyard, ten percent of the \$363 million in direct loans earmarked for Turkey will be withheld until the U.S. State Department, in consultation with Department of Defense, makes certain that Turkey makes progress in human rights and Cyprus. Çiller on several occasions made it clear that Turkey would not accept such a condition imposed by its NATO ally.

The first time I heard the news of "the rejection" over the weekend I thought she made good on her promise and could not help but appreciate her courage for undertaking such a principled stance. The bruised Turkish national pride certainly did not deserve anything less.

On Monday, however, it became clear that she refused to accept only ten percent of the U.S. aid, i.e. only that part which was conditioned by the U.S. Congress. Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal said Turkey did what had to be done. Çiller both kept her word (sort of) and got the money — 90 percent of it — as well. By committing herself early to such a rejection, long before the bill was acted into law, she painted herself into a corner. And by this partial rejection she danced easily out of it, saving face while keeping almost all of the direct loans approved by the Congress.

Bülent Ecevit of DSP can object as strongly as he wants saying this partial rejection actually ridiculed and embarrassed Turkey. He might certainly have a point there. But even he has to admit that this was a textbook case of eating one's cake and having it too. The timing was admirable as well. She got quick credit — badly needed for her faltering coalition government — at home for rebuking America, but, since Congress is in recess, avoided any quick reaction from Washington.

In more ways than one, Çiller's decision probably won't create the waves that one might expect. Not immediately anyway. For one thing, according to a TDN source, even in the worst-case scenario, the ten percent in question was to be cut off from the end, not the beginning. So the material effects of a possible cutoff would not be felt for a year. Thus the loss of that ten percent, in one way or another, won't have an impact any time soon.

Secondly, by standing up to the U.S. condition, Çiller is not risking the spoils of a rising aid-curve but, on the contrary, a dropping one. Due to general constraints on the U.S. federal budget, each year less and less is available for almost all the countries that receive U.S. aid. The trend is likely to continue in the years ahead with the exception of Russia, Israel and Egypt. Thus there is less to lose for Turkey by flexing her foreign policy muscle now, when she is bound to get a shrinking slice from the shrinking foreign aid pie anyway.

Thirdly, the direct loans in question are not all that Turkey gets from United States. Actually, the \$363 million earmarked for Turkey constitutes a minor amount compared to, for example, what Turkey receives from the U.S. as Excess Defense Articles (EDA), made available under Article 516 of the Foreign Aid Act. Turkey is eligible for such EDA transfers, mostly military equipment — of pretty good quality — released by U.S. forces in Europe. Turkey pays only for the shipment of such material. A Pentagon source confirmed for TDN that Turkey received over a \$1 billion in EDA in less than two months ago. So losing 10 percent of a relatively small share of direct loans is certainly not the end of the world.

It might be comforting for Çiller to know that there are political observers in Washington who look sympathetically at Turkey's rejection. An inside Congressional source, who preferred to remain anonymous, told TDN it was not that hard to see why Turkey has rejected a part of U.S. aid. The source blamed it all on David Obey (D-WI), the powerful chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee of the House Appropriations committee.

"Literally for years David Obey has attempted to slap Turkey with conditionality," the source said. "What bothers me is that he won't go and slap [the same] condi-

tionality on Russia, Greece, Cyprus or Poland. He is willing to [attach conditions] to aid to Turkey because it is an easy political hit for him. With a very weak foreign policy oriented [Clinton]

administration, with [George] Stephanopoulos pushing on every imaginable button on Greece, it made it very easy [to hit Turkey]. This administration certainly did not have the guts to threaten to veto."

The source also emphasized the importance of Turkey's strategic location for U.S. national interests and pointed out the long-term regional repercussions of a weakened Turkey: "If Dave Obey and others really care about the Central Asian republics, then they would care about us having a friend in Turkey. I don't think they understand what they've done [by imposing conditions on aid to Turkey]."

Çiller's decision brings up two questions concerning the medium-term implications of Turkey's new stance. The first one relates to the infamous 7-to-10 ratio that the U.S. Congress arbitrarily instituted for aid to Greece and Turkey. In the latest aid bill, H.R. 4426, the U.S. Congress again observed the ratio by giving \$255,150,000 to Greece and \$364,500,000 to Turkey.

If Turkey is to be paid \$36.3 million less by the U.S., would 70 percent of that amount, i.e. \$25.4 million, be also withheld from Greece according to the same 7-to-10 formula — above and beyond a similar 10 percent that might also be cut off from U.S. aid to Greece?

The second question is related to the first one. The resultant reduction in U.S. aid is precisely what the opponents of Turkey in Congress were striving for. Thus, there is a remote possibility that next year when the appropriations are again earmarked, the committee members could hold the conditionality percentage high on purpose, knowing well from this year's experience, that Turkey would refuse to accept the conditioned part of the earmarked amount.

Thus, for example, if the law conditions 90 percent of the FY96 aid upon a similar State Department report, then Turkey might be expected to refuse 90 percent of the aid in a priori fashion. Then that way Obey can both say he is trying to help a crucial U.S. ally and at the same time deny her substantial aid. That is, he can also eat his cake and have it too. But, again, when Turkey receives — let's say — zero aid, could Turkey demand that, according to the 7-to-10 ratio, Greece should get zero as well?

Thus one can expect this ratio, which never benefited Turkey, to either work as a brake against bringing down Turkey's share of U.S. aid even further, or paradoxically, remove itself out of existence through the reluctant blessing of the same Greek lobby which instituted it years ago.

Çiller's rejection will probably not change the already established realities of U.S. aid to Turkey. But a new discussion on the meaning of the 7-to-10 ratio might be among its unintended long-term consequences.

turkish daily news

Ankara rejette les conditions de Washington concernant l'aide militaire

La Turquie préfère renoncer à une aide militaire américaine plutôt que d'accepter les conditions posées par Washington concernant le respect des droits de l'homme. Le gouvernement turc a en effet annoncé dernièrement qu'il allait refuser les 36 millions de dollars d'aide militaire que lui accordaient les États-Unis en raison des conditions en matière de droits de l'homme auxquelles le Congrès américain avait subordonné l'octroi de cette aide.

La décision turque ne constitue pas une surprise, d'autant que le Premier ministre, Mme Tansu Ciller, avait fait part, quelques temps auparavant, du caractère "inacceptable" des conditions posées par Washington concernant le respect des droits de l'homme par Ankara et un assouplissement de sa politique dans le processus de règlement du conflit chypriote. Selon un journal britannique, Mme Ciller aurait même déclaré que les conditions posées pourraient contraindre son pays à "interrompre la protection militaire accordée par l'Occident aux Kurdes" irakiens.

La Turquie peut il est vrai se permettre de refuser cette aide, qui ne représente que 10% du volume global de l'aide versée par les États-Unis à leur partenaire turc au titre de la coopération militaire. En vertu du budget américain pour

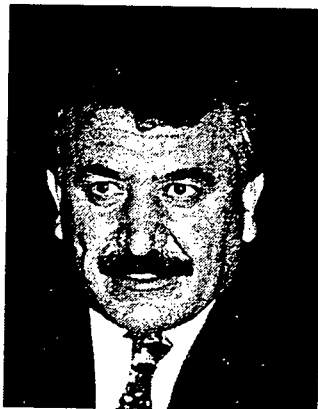
l'exercice 1995 concernant l'aide aux pays étrangers signé la semaine dernière par le Président américain Bill Clinton, la Turquie devrait recevoir 328 millions de dollars sur les 363 millions accordés à Ankara pour l'achat de matériel militaire étranger; le versement de la différence était conditionné par les progrès d'Ankara sur la question des droits de l'homme et de Chypre, dont le tiers nord est occupé par les troupes turques depuis 20 ans. La Turquie n'étant manifestement pas près de céder sur les dossiers concernés, elle devra faire son deuil d'une partie de l'aide américaine, ce qui lui laisse d'ailleurs toujours de quoi se procurer les armements nécessaires pour intensifier l'effort de guerre contre la population kurde du sud-est anatolien où de nombreuses sources font état de l'usage par les forces turques d'armes américaines notamment contre les habitants.

Turkish Daily News - August 30, 1994

Sadak and Yurttas face death penalty

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A case will be opened in the coming days in which Selim Sadak and Sedat Yurttas, the two former deputies of the closed pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) who are currently in custody, will be tried on charges carrying the death penalty. According to a statement given Tuesday to the ANKA news agency by Nusret Demiral, the Ankara State Security



Selim Sadak

Court's chief prosecutor, investigations regarding the two deputies have, for the most part, been concluded and the indictment is being prepared.

Sadak and Yurttas are accused of "treason" and are therefore to be charged under to Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK), under which death sentences can be imposed. Their trial is expected to take place in late September or in the first week of October.

Demiral indicated that the indictment would not be shown to the press before being officially read in court. He said: "This time, I will not even give the indictment to my colleagues until on the day of the session... We will not give the indictment to anybody beforehand."

Sadak and Yurttas had chosen to stay in Turkey, unlike their colleagues who escaped abroad.

24 Heures- 27 août 1994

KURDISTAN ● Le chef d'une des principales formations kurdes, l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan d'Irak (UPK), Jalal Talabani, a échappé jeudi à Erbil (Kurdistan irakien) à une tentative d'attentat qui a fait un mort. Une voiture piégée a explosé cinq minutes après le passage du convoi de M. Talabani, qui sortait d'une réunion avec le chef de l'autre principale formation kurde, le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PKK), Massoud Barzani.

7

24 HEURES

MERCREDI
31 AOÛT 1994

La Turquie, la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Irak forment une «sainte alliance» antikurde

Les quatre Etats veulent empêcher la création d'un territoire autonome dans le nord irakien.

Ils ont beau se détester corrélativement — sauf la Syrie et l'Irak — les quatre pays hébergeant une minorité de Kurdes s'entendent à merveille pour empêcher l'émergence d'un territoire autonome kurde dans le nord de l'Irak. Les ministres des Affaires étrangères syrien, turc et irakien, réunis à la fin de ce mois à Damas, se sont déclarés prêts à soutenir le président irakien Saddam Hussein contre toute intervention étrangère en faveur des Kurdes.

Dans leur déclaration, les ministres visent «certains groupes dans quelques pays occidentaux encourageant le séparatisme». En même temps, ils pressent Bagdad de se conformer aux solutions des Nations Unies, pour pouvoir restaurer sa posi-

tion dans la communauté internationale.

Nettoyer les bases du PKK

Après la guerre du Golfe, les Kurdes irakiens ont réussi à obtenir une certaine autonomie, protégée par les Nations Unies. En fait, ils ont installé une forme de gouvernement et s'apprêtent à mettre sur pied un parlement.

Une évolution qui inquiète singulièrement la Turquie, où résident 15 des 25 millions de Kurdes. Pour son nouveau ministre des Affaires étrangères, Muntaz Soysal, «le but de la réunion est de montrer un soutien conjoint à l'intégralité territoriale irakienne». Ankara en a profité pour faire admettre la

violente répression contre sa propre minorité séparatiste, minorité qui opère également à partir des trois autres pays. En particulier, elle demande à Damas de nettoyer les bases du PKK, le parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, dans la vallée de la Bekaa. La Syrie est accusée d'abriter le leader du PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, dans les zones qu'elle contrôle au Liban. Les deux pays ont décidé de se rencontrer à ce sujet.

Stratégies de division

Les quatre pays tentent aussi de coordonner leurs stratégies de division entre les divers mouvements kurdes. Ainsi en Irak, les combats entre le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan, allié à la

Ligue islamique armée par Téhéran, et l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan, proche des démocraties occidentales, ont fait mille morts. Bagdad ferme les yeux, avec joie, sur les incursions de l'armée iranienne contre le Parti démocratique des Kurdes d'Irak, réfugié en Irak. La Turquie et l'Irak, de leur côté, ont résolu de jouer en commun les gardiens de la stabilité régionale et se livrent leurs opposants respectifs. Dans la foulée, ils mettent une sourdine à leur rivalité d'influence en Asie centrale et au Caucase. La prochaine réunion de cette alliance antikurde a été fixée en décembre à Istanbul.

InfoSud / Nadire Mater
adaptation Daniel Wermus □

*Der neue türkische Aussenminister Soysal setzt neue Akzente:
Was dem Westen gefällt, ist «grundsätzlich suspekt»*

Ankara möchte Saddam Hussein wieder hoffähig machen

Ist die türkische Regierungschefin Tansu Ciller ganze fünf Dollar wert, wie dies die Opposition mit der Herausgabe eines gefälschten «Tans-Dollar-Scheins» suggerieren möchte? Die regierende Partei des rechten Weges (DYP) antwortete auf die böse Unterstellung mit der Verteilung einer Herzkönig-Karte, die das Porträt des Vorsitzenden der Mutterlands-Partei (Anap), Mesut Yilmaz, zeigt. Dadurch wird dem Oppositionschef, bekannt als leidenschaftlicher Kartenspieler, politische Verantwortungslosigkeit unterstellt.

Von Martin Peter, Istanbul

Schlammgeschlachten sind in der türkischen Parteipolitik nichts Neues. In einer Zeit jedoch, in der das Volk jede Woche Hunderte von Terroropfern beklagt und mit einer Inflationsrate von 130 Prozent lebt, zeugt das Gezänk der politischen Elite von wenig Fingerspitzengefühl. Ein klärendes Wort an die verunsicherte Bevölkerung wird morgen Donnerstag, 1. September, Staatspräsident Süleyman Demirel sprechen müssen, wenn er zu Beginn der parlamentarischen Legislaturperiode die Leitlinien der künftigen Innen- und Aussenpolitik vorstellt. Gerüchte über vorzeitige Neuwahlen bedürfen ebenso einer Klärung wie die Anhaltspunkte für eine Kehrtwende in der türkischen Aussenpolitik.

Iraks Kurden fallengelassen

In der Tat vermelden die türkischen Medien, die «frischen Bessen» im Staatsministerium würden Ankaras Aussenpolitik derzeit «auf den Kopf stellen». Was dem Westen, Europa und den USA, gefalle, sei dem neuen Verantwortlichen für die türkischen Aussenbeziehungen, Mümtaz Soysal, «grundsätzlich suspekt». So etwa die Beziehungen zum südlichen Nachbarn Irak. «Lange genug», kritisieren bestandene Diplomaten, sei Ankara von den Amerikanern für deren strategische

Ziele «missbraucht worden». Und als einziges Nato-Land habe die Türkei für die Milliardenverluste, die es durch das Wirtschaftsembargo gegen Saddam Hussein erleidet, «keinen Dollar kasziert».

Mümtaz Soysal, bekannt als strammer Nationalist, versucht deshalb den regionalen Alleingang und will zunächst Bagdads «territoriale Autonomie» in Nordirak wiederherstellen. Das Ergebnis seines Treffens mit den Amtskollegen aus Iran und Syrien von Mitte August war in seinem Wortlaut deutlicher als alle früheren Dreiergespräche. Fazit:

– Die beiden nordirakischen Kurdenführer, Jalal Talabani von der Patriotischen Union Kurdistan (PUK) und Massud Barzani, Chef der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan (KDP), werden an kurzer Leine gehalten, jede Bewegung der Separatisten wird künftig nach Bagdad rapportiert.

– Irakische Kurden, die in die Türkei einreisen, müssen demnächst einen Pass des Zweistromlandes vorweisen.

– Den vorgesehenen Umgang, der 1995 die Autonomie der irakischen Kurden bestätigen soll, werde Ankara «zu verhindern wissen», verlautet aus der türkischen Metropole.

Embargo «überholt»

Auch für wirtschaftliche Unterstützung wird das «autonome Kurdistan», derzeit allein von der Türkei abhängig, vermehrt an Bagdad verwiesen. Und statt für westliche Hilfslieferungen an die nordirakische Bevölkerung wird der türkisch-irakische Grenzübergang Habur ab sofort für den regionalen Handelsverkehr geöffnet. Eine 70köpfige türkische Wirtschaftsdelegation hat am Montag in Bagdad ebenfalls einen vermehrten Warenaustausch mit dem Regime Saddam Husseins angekündigt – unter Umgehung des UNO-Wirtschaftsembargos. Die Vereinbarung wurde noch gleichentags von Präsident Demirel, zu Besuch bei Jordaniens König Hussein, moralisch unterstützt: Demirel kritisierte die Wirtschaftsblockade gegen Bagdad als «überholt».

Von dieser Zielvorgabe der türkischen Irak-Politik bis hin zur offiziellen Beendigung der Operation «Provide Comfort», mit der westliche Alliierte die Kurden des Irak vor Angriffen Saddam Husseins schützen, ist nach den Zeichen, die Ankara derzeit setzt, nur mehr ein kleiner Schritt. Die westlichen in der Südosttürkei stationierten Truppen sind dem neuen türkischen Aussenminister Soysal seit jeher ein Dorn im Auge.

Doch wie heiss die Suppe, die von Soysals Beamten in den ersten Wochen seiner Amtszeit gekocht wurde, letztlich gegessen wird, muss sich erst erweisen.

Der Kommentator der türkischen «Daily News» glaubt allerdings, Regierungschefin Ciller sei über die harte Linie ihres neuen Aussenministers, der von Cillers Koalitionspartner, den Sozialdemokraten, in die Regierung geholt wurde, nicht unglücklich.

US-Hilfe zurückgewiesen

Ciller selbst, die US-Präsident Bill Clinton jüngst vergeblich um eine Korrektur der westlichen Irak-Politik bat, hat am letzten Wochenende mit der Rückweisung einer Tranche von 30 Millionen Dollar amerikanischer Militärhilfe, die an die Verbesserung der Menschenrechtslage in der Türkei gebunden war, vermehrte Eigenständigkeit in den türkischen Aussenbeziehungen signalisiert. «Endlich eine Aussenpolitik mit Charakter», kommentierten die konservativen Medien und sahen hinter Cillers Schritt die Handschrift des neuen Aussenministers. Dass mit Soysal in der türkischen Diplomatie ein neuer Wind weht, bewies er auch mit den Restriktionen für ausländische Parlamentarier, im Rahmen von Untersuchungen über die Menschenrechtslage mit einheimischen Anwälten und Richtern Kontakte zu pflegen. Dieses «Prinzip der Gegenseitigkeit» möchte Soysal schliesslich in der Visa-Politik anwenden und von ausländischen Besuchern künftig eine Einreisegenehmigung verlangen, so wie sie für Türken in Europa und den USA erforderlich ist.



النايبة الكردية ليلي زانا في قاعة المحكمة أمس وبدا وراها اثنان من زملاها المتهمين (ا ب)

انقرة: اجراءات امنية مشددة وحضور اوروبي في مستهل محاكمة النواب الاكراد المتهمين بالخيانة

جنوب شرقي البلاد من دخول المدينة. والاشترعية. وكانت المحكمة الدستورية حظرت في ١٦ حزيران (يونيو) الماضي حزب الحصانة النيابية عن النواب الاكراد. والمتهمون هم خطيب دجلة رئيس حزب الديمقراطية المحظور واحمد ترك واورهان دوغان وسييري شاكيك ومحمود عليناك ويلي زانا اول كردية تنتخب نائبة في البرلمان التركي. وكانت اثار ضجة كبيرة في الجلسة الافتتاحية للبرلمان الحالي في تشرين الاول (اكتوبر) ١٩٩٢ عندما هتفت باللغة الكردية بحياة «الاخوة التركية - الكردية». اما خطيب دجلة فثار ضجة اكبر عندما رفض طويلا اداء اليمين الدستورية التي تتضمن اعلان الولاء لمبادئ مؤسس الجمهورية التركية مصطفى كمال المشهور بـ «اتاتورك» (ابو تركيا). يذكر ان نائبتين اخريين معتقلتين ينتظران توجيه التهمة اليهما بينما فر ستة نواب اخريين الى اوربوا قبل صدور الاوامر باعتقالهم.

وصحافيين. وانتشرت خارج قاعة محكمة امن الدولة قوات من مكافحة الشغب مزودة عربات مصفحة وكلاب حراسة. وتنظر هذه المحكمة الخاصة التي شكلت في مطلع السبعينات في القضايا الحساسة المتعلقة بامن الدولة وقراراتها نهائية لا يمكن الطعن بها. وصفق عدد صغير من انصار المتهمين. بعضهم كان يرتدي ازياء كردية قومية، عندما وصل النواب المعتقلون منذ خمسة اشهر في سيارات الشرطة الى ساحة المحكمة. وصرح مسؤول في حزب الديمقراطية الشعبي الموالي للاكراد ووريث حزب الديمقراطية المحظور الذي كان ينتمي اليه خمسة من النواب الستة، ان انصارهم قدموا من انحاء البلاد في عشرات الحافلات ولكن الشرطة اوقفتهم عند نقاط امنية على مشارف انقرة. وابلغ المسؤول عبدالله سايندو الى «رويترز» ان الشرطة فحصت هوياتهم ومنعت القادمين من المناطق الكردية في

انقرة - رويترز - بدأت في تركيا امس محاكمة ستة نواب اكراد سابقين في قضية استقطبت اهتماما غربيا كبيرا انعكس في وصول عشرات المراقبين والنواب ودعاة حقوق الانسان الاوروبيين الى انقرة لمراقبة وقائع المحاكمة. وافتتحت جلسة المحاكمة وسط اجراءات امنية مشددة وقرأ المدعي العام لائحة الاتهام المؤلفة من ٤٥٢ صفحة تضمنت اتهام النواب الستة بانهم كانوا واجهات سياسية لحزب العمال الكردستاني المحظور الذي يخوض منذ عشرة اعوام حربا ضد الجيش التركي من اجل اقامة دولة كردية مستقلة في جنوب شرقي البلاد. ودان محامو الدفاع ودعاة حقوق الانسان المحاكمة التي يعتبرها المراقبون بمثابة محاكمة للاختبار الديمقراطية التركية الهشة. وطوقت صفوف من الشرطة منصة المتهمين وحجبوهم عن الجمهور الذي كان بينهم نحو ٢٠ من افراد عائلات المتهمين الى جانب ديبلوماسيين

US says arms used against PKK, halts shipments to Turkey

Turkish Daily News - September 1, 1994

By Burak Bekdil
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Pentagon has blocked the shipment of at least two crucial pieces of military equipment used by the Turkish Armed Forces, claiming these were used in the military drive against Kurdish separatism in southeastern Turkey.

The unofficial American sanctions against the Turkish military surfaced when a U.S. company failed to deliver detonators used in the Light Antitank Weapons (LAW).

Interconsult, an American-based company that won a Turkish military contract in March for the supply of detonators for the LAW missiles, said in a letter last week that it failed to obtain the necessary export permission from the Pentagon. The company told Turkish authorities verbally that the Pentagon objection was due to the use of these weapons against Kurdish separatist militants.

The LAW launches its own missile, after which the weapon is discarded. Turkey's state owned military industry produces the LAW except for the detonator of the missile. The LAW has been bought from the United States for the past eight years. Recently Turkey started manufacturing a copy of the weapon which created some friction with the Americans who charged this was done without paying royalties. The Americans offered to provide the royalties of an

advanced version of the LAW to be manufactured in Turkey and negotiations were in progress.

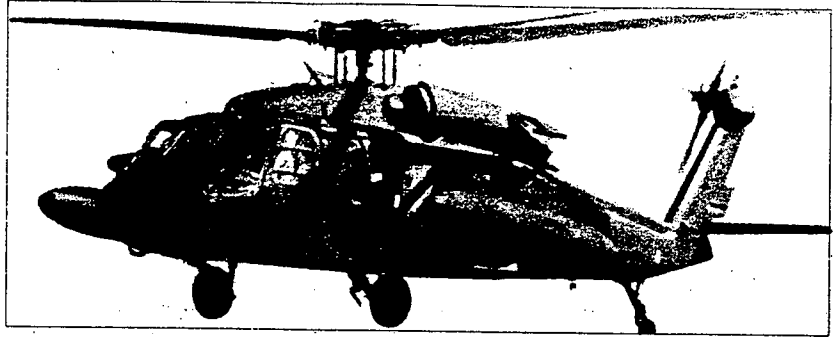
Turkey has been buying the detonators for the missiles used in the LAW which it is unable to manufacture for itself. Turkish authorities reportedly will open a new tender for the purchase of the detonators. This is expected to create an estimated delay of at least six months. Stocks have already run out.

An American rival of Interconsult which was not named told Ankara this week it could obtain the necessary export permission from the Pentagon if it wins the new contract. Interconsult sources remained skeptical about the claims of their rivals that they could get the Pentagon to lift its objections about the weapons being used in Southeastern Turkey.

The Pentagon also reportedly objected to the delivery of missile launcher systems for Sikorsky and Black Hawk helicopters which the United States recently supplied to Turkey. Ankara has reportedly been trying to resolve the problem since last winter but no results have yet emerged. The suppliers were apparently willing to deliver the launcher systems but the Pentagon did not approve.

At the moment all these helicopters are used for transportation only. Sources said Sikorsky and Black Hawk helicopters can be converted into gunships by installing four rockets on each wing but a launcher is required.

*Delivery of LAW missiles detonators,
helicopter rocket launchers
withheld by Pentagon*



The Pentagon has reportedly come under fire from congressmen who have charged U.S.-supplied weapons have been effectively used in southeastern Turkey where Turkish forces have been waging an anti-terrorist war for the past 10 years. The United States recently passed a foreign aid bill withholding 10 percent of a \$363 million aid package for Turkey. It linked the 10 percent portion of the aid to the human rights situation in Turkey with emphasis on the Kurdish issue and the Cyprus question. Turkey said it would reject the 10 percent slice of the aid.

Similar sanctions were imposed on Turkey by some European countries like Austria and Switzerland. The Swiss Oerlikon company refused to supply the guns for Turkish armored vehicles being locally manufactured by FMC-Nurol.

Germany imposed similar sanctions against Turkey twice on charges that German-supplied arms had been used against civilians in southeastern Turkey.

Germany first imposed an arms embargo against Turkey in March 1992. It revoked the ban two months later after the two NATO allies papered over the tension by letters to confirm that use of German arms would be confined to NATO purposes.

The German government suspended military aid to Turkey again on April 7 "to look into allegations by German human rights groups that Ankara was breaking a pledge not to use weapons from Bonn against the PKK."

On May 4, Germany once again lifted the sanctions saying the allegations of the human rights groups could not be substantiated.

Turkish Daily News - September 1, 1994

With eye on UN embargo, Turkey seeking improved trade links with Iraq

By Kaya Özkarcalar
Associated Press Writer

ANKARA- In the face of mounting trade losses, Turkey is seeking to improve its economic ties with Iraq without flouting a U.N. embargo against its southeastern neighbor.

There are signs of warming relations. An Iraqi delegation was scheduled to arrive in Turkey Wednesday to discuss draining a key oil pipeline, and Turkish businessmen plan talks in Baghdad on trade prospects.

The government says it has been hit especially hard by the embargo, imposed on Iraq after its forces invaded Kuwait in 1990. Turkey, one of Iraq's major trading partners before the sanctions, says its losses have reached dlr 20 billion. However, as much as Turkey is keen on improving trade, it also must avoid raising the eyebrows of its Western allies. The United Nations has demanded that Iraq dismantle its weapons of mass destruction, permit long-term weapons monitoring, and abandon its claim of sovereignty over Kuwait before sanctions can be lifted.

The pipeline between the two countries was idled by the sanctions, but it remains filled with oil. Turkey says it must be drained to prevent it from decaying.

But it's unknown when that will occur. Officials say they are waiting for the U.N. Security Council to give its OK. Some oil is already moving from Iraq on trucks, but Turkish officials say that isn't a violation of sanctions because the drivers are bringing fuel for their vehicles, not to trade. Turkey recently began allowing trucks to return with up to 2 tons of oil each. The drivers bring the oil with them after delivering goods allowed by the United Nations, such as food and medicine.

Nevertheless, Western allies are likely to criticize the practice, which slowed temporarily when fighting increased between Turkish forces and separatist Kurdish rebels. The truck drivers are not the only ones eager to gain in dealings with Iraq.

The president of Turkey's Union of Chambers of Commerce, Yalın Erez, said before he left for Baghdad recently that Turkish businessmen want to make the necessary contacts in advance in case the embargo is lifted.

The Iraqi delegation will be headed by Baghdad's UNESCO representative, Ali Al-Anbari.

Many of Iraq's 18 million people are enduring severe hardships because of the sanctions. Baghdad has in recent weeks stepped up its diplomatic campaign to win support for ending the embargo, sending envoys to world capitals ahead of the Security Council's regular review of the sanctions set for Sept. 18.

Turkey gives new life to low-level trade with Iraq

'With the reopening of Habur, the region is becoming more active. The Habur gateway is our livelihood'

Reuter

ANKARA- Lorries queued up by the hundreds at the Habur border crossing with Iraq on Wednesday as low-level trade — largely barter deals swapping vegetables for Iraqi diesel — sprang back to life, reports from the region said.

About 200 Turkish lorries, mounted with spare fuel tanks, made the crossing and many more were expected in the days to come, local journalists said by telephone.

Cafes, petrol stations and other service establishments were reopening, and the price of used lorries — many idled since late 1992 — has soared from 100 million lira (\$3,000) to as much as four times that, they said.

Drivers were returning to the job, many from self-exile in western Turkish cities in search of work.

"With the reopening of Habur, the region is becoming more active," Anatolian news agency said in a report from the area. "The Habur gateway is our livelihood," it quoted one resident as saying.

Turkey announced two weeks ago that it would reopen the crossing point in northern Iraq, once a trade lifeline to the impoverished districts on both sides of the border. But officials stressed they would not undermine U.N. sanctions, saying the decision was aimed only at reviving the flagging economy of the southeast region.

In the past, the small-scale trade involved the exchange of vegetables and other foodstuffs for Iraqi petrol and diesel fuel, which Gulf War sanctions forbid Baghdad to export. The crossing point was formally closed in 1990 when the United Nations slapped an embargo on Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait.

But Ankara turned a blind eye to the illegal trade. Turkey shut Habur altogether in 1992, charging that Kurdish separatists fighting for a homeland in the southeast, were extorting drivers and using the vehicles to smuggle arms. Despite the expected windfall, drivers and residents have complained that new regulations requiring export licenses and restricting petrol imports would eat into profits.

Special licenses for trucks cost up to six million lira (\$180), more than the monthly minimum wage. And lorries are limited to 1,500 to 2,000 litres of petrol on their return, depending on their size.

The head of the regional drivers' union demanded an immediate increase to 4,000 litres for the biggest lorries.

Ankara says sanctions against Iraq, once its third-largest trade partner, have cost it \$20 billion. Western analysts dispute the figure but acknowledge the heavy cost to Turkey as a front-line state.

Ankara mit Bagdad gegen Kurden

Der neue türkische Aussenminister Mümtaz Soysal, bekannt als strammer Nationalist, versucht aus Enttäuschung über den Westen den regionalen Alleingang und will zunächst Bagdads «territoriale Autonomie» im kurdischen Nordirak wiederherstellen.

MARTIN PETER
KORRESPONDENT IN ISTANBUL

Als einziges Nato-Land habe die Türkei für die Milliardenverluste, die es durch das Wirtschaftsembargo gegen Saddam Hussein erleide, «keinen Dollar kassiert», erklären Diplomaten in Ankara zum Kurswechsel. Aussenminister Soysal traf Mitte August seine Amtskollegen aus Iran und Syrien und bewegte auch sie zu Avancen an Irak. Fazit: Die beiden nordirakischen Kurdenführer, Jalal Talabani von der Patriotischen Union Kurdistans (PUK) und Massud Barzani, Chef der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistans (KDP), werden an kurzer Leine gehalten, jede Bewegung der Separatisten wird künftig nach Bagdad rapportiert.

Irakische Kurden, die in die Türkei einreisen, müssen demnächst einen Pass des Zweistromlandes vorweisen. Den vorgesehenen Urnengang, der 1995 die Autonomie der irakischen Kurden ze-

mentieren soll, werde Ankara «zu verhindern wissen», lassen türkische Diplomaten wissen. Auch für wirtschaftliche Unterstützung wird das «autonome Kurdistan», derzeit allein von der Türkei abhängig, vermehrt an Bagdad verwiesen.

Bisher nur für westliche Hilfslieferungen an die nordirakische Bevölkerung frei, wird der türkisch-irakische Grenzübergang Habur ab sofort für den regionalen Handelsverkehr geöffnet. Eine 70köpfige türkische Wirtschaftsdelegation hat in Bagdad vermehrten Warenaustausch mit dem Regime Saddams Husseins angekündigt – unter Umgehung des Uno-Handelsembargos. Ins gleiche Horn stiess Staatspräsident Süleyman Demirel, zu Besuch bei Jordaniens König Hussein: Er kritisierte die Wirtschaftsblockade gegen den irakischen Machthaber als «überholt».

Ende für Kurdenhilfe?

Von dieser Zielvorgabe der türkischen Irak-Politik bis hin zur offiziellen Beendigung der Operation «Provide Comfort», bei der westliche Alliierte die Kurden Iraks vor Angriffen Saddams Husseins schützen, ist nach den Zeichen, die Ankara derzeit setzt, nur mehr ein kleiner Schritt. Die westlichen Truppen, in der Südosttürkei stationiert, sind dem zum Aussenminister avancierten Soysal seit jeher ein Dorn im Auge. Doch wie heiss die Suppe, die von Soysals Beamten in den ersten Wochen seiner Amts-

zeit gekocht wurde, schliesslich gegessen wird, muss sich erst erweisen.

Ein Kommentator der türkischen «Daily News» glaubt allerdings, Regierungschefin Tansu Ciller sei über die harte Linie ihres neuen Kabinettsmitglieds, das vom sozialdemokratischen Koalitionspartner in die Regierung geholt wurde, nicht unglücklich.

Ciller selbst, die USA-Präsident Bill Clinton jüngst vergeblich um eine Korrektur der westlichen Irak-Politik bat, hat dieser Tage vermehrte Eigenständigkeit in den türkischen Aussenbeziehungen bekundet: Sie wies eine Tranche von 30 Millionen Dollar amerikanische Militärhilfe zurück, die an die Verbesserung der Menschenrechtssituation in der Türkei gebunden war. «Endlich eine Aussenpolitik mit Charakter», kommentierten die konservativen Medien und sahen hinter Cillers Schritt unverkennbar die Handschrift des neuen Aussenministers.

Dass mit Soysal in der türkischen Diplomatie ein neuer Wind weht, bewies er auch mit dem Verbot für ausländische Parlamentarier, bei Untersuchungen über die Menschenrechtssituation mit einheimischen Anwälten und Richtern Kontakte zu pflegen. Ferner möchte der Aussenminister das «Prinzip der Gegenseitigkeit» in der Visa-Politik anwenden und von ausländischen Besuchern künftig eine Einreisegenehmigung verlangen, so wie sie für Türken in Europa und den USA erforderlich ist.

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France-Kurdes

Me Oussedik dénonce la "politique sécuritaire" du ministère de l'Intérieur

PARIS, 1er sept (AFP) - Me Mourad Oussedik, avocat du comité de défense des Kurdes en France (bien comité de défense), a mis en garde jeudi le ministère de l'Intérieur contre sa "politique sécuritaire", qui répond "à des préoccupations électoralistes" selon lui, à l'encontre de la communauté kurde, soulignant les risques de "réaction désespérée" de la part d'une communauté "poussée à bout".

"Comme le prouve l'exemple de Folembay, nous vivons la mise en place d'une politique sécuritaire à la mode", a déclaré l'avocat lors d'une conférence de presse. "Je ne voudrais pas que les Kurdes réagissent d'une façon désespérée face à une injustice, on ne sait pas ce qu'un individu peut faire", a-t-il prévenu.

Par ailleurs, l'ex-président des associations kurdes en France, Ali Demir, a déclaré que les quelque 50 Kurdes qui avaient entrepris une grève de la faim le 18 août dernier, "pour alerter la communauté internationale" sur le drame kurde, avaient mis fin à leur mouvement, estimant que leur objectif était atteint.

Les Kurdes ont multiplié les manifestations en France depuis le 22 août dernier, lorsque 198 d'entre eux avaient été interpellés au terme d'une manifestation devant le centre culturel Beaubourg à Paris, qui avait donné lieu à des affrontements avec la police.

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Eco.-social-int.

La Turquie contrôle ses naissances, malgré les résistances
Par Kadri GURSEL

ISTANBUL, 2 sept (AFP) - La Turquie, seul pays musulman à constitution laïque, prévoit de réduire son taux de croissance démographique de 2,1% à 1% par an d'ici à 2010, en dépit de la résistance des milieux islamistes et nationalistes, ainsi que des Kurdes.

Le planning familial, un des thèmes de la Conférence controversée de l'ONU sur la Population et le Développement qui doit s'ouvrir lundi au Caire, est jugé par les islamistes turcs comme "une conspiration de l'Occident" en vue d'affaiblir le monde musulman.

Les nationalistes, eux, considèrent la croissance démographique comme un "atout stratégique des Turcs contre leurs ennemis".

Quant aux séparatistes kurdes, la forte natalité parmi leur communauté, qu'on estime déjà à 10 à 12 millions sur une population totale de 60 millions, est un élément stratégique de leur lutte.

La Turquie, dont la population augmente de plus d'un million par an, encourage le planning familial depuis 1965, lorsqu'elle ne comptait encore que 33 millions d'habitants. L'avortement jusqu'à la dixième semaine de grossesse et la stérilisation volontaire à partir de 18 ans ont été légalisés en 1983. Toutes sortes de services de planning familial rendus par l'Etat sont gratuits.

Soixante-trois pour cent des couples mariés en Turquie utilisent des méthodes contraceptives, selon les sondages. L'"acte interrompu" paraît la plus fréquente, étant préférée par 26% des couples.

Chaque année, un quart des femmes qui se découvrent enceintes ont recours à l'avortement, soit 500.000, selon les estimations du ministère de la Santé.

La presse islamiste ne se contente pas de l'annulation de la participation du Premier ministre Mme Tansu Ciller --officiellement pour raisons de calendrier trop chargé-- à la conférence de Caire, et fait campagne pour que la Turquie la boycotte totalement.

Le vice-président du Parti de la Prospérité (RP, islamiste) Ahmet Tekdal a déclaré que les pays développés imposaient le contrôle des naissances au Tiers monde "à des fins racistes". Il a promis d'encourager la croissance démographique à l'arrivée des islamistes au pouvoir.

Le chroniqueur du quotidien nationaliste "Orta dogu", Aslan Bulut, a affirmé à l'AFP que l'Occident menait une guerre stratégique "à l'aide de la pilule" contre la Turquie pour l'affaiblir en diminuant sa jeunesse.

Nevzat Yalcintas, chroniqueur du quotidien islamo-nationaliste Turkiye, a déclaré refuser que la "société d'islam" soit dégénérée par les maladies de la "société permissive de l'Occident" où "la famille est en voie d'effondrement" à cause des libertés sexuelles apportées par le planning familial.

M. Yalcintas relève une "crainte" non déclarée de l'"élément turc", le contrôle des naissances n'étant pas pratiqué dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, à cause de l'opposition du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), qui mène depuis 10 ans une rébellion armée contre Ankara. Selon lui, la forte natalité de cette région pourrait bouleverser à terme l'équilibre des populations.

Le chef du PKK Abdullah Ocalan avait affirmé en avril que les Kurdes pourraient un jour devenir majoritaires dans le pays. "40 millions de Kurdes riposteront à 40 millions de Turcs", avait-il lancé.

Toutefois, la natalité est quand même en diminution dans le sud-est, à cause de la guerre, selon la directrice de la "Fondation pour le développement des ressources humaines", Mme Nuray Fincancioglu. Le nombre moyen d'enfants par femme dans les régions kurdes était de 4,1 en 1993, contre 8 en 1985, selon une enquête de l'Université de Hacettepe à Ankara. Dans l'ouest du pays, ce nombre est tombé de 3,9 à 1,9 durant la même période. AFP /JO0245/021428 SEP 94

Le Conseil de l'Europe fait une nouvelle tentative pour aider les députés kurdes emprisonnés

Le président de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, M. Miguel Angel Martinez, est arrivé jeudi à Ankara où il effectue une visite de deux jours à la tête d'une délégation du bureau de l'Assemblée tandis que se poursuit dans la capitale turque le procès contre des députés d'origine kurde. Le procès contre huit députés du Parti de la Démocratie (DEP, pro-kurde), aujourd'hui dissous, a débuté au début du mois d'août; accusés d'être "l'aile politique" du mouvement de guérilla kurde du PKK, ils encourent la peine de mort en vertu du code pénal turc pour "séparatisme" et "atteinte à l'intégrité de l'État".

En dépit des pressions de la communauté internationale, les autorités turques n'ont pas révisé leurs positions d'intransigeance qu'elles justifient par ailleurs par l'indépendance du pouvoir judiciaire par rapport au pouvoir politique. Le Conseil de l'Europe, à travers son Assemblée parlementaire,

avait pour sa part demandé à deux reprises, en avril et en juin derniers, la libération de six des 8 députés d'origine kurde actuellement jugés devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'État turque et le retrait des accusations à leur encontre. Mais quand est venu le moment d'adopter d'éventuelles sanctions, comme la suspension des députés turcs au Conseil de l'Europe, demandée par les Socialistes, l'Assemblée a opté pour la modération, se contentant d'adresser des recommandations à Ankara. Autant dire que ces dernières n'ont pas été écoutées, la Turquie étant bien décidée à aller jusqu'au bout dans l'épreuve de force contre les Kurdes; auxquels elle a déclaré une guerre totale dans le sud-est du pays. Dans un tel contexte de surenchère militaire, les cinq députés du Parti de la Démocratie et le député indépendant, tous d'origine kurde, incarcérés en mars dernier, et rejoints en prison en juillet par deux autres parlementaires d'origine kurde, devenaient manifestement gênants pour les autorités d'Ankara: ils étaient pourtant les seuls interlocuteurs du gouvernement pour un dialogue en vue d'un règlement politique du problème kurde dont Ankara, qui en nie jusqu'à l'existence, ne voit sans doute pas l'utilité.

Aujourd'hui, à Ankara, les six parlementaires de l'Assemblée du

Conseil de l'Europe devaient rencontrer notamment le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, dans une nouvelle tentative de plaider la cause des accusés.

Le procès des députés d'origine kurde s'inscrit sur toile de fond de bilans toujours plus alarmants sur la situation des populations kurdes dans le sud-est anatolien. L'Association turque des droits de l'Homme a ainsi indiqué dans un récent rapport que depuis 1984, "au moins 1 500 villages dans le sud-est du pays ont été évacués et 500 000 familles, soit environ 3 millions de personnes, qui avaient refusé de rallier les chefs de villages pro-gouvernementaux, ont été contraints de prendre la fuite".

Mais malgré ces rapports tous plus accablants les uns que les autres mettant la Turquie au ban des États dits démocratiques, les autorités d'Ankara n'ont pris aucune mesure concrète pour améliorer la situation des droits de l'homme. En témoigne notamment le refus annoncé par Mme Ciller le 27 août dernier (voir GAMK du 31 août 1994) de recevoir une partie de l'aide militaire accordée par le partenaire et allié américain à la Turquie, parce qu'elle était conditionnée pour Ankara par le respect des droits de l'homme et par les progrès dans le processus de règlement de la question chypriote.

GAMK - 2 septembre 1994

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Turquie-Irak-Kurdes

51 maquisards kurdes tués en Irak du nord par l'aviation turque

ANKARA, 5 sept (AFP) - Cinquante-et-un rebelles kurdes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes de Turquie) ont été tués lors d'un raid de l'aviation turque sur leur camp en Irak du nord le 29 août, a rapporté lundi l'agence turque Anatolie.

L'opération a été effectuée dans la région de Hakurk à 20 km de la frontière turco-irakienne, selon la même source, citant un communiqué du chef d'état-major turc à Ankara. Soixante-quatorze autres rebelles ont été blessés et une grande quantité d'armes et de munitions ont été détruites, a-t-on affirmé.

Ce chiffre porte à au moins 750 le nombre de maquisards du PKK tués lors de raids de l'aviation turque en Irak du nord, selon une compilation de chiffres officiels.

L'état-major turc avait annoncé il y a une semaine que 205 rebelles du PKK avaient été tués lors d'un raid aérien le 23 août contre les bases de l'organisation en Irak du nord contrôlé par les Kurdes irakiens.

Par ailleurs, 27 maquisards du PKK et 6 membres des forces de l'ordre turques ont été tués en 48 heures lors d'accrochages dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, selon Anatolie.

KG/hc/sp

AFP /JO0245/051816

SEP 94

TURQUIE

LE PROCÈS DE SIX DÉPUTÉS KURDES

La Turquie engage près du quart de son budget national dans une lutte sanglante sur son propre territoire. Sa bête noire : les Kurdes... Ankara s'en prend aujourd'hui à ses ex-représentants légaux, six députés. Accusés de séparatisme, ils risquent la peine capitale.



Les parlementaires kurdes accusés en conversation avec leurs avocats.

Six députés kurdes incarcérés depuis six mois à Ankara comparaitront le 7 septembre devant la Cour de sûreté. Le procureur général de la Cour requiert contre eux la peine de mort pour leurs opinions qu'il juge « criminelles » et « attentatoires à l'unité idéologique et territoriale de la Nation et de la Patrie ». Le délit est bien idéologique. La constitution de 1982, imposée par les généraux érige le kémalisme en doctrine officielle : « le fondateur de la République de Turquie, chef immortel, héros incomparable, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, ses réformes et ses principes », restent la référence obligée du droit. Or, Atatürk a mené contre les Kurdes une politique d'assimilation forcée dans les années 20. Depuis cette époque, les « Turcs des montagnes » ne peuvent s'exprimer dans leur langue : écoles, livres ou journaux kurdes sont illégaux. La négation de l'existence culturelle et politique du peuple kurde - qui comprend douze à quinze millions d'individus - demeure un élément essentiel de la politique menée par le gouvernement. Le Premier ministre actuel, Tansu Çiller affirme : « Il n'y a ni Kurde, ni problème kurde en Turquie, il y a un problème de terrorisme ». Toute position en faveur du peuple kurde est assimilée au Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, le PKK, contre lequel l'armée et le gouvernement mènent une lutte sanglante. Ainsi Mahmut Alinak l'un des six inculpés, connu pourtant pour ses positions qui le placent aux antipodes du PKK, est accusé de terroris-

me par les procureurs : « lors de ses réunions électorales, le député Mahmut Alinak a repris, mot à mot, à son compte les revendications de l'organisation de terre-ur, le PKK : identité kurde, culture kurde, éducation en kurde ». A la page 81 de l'Acte d'accusation, les procureurs ont tranché : « Le fait que les accusés appellent l'État turc, selon leur expression, à rechercher une solution politique dans un climat de liberté et de démocratie est un crime. Cela est un crime et montre en même temps que les accusés font partie du PKK ». No comment.

Les six parlementaires - Hatip Dicle, Leyla Zana, Mahmut Alinak, Ahmet Türk, Orhan Dogan, et Sirri Sakik - avaient été élus en novembre 1991 à l'Assemblée nationale en pleine période « d'ouverture politique » pratiquée par le président turc de l'époque, Turgut Özal. Il avait aboli la loi interdisant l'usage de la langue kurde, relâché 40 000 prisonniers et recherchait la possibilité de reconnaître leur identité. Son successeur, le conservateur Demirel, assisté de son Premier ministre et de l'armée se sont employés à étouffer toute revendication kurde. A trois semaines des élections municipales qui se sont tenues le 27 mars dernier, une vaste campagne d'intimidation à l'encontre du seul parti pro-kurde, le parti de la démocratie (DEP), contraint celui-ci à se retirer de la course. Destruction de locaux, répression militaire accrue dans la partie kurde du pays et enfin arrestation de ses diri-

geants et de ses membres. Cinq des six inculpés en faisaient partie.

Leur arrestation a soulevé une vive émotion dans l'opinion publique internationale. Le Conseil de l'Europe, bien que n'ayant pris aucune sanction, a exigé la libération immédiate des détenus. Il a en outre demandé à ce que la Turquie modifie « le plus rapidement possible » les articles de sa Constitution ayant permis la dissolution du DEP le 16 juin dernier. Un collectif d'avocats européens s'est organisé autour de Roland Dumas et Ségolène Royal pour appuyer la défense. Outre les associations de défense des droits de l'homme des actions individuelles sont menées en leur faveur.

La Turquie, qui se veut un État moderne, démocratique et européen, risque de voir son image se ternir, et écarte à ce titre autant que possible les observateurs internationaux. Certains craignent que le procès, ouvert

le 3 août et reporté début septembre ne soit reporté régulièrement afin que la pression internationale diminue et que le public se lasse.

Près de quatre cents avocats sont mobilisés pour la défense des ex-députés, pour leur vie, mais aussi pour mettre au grand jour et devant un public international la question kurde. Un des avocats et adjoint de l'Association des droits de l'homme expose l'enjeu de la défense : « Pendant le procès, nous allons d'abord exposer les contradictions internes de l'accusation, puis démontrer comment la Turquie viole les conventions internationales qu'elle a signées. Les députés inculpés dénonceront les persécutions de l'Etat turc contre les organisations légales kurdes. Nous serons les accusateurs », déclare l'avocat Yussuf Alatas.

Procès à suivre...

Géraldine Berger

LA CROIX
LEVEMENT

VENDREDI 2 SEPTEMBRE 1994

Turquie

LA RETRAITE D'UN CHEF DE GUERRE

Le général Güres est l'homme de la guerre totale contre les Kurdes du PKK

ISTANBUL
DE NOTRE CORRESPONDANT

L'un des plus influents acteurs politiques turcs part en retraite. Dogan Güres, commandant en chef des forces armées, s'est retiré officiellement du devant de la scène le 1^{er} septembre. Le premier ministre, Tansu Ciller, semblait apprécier sa détermination et ses attitudes paternalistes. L'alliance curieuse entre le général aux épaules et aux convictions carrées et la femme d'allure moderne qui a pris la tête du gouvernement il y quinze mois a contribué au déclenchement d'une guerre presque totale dans le sud-est du pays aux prises avec la guérilla kurde du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK).

Laïc convaincu, disciple affi-



Dogan Güres, commandant de l'armée, a fait preuve d'une extrême intransigeance envers les Kurdes. (Photo AFP.)

ché du père fondateur de la Turquie, Mustapha Kemal, défenseur intransigent de l'« unité » du peuple turc, Dogan Güres se disait démocrate et attaché à la liberté d'expression. Ses déclarations teintées de menaces sur la présence de « (députés) terroristes à l'Assemblée » et sur le « malaise » de l'armée furent pourtant un facteur déterminant dans la décision du pouvoir d'interdire le 16 juin dernier le Parti pro-kurde de la démocratie (DEP) et de traîner devant les tribunaux six de ses élus qui avaient milité pour les droits des Kurdes. Leur procès

devant la Cour de sûreté de l'État doit reprendre le 6 septembre.

En avril 1994, le commandant en chef de l'armée avait menacé la classe politique d'un retour à l'état d'urgence. Une colère à ne pas prendre à la légère dans un pays qui a connu trois coups d'État militaires de 1960 à 1980.

La force de Dogan Güres s'est affirmée doublement après la mort de l'ancien président de la République, Turgut Özal, réputé ouvert sur la question kurde, et après l'accession de Tansu Ciller au poste de pre-

mier ministre en juin 1993. Le général se disait plein d'admiration devant un chef de gouvernement lui laissant autant de latitude. « Ce n'est pas un problème pour moi de recevoir des ordres d'une femme », a-t-il déclaré un jour, enjoué. « Et hop ! Elle me donne un ordre, et tac ! Je l'exécute. »

Ayant hérité en 1990 d'une armée paupérisée, Dogan Güres avait immédiatement orienté son action en vue de combattre l'« ennemi intérieur ». Depuis deux ans, la stratégie militaire turque est d'éliminer physiquement le PKK, priorité étant donnée à la reconquête des territoires contrôlés par la guérilla. Une politique qui a mené dans le sud-est à l'évacuation et à la destruction de plusieurs centaines de villages et à une concentration massive de moyens (220 000 gendarmes aujourd'hui contre 50 000 auparavant). Le départ de Dogan Güres ne présage pas nécessairement un changement de politique. Le commandant en chef aurait soigneusement sélectionné ses successeurs.

Claude ORTACQ

Martinez: Turkish democracy important for us

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Miguel Angel Martinez, the president of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, told Turks Friday that the Turkish democratic development was important for the whole of Europe.

"We have come here to extend support for those who are committed to the democratization of Turkey and want to give their citizens European standards of democracy," Martinez explained.

Martinez, who arrived in Ankara with a five-member delegation, has met with Turkish officials, from Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal. "This is an unusually high-level delegation, which shows the importance we give to Turkey," he told reporters as he was received by Çiller. The ad hoc committee was established according to the Assembly's Resolution 1041, which severely criticized Turkey for stripping deputies of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party of their Parliamentary immunity and urged a delegation to be sent to Turkey to prepare a report.

"A number of developments have caused a certain concern in the Assembly, which exploded at the banishment of a number of DEP deputies from the parliament and the jailing of some of our colleagues," Martinez explained.

Çiller, for her part, told Martinez that the closure of the Democracy Party was "the result of a legal process" which was the culmination of a series of events.

The Turkish prime minister told the delegation right away that it was unthinkable that "Turkey would stop its fight against terrorism."

"There is democracy in Turkey, and we want to bring it to the level of the most developed democratic regimes," Çiller said. The delegation met with Karayalçın for breakfast and an official meeting, after their talks with Soysal.

"Soysal is an old friend and has been actively involved in the developments that led to the resolution. I did not need to explain to him what prompted our arrival," Martinez remarked, probably acutely remembering the stance Soysal — a member of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly — took against the resolution in all its stages.

Soysal allowed no reporters in his meeting with Martinez and the other delegates.

Earlier speculations had indicated that Martinez had wanted to meet with some members of the judiciary, including the State Security Court Chief prosecutor, but was stopped by Turkey, particularly through the efforts of "his old friend" Mümtaz Soysal, who had noted that since Turkish deputies were not able to

exert influence on the judiciary, there was no reason why foreign deputies should be able to do so.

Martinez did not respond to the speculations while in Turkey. But he stressed that the Assembly was concerned with some of the provisions of the constitution, the Penal Code and the law on political parties.

He also noted the need for reform on issues like human rights and the Kurdish issue.

The strongest pledge of reform came from Deputy Prime Minister and social democrat leader Murat Karayalçın.

"My party, SHP, believes that the Kurdish issue should be discussed openly," Karayalçın assured Martinez, a Spanish socialist.

Karayalçın has said that his party "had the utmost sensitivity" both toward human rights and toward the unity of Turkey. "We, the Social Democrat People's Party, make a division between terrorism and the Kurdish issue. I am happy to see that Martinez has the same attitude," he said.

While Karayalçın underlined the "Socialist" solidarity with Martinez, Çiller noted that the two female members of the delegation — Leni Fischer and Manuela Aguiar — were from the right wing parties.

"Ladies are the liberals," quipped Çiller, to which Martinez replied: "We men are also liberal-minded."

turkish daily news

Saturday, September 3, 1994

Pentagon acknowledges arms exports are halted

But weapon royalties, not Kurds, given as reason. Turkish military authorities say no export request ever made

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A U.S. Department of Defense official today confirmed for the Turkish Daily News that permission to export Light Antitank Weapon (LAW) detonators to Turkey was indeed denied by the Pentagon, as reported in TDN on Sept. 1.

However, the Pentagon official heavily underlined the fact that the "recommendation" to the

State Department not to issue an export license had nothing to do whatsoever with the alleged possibility that the LAW weapons might be used against the Kurdish separatists in the Southeast.

An official of Interconsult, the defense company that signed a contract in March to sell LAW detonators to Turkey, verbally told Turkish authorities that the

Pentagon objection was due to the "use of these weapons against Kurdish separatist militants."

The official's words gave rise to interpretations that the United States might be employing some type of indirect and unofficial sanction against Turkey.

The TDN story created quite a stir in Turkey as well as in the United States, causing a fair amount of cable and telephone traffic between the Turkish and U.S. capitals.

Accumulated royalty fees

Pentagon official said that the reason why they did not recommend the export of LAW detonators was the accumulated royalty fees that the United States wanted to collect on Turkish-made HAR weapons — a weapon system reportedly very similar to LAW. A Turkish official in Washington confirmed that such licensing talks have been going on between the two nations for the last "three or four years."

No Southeast connection

"Turkey is apparently producing the HAR, which is almost exactly the same thing (as LAW)," the official told TDN.

"What happened is that this company in Turkey is producing (the HAR) without the permission of the U.S. company and paying royalties... In one sense, it is illegally producing these things because it hasn't done what is required by international agreements. But the situation has absolutely nothing to do with what's going on in the Southeast.

The official said he did not know the name of the Turkish company producing the HARs.

Following the Pentagon "recommendation" not to export the detonators, The State Department, in consultation with the Department of the Army, denied the export license.

Yesterday, Turkish Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal declined to deny the export story but downplayed the

importance of the event. He said that it was not a significant issue on the level of an American "sanction."

Blackhawk and Sikorsky rocket launchers

The TDN also inquired about the controversy surrounding the helicopter rocket launchers. It has been reported that Turkish authorities have requested rocket launchers to install on the Blackhawk and Sikorsky combat helicopters purchased from the United States. Some sources claimed that, despite repeated Turkish requests, the Pentagon kept on stalling the "recommendation" that the State Department needs to issue an export license for the launchers.

The same Pentagon official told the TDN that a request has not even been made by Turkey for such launchers.

"We checked with our commercial experts and other channels (in the Pentagon) to see if there was a request (for helicopter rocket launchers), to see if there was a denial," the official said.

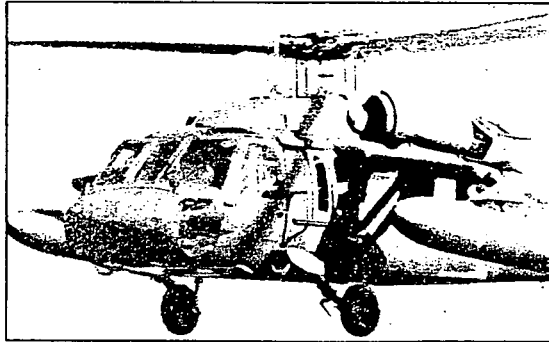
"The answer is, as best as we can determine, that there never was a request. So of course there wouldn't be a denial (either)."

Turkish official denies export request

A spokesperson of the office of Turkish Military Attache in Washington, on the other hand, has flatly denied the detonator story. "We have no knowledge of Interconsult making an export request for such detonators," the spokesperson said.

"Any such transaction must be approved by this office and cannot take place without our knowledge. Therefore we do not think that there was even an application made to the American authorities in that regard," he said.

The office of the Turkish military attache also stated that there has never been a Turkish request for any rocket launchers to install on the Turkish Blackhawk's and Sikorsky's.



Finns deny going off with PKK willingly But said that their captors treated them very well

Reuters

HELSINKI - Two Finnish tourists who were kidnapped and held for three weeks by outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), denied they went willingly with the PKK.

The pair, Marko Hotakainen and Tuomo Pollari, returned home Saturday after they were detained for three weeks by the PKK. They were freed on Tuesday in Kangali, a village in the Tunceli province.

"According to them (the PKK), we were their guests. But I was there against my will," Hotakainen told a news conference at the airport outside Helsinki.

"They were so friendly to us that one couldn't be afraid," Pollari said, according to the Finnish news agency (STT).

The two men said they had moved from camp to camp during the three weeks with the guerillas.

Turkish officials had initially suggested the two, both in their 20s and on their way to Australia when they were kidnapped, went off willingly with PKK guerillas.

Finnish authorities, however, insisted the pair had been abducted in an operation reminiscent of previous PKK kidnappings of foreign tourists.

The Finns were abducted by PKK forces, who said the pair were in violation of a PKK order that all travellers to the largely Kurdish region first obtain a "visa."

The PKK has seized 29 foreigners as part of their struggle. All have been released unharmed.

Turkish population could reach 90.7 million by 2030

WB figures project 48.1 percent increase in 35 years

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The recent world population figures released by the World Bank project a 48.1 percent increase for Turkey within the next 35 years. According to the World Bank, Turkey's population will go from 61.2 million in 1995 to 90.7 million in 2030.

Some other countries in the Middle East are projected to have much higher aggregate population growth rates but none will have a total population larger than Turkey. Highest increase belongs to the Gaza Strip and Oman, both expected to increase their population by 208 percent within 35 years. Other aggregate population growth rates are as follows: Iraq 125 percent, Jordan 112 percent, Saudi Arabia 153 percent, Syria 160 percent, Yemen 187 percent, Iran 107 percent.

Iran is the only neighbor which will have a larger population than Turkey. There will be 134.4 million Iranians living in 2030 in contrast to 64.8 million in 1995.

Greece, unlike Turkey, is expected to lose population within the next 35 years at an aggregate rate of -0.1 percent. The Greek population is expected to remain stationary around 10.4 million all the way to the year 2030. This means that current 6-to-1 ration between Turkey and Greece will expand to 9-to-1 by 2030.

Population loss in another Thrace neighbor, Bulgaria, will be even more pronounced. The World Bank projects that Bulgaria's population will decrease from 8.4 million in 1995 to 7.6 million in 2030, presenting a loss of 9.8 percent.

On the Caucasus front, Azerbaijan's population is expected to grow from 7.6 million

to 10.9 million (up by 43 percent). Armenia is expected to go from 3.8 million to 5 million (up by 32.7 percent).

The detailed country data that the World Bank has released estimates that the Turkish birth rate will drop from 24.6 per thousand in 1990 to 14.3 per thousand in 2035. The death rate is expected to show a slight increase from 6.9 per thousand in 1990 to 7.7 per thousand in 2035. Due to the significant drop in the birth rate, the Turkish annual rate of natural population increase is expected to drop from 1.77 percent in 1990 to 0.66 percent in 2035.

As a further projection, the World Bank also calculated that the Turkish population might reach 111.8 million by the year 2150. By then the annual rate of population growth is expected to drop to .03 percent.

The bank projections suggest that the world's total population, estimated to be 5.3 billion in 1990, will reach 11.4 billion by the year 2150.

The bank says that the world population will not stabilize until the 22nd century when as many as 12 billion people could populate the planet.

The World Bank in part welcomes such increase because it is a result of better health conditions. "But, more people on earth means it is more difficult for governments of many developing countries to achieve the already tough task of meeting basic needs, reducing poverty, and offsetting unsustainable pressure on natural resources," a bank statement said.

Demirel: Cyprus can pose bigger problem than PKK in the West

By Hayri Birler

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- President Süleyman Demirel warned the government that Cyprus could end up being "a bigger problem than the PKK" for Turkey in its relations with the West, the Turkish Daily News has learned.

Demirel is reported to have issued this warning of his following the recent decision by the Parliament of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) to annul the commitment to a federal solution as the sole solution to the Cyprus problem. The Parliament of the TRNC had voted at the end of August to jettison its previously declared commitment to a federal solution, to break off the Cyprus talks until certain conditions were met, and to start proceedings with a view towards integration with Turkey.

Turkey, through a written statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the day after the TRNC legislature's decision, expressed its full and unreserved support for this decision. According to information made available to the TDN, the National Security Council, which met on August 29 — the day of the TRNC Parliament's decision — did not review this decision. But President Demirel — who headed the NSC meeting — made a brief reference to the decision of TRNC legislators and said this subject could pose a "greater headache" for Turkey, vis a vis the West, than the PKK.

Following this warning, and other assessments on the subject, Ankara's decision was that supporting the TRNC decision would be "inevitable."

The decision of Turkish Cypriot legislators was, in this context, seen as an act of defiance against the application by Greek Cyprus for full membership in the European Union. Commenting on these developments, one source told the TDN that it was "extremely natural" that Turkey should support the TRNC in this respect.

"It could not have been any other way. If the (Cyprus) problem is condemned to being deadlocked, then it is Turkey's duty to take the necessary precautions that will protect Turkish Cypriots against the adverse effects of this," he said.

This source conceded that the decision of the TRNC Parliament and Ankara's support for this, represented a change in a policy of 20 years.

But he said this was because Greek Cyprus was preparing itself to be admitted into the

EU, which would endorse its status as the sole representative of Cyprus, something which the Turkish side cannot accept.

"By making its decision, the Turkish side has not only done its duty, but has also presented the Greek Cypriot side, in view of its preparations, with an act of defiance," this source said. The source informing the TDN also indicated his belief that it was unlikely that the West would go against this act of

defiance.

He said however, that every possibility nevertheless existed, adding that Turkey had to be prepared in this respect and, "not scratch the issue for some time."

"It has to explore all options before resorting to integration. The president's cautioning suggested this as well," he said.

President Demirel also touched on the subject on Sept. 1, during his address to

Parliament, and had said that a solution to Cyprus can only occur through the recognition of the political equality of the two communities on the island and the recognition that sovereignty is shared equally by the two sides.

Demirel also indicated that the Greek Cypriot application to the EU contradicted the basic tenets on which the Cyprus negotiations are based and displayed a lack of desire to arrive at a negotiated settlement.

Martinez leaves 'optimistic' but unconvinced on Kurds

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Wrapping up a four-day visit to Turkey, Miguel Angel Martinez, the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly chairman, declared that he was "optimistic" in general, but remained "unsatisfied" about the explanations given to him by Ankara on the Kurdish issue.

"There are reasons for me to be optimistic (on democratization and human rights in Turkey) despite some domestic problems," Martinez told Anatolia News Agency before his departure. The aim of the Martinez visit is a fact-finding one, following which he will prepare a report for the Assembly. The decision to send the mission to Turkey was made this summer, after several Turkish deputies, most of whom were of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), were stripped of their parliamentary immunity. "I am not here to teach a lesson to Turks," Martinez said in an interview with Milliyet, stressing that European countries firmly support Turkish territorial integrity. "Stability in Turkey would benefit us," he added.

Martinez, whose tone during the visit was considerably soft, said that he was able to obtain "clear" answers from the Turkish officials.

"Major steps should be expected from Turkey in the coming months," he said, hinting the theme of the report he will write. "Changes are needed in certain provisions of the Constitution and Penal Code, but a political consensus is necessary for the change," Martinez said. "We want to extend our support to the circles who are committed to democracy."

Two focal points of Martinez appeared to be the Kurdish issue and the policy of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party.

Visiting Welfare Party Vice-Chairman Şevket Kazan, Martinez asked him his party's position on key points.

"What does the Welfare Party think of human rights? How does your party want Turkey to contribute to the new architecture of Europe, particularly to the European Union?" Martinez asked Kazan. "And the most important question: Does Welfare Party want

Turkey to stay away from Europe?"

Kazan replied to the questions after members of the press were invited out of the room. But he said that there were "misconceptions" regarding the way Europeans assessed the Welfare Party.

"We are going to send a delegation to visit Western countries this year," Kazan said.

Martinez admitted in his interview with Milliyet that he was not fully satisfied with talks about the Kurdish issue. "I am not naive on the Kurdish issue," he said. "We deplore the PKK and support Turkey's fight against terrorism. I am fighting the same things for Kurds in Turkey the same way I fought with Turks in Bulgaria. Turks tell me the situation is not comparable.

Of course it can be compared. I support the same rights to be given to Kurds. Everyone must be free to name their child in their language. Every citizen must be able to speak and be educated in his mother tongue... Only such a policy would isolate the PKK. Military means are not enough."

turkish daily news

Tuesday, September 6, 1994.

Talabani hints at anti-PUK bias by Turkish gov't

PUK leader sends letters to Demirel and Çiller claiming Turkish jets bombed his peshmergas

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), sent letters to President Süleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller in mid August complaining about Turkish air strikes on camps belonging to his group and suggesting Ankara was taking sides in the conflict in Northern Iraq between the various Kurdish groups, the Turkish Daily News has learned.

Talabani, who represents one of the main Kurdish groups in Northern Iraq, said in his letter, dated August 15, that 10 Peshmergas (Kurdish fighters) belonging to the PUK had been killed and 7 wounded on two separate raids that took place on August 8.

Turkey has increased the frequency of its air raids on suspected PKK targets in Northern Iraq in recent weeks in an attempt to destroy the

bases of the organization, which is waging a separatist war in Southeast Anatolia.

In his letter to Demirel and Çiller, a copy of which has been obtained by the TDN, Talabani suggests indirectly that the killing of PUK Peshmergas signals support by Turkey for his groups' rivals in Northern Iraq.

Regular clashes have been taking place between members of the PUK and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) of Massoud Barzani, as well as the PUK and the pro-Islamic Kurdish Group the IMK, in past months.

Pointing out that attacks by Turkish jets on PUK bases in the Sheranish and Devania regions on August 8 had also left a number of Peshmergas wounded, Talabani maintained there were no PKK elements in these regions.

"We are disappointed and gravely concerned about the incident which we hope was an oversight and due to erroneous intelligence. But, we find the incident unjustifiable in every sense, for we have extensive channels of communication with the military authorities who should have,

and could have corroborated their information before such an operation," Talabani said in his letter.

"Whilst we remain committed to cooperation with the Turkish authorities, I am concerned that such raids that often claim the lives of Iraqi

Kurdish civilians and Peshmergas, will embarrass us in front of the Iraqi Kurdish public opinion and thus undermine the consensus in Iraqi Kurdish regions towards our joint cooperation."

The PUK has been complaining about a lack of "dialogue" and "cooperation" with Turkey, especially after Prime Minister Tansu Çiller took office.

Turkish officials have said privately that of the various Northern Iraqi Kurdish leaders, Talabani is the one least trusted in Ankara because of his "unclear position on the PKK and its leader Abdullah Öcalan."

The inclination in Ankara has been to enhance its ties with the KDP and its leader Massoud Barzani, even though officially Turkey has expressed its neutrality in the conflict between the various Kurdish groups

in Northern Iraq.

"(The August 8 raid), I fear, could be viewed as a contradiction of Turkey's stated neutrality in the context of the recent internal conflict of Iraqi Kurdistan in which Turkey played a positive role to facilitate its resolution." Ankara had arranged a meeting in Turkey in July, between Talabani and Barzani with a view to achieving a settlement to their dispute.

In his August 15 letter, Talabani asked Demirel and Çiller for their assistance "to prevent the recurrence of such incidents." "We hope that the Turkish authorities will institute a thorough investigation of the incident and punish those responsible. Further I believe that it is only fair to compensate the families of the victims. We hope that we can address this grave matter through our private channels of communication," Talabani said.

The PUK leader concluded his letter with the telling remarks: "We look forward to improving our bilateral (ties) in all areas of mutual concern."

Northern Iraqi sources have told the TDN that the continuation of Turkish cross border

raids after Talabani's letter, indicates to them that Ankara has preferred to disregard this letter all together.

A PUK statement to the press on August 24 claimed Turkish planes had wounded civilians in the Northern Iraqi village of Badawan, in an air strike the previous day.

Shazad Saib, the PUK's Ankara representative, said that the raid wounded seven people and destroyed some houses in the village of Badawan and its surrounding area in Dokan province, part of the Suleymaniyah governorate.

A written statement by the PUK on the subject denied that there were PKK training camps in the Badwan region and claimed that all the casualties were Iraqi Kurdish Civilians.

Defense sources in Ankara, for their part have denied that PUK or any Northern Iraqi Kurdish positions have been targeted by the Turkish Air Force in its cross border raids.

They have also said that these raids will continue "as long as PKK elements are seen to be taking refuge in the region."

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Forte appréciation du dinar irakien dans les régions kurdes

ERBIL (Irak), 5 sept (AFP) - La valeur du dinar irakien par rapport aux devises a doublé au cours des trois dernières semaines dans le nord de l'Irak sous contrôle kurde, à la suite de négociations irako-turques qui pourraient aboutir à un assouplissement des sanctions de l'ONU.

Le taux du dinar sur le marché noir est passé de 80 pour un dollar il y a trois semaines à 40 actuellement, a affirmé lundi à l'AFP le "ministre" kurde des Finances Daro Nuri, soulignant que "le taux du dollar n'a jamais été aussi bas depuis un an".

Le dinar vaut officiellement en Irak trois dollars, mais sa valeur sur le marché noir s'est spectaculairement dépréciée en raison de l'embargo multiforme imposé par l'ONU en août 1990.

L'appréciation du dinar a entraîné une baisse des prix dans le Kurdistan d'Irak, où un sac de farine, qui coûtait 650 dinar il y a trois semaines, se vend actuellement à 350 dinars.

Plusieurs changeurs d'Erbil, "capitale" du Kurdistan d'Irak, ont estimé que l'appréciation du dinar est due au fait que l'ONU doit revoir dans les prochains jours le régime des sanctions, et que la rumeur circule dans le Kurdistan selon laquelle l'embargo pourrait être levé.

"Le dollar reviendra à la hausse aussitôt après le renouvellement des sanctions", a affirmé cependant, sceptique, un changeur, Merdid Mohammad.

La remontée du dinar intervient alors que la Turquie et l'Irak ont entamé des négociations pour faire la vidange de leur oléoduc commun, fermé depuis quatre ans. La vidange devrait aboutir au pompage de 27 millions de barils de brut vers la Turquie, ce qui permettrait à l'Irak d'importer des produits alimentaires.

La Turquie a en outre récemment ouvert le passage frontalier de Habur avec l'Irak, permettant une activité commerciale à petite échelle, portant surtout sur les produits alimentaires.

Les mouvements kurdes d'opposition au président Saddam Hussein ont pris le contrôle du nord de l'Irak à la suite d'une insurrection lancée après la défaite irakienne dans la guerre du Golfe (janvier-février 1991).

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Irak-justice

Mutilations et autres sévices pour les criminels et les déserteurs en Irak, selon l'opposition

NICOSIE, 6 sept (AFP) - L'opposition irakienne a affirmé ces derniers jours que les autorités de Bagdad ont commencé depuis peu à pratiquer des mutilations et d'autres sévices corporels sur des criminels de droit commun et des déserteurs de l'armée irakienne.

Selon la "Voix du peuple du Kurdistan", une radio kurde irakienne captée par la BBC à Londres, le régime du président Saddam Hussein "a récemment lancé une chasse aux déserteurs" dans le sud du pays. "Les hommes du régime en ont capturé 800 et les ont emmenés aux hôpitaux Al-Joumhouriya et Saddam à Bagdad, où ils ont eu chacun les oreilles coupées et le front marqué aux fers".

La radio affirme que ces sévices ont été pratiqués "conformément à une récente décision du dictateur (Saddam Hussein) de punir les déserteurs" de l'armée.

Par ailleurs, le Congrès national irakien, (CNI) une coalition qui regroupe diverses formations de l'opposition et qui est basée à Salaheddine, dans le Kurdistan irakien, a fait état, dans un communiqué parvenu à l'AFP à Nicosie, d'un décret irakien prévoyant le tatouage au front de tous les prisonniers ayant subi des amputations en relation avec leur crime.

Le CNI reproduit un texte qu'il affirme être celui du décret, pris par le Conseil de commandement de la révolution (la plus haute instance du régime irakien) et daté du 18 août dernier. Selon ce texte, "un tatouage sera appliqué sur le front de toute personne dont la main a été amputée pour avoir commis un crime".

Le chef de l'Etat irakien avait décidé en juin d'amender le code pénal irakien, en introduisant la pratique islamique de l'amputation de la main droite aux individus condamnés pour vol. Un récidiviste serait amputé de la jambe.

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Turquie-Irak

Circulation réduite au poste frontalier de Habur malgré sa réouverture officielle

HABUR (Poste frontalier turco-irakien), 6 sept (AFP) - Une semaine après la réouverture par la Turquie du poste frontalier turco-irakien de Habur, la circulation est encore très réduite, notamment en raison des multiples "prélèvements" effectués sur les cargaisons par les diverses autorités locales.

Douze camions seulement ont franchi la frontière le week-end dernier, a constaté sur place un journaliste de l'AFP, alors que de 8.000 à 10.000 véhicules passaient chaque jour dans les deux sens avant la guerre du Golfe.

La porte de Habur était fermée depuis 1991, ne laissant passer que les véhicules de l'opération "Provide Comfort" de l'ONU et des organisations caritatives non gouvernementales (ONG) qui convoyaient de l'aide humanitaire aux Kurdes d'Irak.

Le gouvernement turc a décidé de la rouvrir à des activités commerciales à petite échelle, des produits alimentaires non soumis à l'embargo de l'ONU étant acheminés en Irak, les camions revenant chargés de gazole en sens inverse. Lundi, Ankara a fixé à 1,5 tonne de gazole par camion léger et à 2,5 tonnes par poids lourd TIR (Transport International Routier) la limite autorisée.

Sur le trajet Diyarbakir-Habur, long de 300 km, on relevait très peu de circulation samedi et dimanche derniers, tandis qu'une petite activité était visible dans la zone des douanes turques.

Seuls les camions chargés et les taxis transportant des voyageurs ont l'autorisation de passer la frontière. Le ministère turc des affaires étrangères a interdit l'entrée en Irak du Nord de l'ensemble des membres de la presse, a affirmé le chef de la police de Habur.

Les camionneurs interrogés se plaignaient du comportement des responsables locaux turcs, kurdes et de ceux du régime de Saddam Hussein. "J'ai été stoppé 15 fois depuis Urfa, les policiers ou milices m'ont demandé des pots-de-vin. Les peshmergas perçoivent des taxes incroyables. Nous sommes également obligés de faire un don au PKK. Les policiers de Saddam nous ont également dévalisés", se lamentait Seyhmüz Kaya, qui venait de faire l'aller et retour jusqu'à Mossoul (Irak).

L'administration régionale kurde d'Irak n'admet pas non plus de camions vides. Le transporteur turc, pour remplir ses cuves de mazout ou de gazole qui coûte au moins dix fois moins cher en Irak qu'en Turquie, doit donc livrer sa marchandise en territoire contrôlé par Saddam Hussein, au sud du 36ème parallèle. Le Kurdistan d'Irak n'a plus de pétrole ou d'argent pour payer les camionneurs en provenance de Turquie.

Ankara avait accéléré ses initiatives diplomatiques et ses contacts commerciaux par l'intermédiaire d'une délégation d'hommes d'affaires qui vient de rentrer de Bagdad, pour discuter de la réouverture de Habur et de la vidange de l'oléoduc irako-turc Kirkouk-Yumurtalik, lui aussi fermé depuis la guerre.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Treason trial of Kurds is adjourned

London: The trial of six Kurdish former members of parliament accused of treason in Ankara's Security Court was yesterday adjourned for a month (Hazhir Teimourian writes). After Western observers attending

the trial applauded the defence of some of the accused, the military prosecution requested that the proceedings be adjourned to October 7.

The chief prosecutor asked yesterday that the death sentence be imposed on the defendants for allegedly having had links with Kurdish guerrillas fighting for autonomy in southeast Turkey.

Recordings of telephone conversations were played in which the accused were alleged to be speaking to Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), based in Syria. All the accused denied the authenticity of the taped conversations.

Processo ai kurdi

Riprende domani ad Ankara il processo contro sei deputati filo-kurdi che rischiano la pena di morte per «reati di opinione». Il caso di Leyla Zana

ANNA MARIA MERLO
PARIGI

VOGLIONO «condannarmi a morte per attività pacifiche, legali, che porto avanti al servizio del mio popolo da quando sono stata eletta deputata di Diyarbakir nell'ottobre '91».

Leyla Zana, la prima donna kurda ad essere stata eletta al parlamento turco, rischia assieme ad altri 5 deputati, di essere condannata a morte per un semplice «reato di opinione», al termine di un processo che riprende domani ad Ankara.

Leyla Zana, che ha appena 33 anni, è in prigione dal 5 marzo scorso, con l'accusa di far parte del «ramo politico del Partito dei lavoratori del Kurdistan (Pkk)» che è in guerra contro il potere centrale. Leyla Zana ha lanciato ieri un appello dalle colonne di *Libération*: «aspetto la mobilitazione dei colleghi parlamentari, dei difensori della libertà di espressione e anche delle mie sorelle femministe».

Nell'autunno del '91, otto kurdi sono stati eletti deputati al parlamento di Ankara nella lista del partito populista social-democratico (Shp) di Erdal Inonu, con il quale l'Hep, un giovane partito kurdo, aveva concluso un'intesa elettorale.

È la prima volta che i kurdi «assumono e rivendicano pubblicamente la loro identità» in questa sede, spiegano all'Istituto kurdo di Parigi, dove il presidente Kendal Nezan sta tentando di far nascere una mobilitazione europea a favore dei deputati sotto processo, in un paese ufficialmente considerato

«democratico», che fa parte della Nato e del Consiglio d'Europa.

Nel '91 erano i tempi della breve stagione di «apertura politica» voluta dall'allora presidente Turgut Ozal, poi deceduto. Con il nuovo primo ministro, la signora Tansu Ciller, l'Hep viene dichiarato fuori legge, accusato di «separatismo».

Il presidente del partito nonché vice-presidente della Camera, Fehmi Isiklar, è stato privato del mandato parlamentare. Gli altri deputati hanno invece avuto il tempo di dare le dimissioni dall'Hep e di fondare un nuovo partito, il Dep (partito della democrazia).

Uno di questi deputati, Mehmet Sincar, è stato assassinato (sono già 74 i dirigenti uccisi del partito pro kurdo). Gli altri sei sono ora sotto processo e rischiano la pena di morte, sempre in nome della «guerra speciale» combattuta dal potere di Ankara contro i kurdi dal marzo del '92. L'accusa ufficiale, senza che siano state mai fornite prove, è di «tradimento» e di «attentato all'integrità territoriale e alla sovranità dello stato».

Leyla Zana è accusata delle cose più assurde: persino un vestito con i colori rosso, verde e giallo - i colori del Kurdistan - viene interpretato come un gesto criminale (in un volume sul caso redatto dall'Istituto kurdo raccontano che in alcune città il governo ha ordinato la sostituzione del verde del semaforo con una luce blu, per evitare di

ricordare i colori del Kurdistan).

Leyla Zana era già stata arrestata nell'88. Una detenzione di 50 giorni, in seguito a una visita in carcere fatta al marito, Mehdi Zana, sindaco di Diyarbakir. In prigione ha subito delle torture. Tre anni dopo, è stata eletta al parlamento. Qui ha cercato di combattere per una soluzione «politica» della questione kurda, malgrado la violenza della repressione dell'esercito e i tentativi di reazione, anch'essi violenti, del Pkk.

Leyla Zana ha fatto una lunga strada prima di arrivare al parlamento. È nata in una zona rurale, educata in modo tradizionale. Non ha nemmeno imparato bene il turco, da piccola. Il matrimonio con Mehdi, un cugino molto più vecchio di lei, è stato arrangiato dalla famiglia.

Ma, poco per volta, anche in contraddizione con il marito peraltro impegnato nella causa kurda e da cui ha avuto due figli, Leyla Zana ha «scoperto di avere un'identità», come ha spiegato in un'intervista al settimanale *L'Événement du jeudi* poco prima di essere arrestata. La ribellione di Leyla Zana non è solo contro l'oppressione politica dello stato, ma anche contro il posto subalterno che la tradizione kurda impone alle donne: «tra i kurdi, la donna non è nemmeno trattata come una domestica.

È un oggetto, un animale». Due battaglie parallele, per Leyla Zana - l'identità kurda e quella femminile - che il processo che riprende domani vuole spezzare

THE TIMES



WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 7 1994



Leyla Zana, a Kurdish member of the Turkish parliament, faces a death sentence today. Her *Times* article was smuggled out of jail

Desperate Kurdish cry of protest rises from prison cell

Turkey has a tradition under which politicians are periodically arrested and thrown into prison after a military coup. But even against that background, the actions taken against me and my Kurdish parliamentary colleagues are something new.

This is the first time that under a so-called civilian government elected representatives are being intimidated with the threat of capital punishment.

These actions are purely political. Even before we were arraigned before a court, Tansu Ciller, the Prime Minister, several ministers and all the leaders of the political parties judged and condemned us. During the municipal elections of last March, Mrs Ciller referred to us as "the traitors in parliament" and the government's spokesman described us on state television as "terrorists". In such circumstances, a parliament no longer deserves its name and it is no longer possible to believe in Turkish justice.

This justice wants me condemned to death for my peaceful and legal activities carried out in my capacity



Leyla Zana, one of six Kurdish MPs in the Turkish parliament who face the death sentence in an Ankara court today for allegedly having links with the Kurdistan Workers' Party, a guerrilla group, has smuggled this letter out of an Ankara jail

as a member of parliament for Diyarbakir. It reproaches me for opinions expressed in the assembly, during meetings of my constituents, in the local and international press, and for going on hunger strike to protest against the destruction of the Kurdish city of Sirmak by the army.

I have appealed for peace and for dialogue. My crime has been to use a Kurdish phrase for the friendship of Kurds and Turks and their co-existence during my oath of loyalty in parliament. Even the colour of my clothes are supposed to make me a "separatist".

Again, speaking of the existence of the Kurdish people, of the land of Kurdistan, demanding a peaceful recognition of the culture and the

identity of the Kurds in a democratic system and within existing borders, make me "a member of the political wing of the Kurdistan Workers' Party", even though that party is engaged in a war with the Turkish state and I search for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem.

Nor am I alone in speaking of the Kurds. Turgut Ozal, our late President, spoke publicly of the existence of "12 million Kurds in Turkey" and argued that a federal solution, was possible to this problem. Even our President, Suleyman Demirel, said in November, 1991: "From now onwards, Turkey recognises the reality of the Kurds."

The Kurdish people are not the product of my imagination. Histori-

Lausanne, which recognised the new Turkish state in July 1923, was concluded. A new constitution in 1924 forbade the use of the word "Kurd" and banned all the other languages of Turkey except Turkish.

Turkey has pretended since that there are no Kurds in Turkey, that the Kurds are "mountain Turks". The ancient place names of the Kurds have been changed into Turkish names and it has not been possible to give Kurdish names to infants. Pliable intellectuals have been pacified by official posts while others have been afflicted with prison or exile. The Kurdish elite was gradually eliminated.

The military coup of September 1980 plunged the country into ferocious repression. In a land where the people had become attached to democracy and freedom, everyone poured onto the streets to oppose the dictatorship. Alas, Turkey has lost that spirit.

It is not astonishing to me that the political parties of Turkey today accept a system that negates the very existence of the Kurds.

ans tell us that the Kurds have been inhabiting their present land from the dawn of recorded time, have their own language, a culture and a civilisation of their own. My people conducted 28 uprisings between 1806 and 1937 to achieve their liberation. President Demirel has described the present guerrilla war as the 29th.

At the end of the First World War, when the very existence of Turkey was threatened, the Kurds responded generously to the plea of Mustafa Kemal and he promised that they would obtain their full rights in the new state. In 1922 Kemal announced a law of 19 articles for "the province of Kurdistan and its assembly". He delayed the examination of his proposals, however, until the Treaty of

Pipeline talks with Iraq stall on aid issue

**Turkish officials remain optimistic
that problem can be overcome**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Baghdad is continuing to object to Ankara's proposal that humanitarian aid secured from the proceeds of flushing the Iraq-Turkey pipeline be distributed by the Turkish Red Crescent Society, sources have told the TDN.

This appeared set to stall the talks between the two countries on flushing the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline, that has remained idle since the Gulf crisis in 1990.

Turkish officials however remain optimistic that the differences with Baghdad over this can be ironed out and deny that the talks have been deadlocked.

These officials point out that significant headway has been made on this subject since Turkey first focused its attention on it.

"There is nothing at this stage that merits our abandoning the project. To the contrary the progress made so far is in itself encouragement enough to arrive at a settlement with Iraq" one official said.

"The point is for Baghdad to come around to realizing that while Turkey cannot circumvent the U.N. sanctions on Iraq it can nevertheless be instrumental in activating a process whereby this country is gradually reintegrated into the world community" he added.

These officials are hopeful that the talks with Iraqi officials will continue in the near future and that this will result in agreement with Baghdad.

Turkish oil officials for their part say that the technical aspects of the flushing operation have been agreed on and indicate that once the necessary go-ahead is obtained from the United Nations oil can flow through the pipeline within a month. Analysts however do not appear to share the optimism of officials, indicating that it could take a long time to sway Baghdad to coming around to accepting either Turkey's proposal or any other proposal concerning the distribution of humanitarian aid.

Turkey has been seeking to flush out the 12 million barrels trapped inside the pipeline and then reflush it to prevent corrosion and repair damage to the pipeline, which leads from Iraqi oil fields in Kirkuk to oil terminals in Yumurtalik on Turkey's Mediterranean coast.

At stake are a total of 27 million barrels of Iraqi crude — 12 million trapped in the pipeline and another 15 million to flush and clean the 985-kilometer (615-mile) dual line. Ankara also wants to draw the 3.5 million barrels of oil it is owed by Iraq.

Turkey says its total loss from uncollected transit fees from the pipeline amounts to at least \$600 million.

While the United Nations has been slowly edging toward allowing Turkey to flush the oil, the condition remains that any proceeds from

this process do not accrue to Baghdad. On the other hand the United Nations accepts the \$1.6 billion in oil can be used for purchasing humanitarian aid for Iraq provided this aid is not distributed by Iraq, in order to ensure fair and equitable distribution among all the needy groups in that country.

The Turkish proposal for using the Red Crescent Society is aimed at trying to remain within the restrictions placed on Iraq by the U.N. Security Council in this respect.

But Baghdad rejects the U.N. restriction in this area arguing that the distribution of aid within Iraq is its own sovereign right and one which it will not give up on.

An Iraqi delegation arrived in Ankara last Thursday to discuss the pipeline issue with specific focus on the question of the distribution of aid.

These talks ended on Sunday without any agreement having been reached between Ankara and Baghdad on how the aid should be distributed.

Source quoted by news agencies said the Iraqi side had raised new objections to the use of the Red Crescent Society for the distribution of aid.

"The distribution issue is the main problem. They were positive earlier" about the Red Crescent proposal, one source quoted by Reuters said.

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Turquie-Irak

La Turquie limite les autorisations de passage dans le nord de l'Irak

ANKARA, 8 sept (AFP) - Le ministère turc des Affaires étrangères a décidé de limiter les autorisations de passage dans la région nord de l'Irak, frontalière de la Turquie, aux membres de l'ONU et d'organisations dépendant des Nations unies, a-t-on appris jeudi de source proche du gouvernement.

Les membres d'autres organisations non gouvernementales (ONG), comme celles de défense des droits de l'Homme, la presse étrangère et les divers observateurs privés ne seront plus autorisés à passer librement en Irak, a-t-on ajouté de même source.

Les responsables de l'ONU et les membres des ONG en dépendant, chargées de l'aide humanitaire à l'Irak du nord dans le cadre de la résolution 688 du Conseil de sécurité, resteront autorisés à passer dans cette zone contrôlée par les Kurdes irakiens, a précisé cette source qui a souhaité garder l'anonymat.

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KURDES

Procès politique à Ankara

Mercredi 7 septembre, huit parlementaires kurdes seront jugés à Ankara, où ils risquent la peine de mort. Leur seul engagement en faveur des droits à la libre expression de la culture et de l'identité kurdes est qualifié de « crime séparatiste ». Ce procès politique contrevient à tous les engagements internationaux de la Turquie.

par Kendal Nezan

MERcredi 7 septembre, huit parlementaires kurdes comparaissent devant la Cour de sûreté de l'État d'Ankara, qui les accuse d'activités et d'opinions « séparatistes » passibles de la peine de mort. Cependant, à la lecture du long réquisitoire, rédigé dans une langue de bois kémaliste redondante et obsessionnelle, on ne relève aucun acte de violence ni l'apologie de la violence ou du séparatisme. On reproche aux élus kurdes leurs discours électoraux, des propos tenus à la tribune de l'Assemblée, des déclarations à la presse locale ou internationale, des interventions devant le Congrès américain, une grève de la faim pour protester contre la destruction d'une ville kurde par l'armée, des appels adressés à l'ONU et à la CSCE, des efforts de dialogue déployés en faveur d'une solution pacifique du problème kurde dans le cadre de la démocratie et des frontières existantes.

Dans une démocratie digne de ce nom, ces activités font partie du travail ordinaire de députés dont la sanction naturelle est le suffrage universel. Pour les procureurs turcs, elles constituent autant de « crimes séparatistes », car, soulignent-ils à la page 81 de leur réquisitoire, « le fait que les accusés appellent l'Etat turc, selon leur propre expression, à rechercher une solution politique dans un climat de liberté et démocratie, est un crime. C'est un crime qui montre en même temps que les accusés font partie du PKK » (le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan). Si l'on devait suivre cette logique, les gouvernements américain et européens, le Parlement européen et le Conseil de l'Europe, qui appellent à une solution politique du pro-

blème kurde en Turquie, seraient également coupables de « crimes séparatistes ».

Voilà donc une singulière démocratie, où même les élus du peuple n'ont pas le droit d'œuvrer pour la solution pacifique d'un problème chronique qui concerne de 12 à 15 millions de citoyens kurdes, qui, depuis sept décennies, empoisonne la vie politique du pays et qui est à l'origine d'un conflit sanglant, ayant fait plus de 13 000 morts, avec son cortège de destructions de villages, de déplacements de populations, de disparus, d'exécutions sommaires, de centaines de morts sous la torture, et son coût ruineux pour l'économie évalué officiellement à 7 milliards de dollars par an.

Un autre argument est avancé par le parquet de cette juridiction inquisitoriale mise en place par le coup d'Etat militaire de 1980 pour « prouver » par déduction l'appartenance des députés kurdes à « l'aile politique » du PKK : « L'organisation de terreur PKK revendique par les armes la reconnaissance de la culture et de l'identité kurdes ; les députés parlent également du « peuple kurde », du « Kurdistan », ils demandent dans leurs discours la reconnaissance des droits à la libre expression de la culture et de l'identité kurdes, ils poursuivent clairement avec des moyens politiques les mêmes objectifs que le PKK ; ils appartiennent donc à l'aile politique du PKK ; ils sont donc des terroristes séparatistes, et à ce titre passibles de la peine de mort conformément à l'article 125 du code pénal turc qui peut parfaitement s'appliquer à des actes accomplis sans violence. »

« Un seul droit : celui de se taire »

Malgré leur indigence, ces arguments ont au moins le mérite de mettre en lumière l'univers mental et le système judiciaire d'un Etat qui se dit démocratique, membre à ce titre du Conseil de l'Europe et de l'OTAN et qui en est, par des procédés dignes des procès de Moscou, à vouloir envoyer à la potence des parlementaires pour délit d'opinion. En ce sens, le procès d'Ankara devient en fait celui du régime turc devant l'opinion démocratique.

En fait, ce procès n'est qu'accessoirement juridique. Dès le début, les dirigeants turcs lui ont imprimé un caractère hautement politique. Ainsi, avant de comparaître devant une cour de justice, les députés kurdes ont été impunément qualifiés de « bandits » et de « traîtres » par le chef d'état-major des armées. Le premier ministre Çiller s'est maintes fois vantée publiquement « d'avoir chassé du Parlement les traîtres ». Des ministres se sont fait procureurs, et les médias au service de l'Etat ont diffusé, à grand renfort d'émissions spéciales, la propagande gouvernementale contre les députés kurdes détenus en garde à vue pendant cinq mois, placés dans l'impossibilité de répondre à leurs accusateurs. C'est sans doute le député turc Coskun Kirca qui a le mieux résumé l'esprit de cette croisade antikurde orchestrée par l'Etat : « Les Kurdes n'ont qu'un seul droit dans ce pays : celui de se taire », a-t-il martelé à la tribune du Parlement au milieu des acclamations de ses pairs turcs.

L'indulgence de l'Europe

Dans ce contexte, l'indulgence de l'Europe envers le régime turc devient de plus en plus choquante. Car la Turquie n'est ni l'Iran ni l'Irak. Elle se dit un Etat de droit. Elle a signé des instruments juridiques internationaux comme la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme et la Charte de Paris qui garantissent la liberté d'expression et d'association ainsi que le droit des minorités à préserver et à développer leur langue et leur culture. En principe, ces engagements priment sur son droit interne et les pays occidentaux signataires de ces textes sont moralement tenus à les faire respecter. La détention arbitraire des députés kurdes, l'interdiction de leur Parti de la démocratie, qui a entraîné la déchéance de ses députés de leur mandat parlementaire pour délit d'opinion, l'emprisonnement de plusieurs dizaines d'écrivains et journalistes, les quelque 1 380 procès de presse actuellement instruits par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Istanbul (1), la quarantaine de morts sous la torture ou de « disparitions » par mois durant la

période de la garde à vue (2), constituent, entre autres faits graves, des violations massives et manifestes de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme.

Partant du principe selon lequel « qui ne dit mot consent », les Turcs qui, dans un passé récent, ont envoyé à la potence un premier ministre et trois de ses ministres pour délit d'opinion, qui ont, au cours des deux dernières années, fait assassiner plus d'un millier d'intellectuels et démocrates kurdes non impliqués dans des actions violentes, dont le député Mehmet Sincar et le vieil écrivain Musa Anter, pourraient parfaitement condamner, sinon à la peine capitale, du moins à de lourdes peines de prison, les huit députés kurdes actuellement embastillés, afin d'humilier et de terroriser davantage la population kurde. Cela ne ferait que rejeter une grande partie de celle-ci dans l'impasse de la lutte armée ou dans les bras de l'intégrisme.

Après la fin de la guerre froide et le règlement progressif des conflits du Proche-Orient, le moment est sans doute venu pour les pays occidentaux de rappeler sérieusement leur allié turc à l'ordre. Ankara doit réformer rapidement sa législation d'un autre âge pour la rendre conforme aux normes des démocraties européennes et libérer les députés kurdes ainsi que tous les autres prisonniers d'opinion. Sinon, dans un souci élémentaire de crédibilité morale et de cohérence, et pour sauver l'honneur de l'Europe démocratique, il faudrait suspendre ce pays du Conseil de l'Europe, ajourner sine die l'application de l'accord sur l'union douanière avec la Communauté européenne et interdire la vente d'armes susceptibles d'être utilisées contre la population kurde.

La Turquie doit comprendre qu'elle ne peut pas continuer à vouloir jouer sur tous les tableaux à la fois, que son jeu de « passage graduel à la démocratie », qui dure depuis 1945, ne trompe plus personne et que le traitement inhumain et tyrannique qu'elle inflige au peuple kurde est à la fois inadmissible et très dangereux pour son avenir, pour la paix et la stabilité régionales et pour les intérêts stratégiques de l'Ouest.

(1) Cf. le quotidien turc *Hurriyet* du 26 août.

(2) Statistique établie par l'Association des droits de l'homme de Turquie (IHD), basée à Ankara.

► Kendal Nezan est président de l'Institut kurde de Paris.

ÉDITORIAL

Seront-ils condamnés à mort pour délit d'opinion ?

Aujourd'hui, à Ankara en Turquie, six parlementaires, élus démocratiquement vont subir les affres d'un procès. Ils risquent la peine de mort pour avoir commis un délit d'opinion.

C'est en mars dernier qu'une majorité de députés de l'Assemblée nationale turque levait l'immunité parlementaire de cinq hommes et une femme, qui occupaient démocratiquement leurs sièges dans ce Parlement. Ces six élus kurdes risquent la peine de mort pour avoir tenu des propos qualifiés de «séparatistes».

Comme le dit Leyla Zana, la députée arrêtée, «la Turquie a une longue tradition de procès politiques¹». Reporters sans frontières (RSF), dans son bilan des violations de la liberté de la presse, n'est pas tendre avec un pays qui compte 14 journalistes incar-

cerés et dispose de 157 lois pour limiter la liberté d'expression. RSF souligne que 80% des jugements prononcés par les Cours de sûreté de l'Etat concernent la presse alors qu'«aucun article incriminé dont nous avons connaissance n'a appelé à la violence»².

A ce premier volet «officiel» s'ajoutent toutes les exactions commises par l'armée à l'encontre des populations kurdes, sans parler des actes et pressions extralégales, meurtres (plusieurs responsables du parti kurde - le Parti démocratique - ont été exécutés³), attentats, agressions, menaces et autres moyens de terroriser les Kurdes et les opposants à la politique gouvernementale.

Le Parlement européen avait condamné à la quasi-unanimité

cette arrestation des députés kurdes. De nombreux parlementaires, en Suisse comme dans d'autres pays, avaient exprimé leur désapprobation.

Mais le poids de ces protestations demeurera bien léger sans moyens de pression plus efficaces. La Turquie n'ira vraisemblablement pas jusqu'à condamner à mort ces parlementaires. Les risques politiques seraient trop grands. Même les Gouvernements les plus «tolérants» - dont la Suisse - ne pourraient ignorer une violation aussi spectaculaire des droits humains. Mais le risque est grand que ce procès s'enlise, puis soit reporté, et que les principaux concernés croupissent en prison.

On peut être choqué par certains attentats commis par des membres du PKK (Parti commu-

niste kurde). Mais on ne peut pas en même temps rester passifs lorsque des parlementaires kurdes, qui expriment publiquement leurs opinions, risquent une lourde peine de prison, voire la condamnation à mort. Seul le dialogue permettra d'empêcher le sang de couler. Ce qui suppose notamment le respect des règles élémentaires de la démocratie.

Une fois de plus, la Suisse se préoccupe avant tout de ses intérêts commerciaux. La honte!

Patrice Mugny

¹«Libération» du 5.9.

²«La Lettre» de RSF de mai dernier.

³«Monde diplomatique» de juin 1994. Voir aussi le «Rapport 1994» d'Amnesty International.

Kurdish Leaders on Trial for Treason in Turkey

Danielle Mitterrand's Letter to Layla Zana

On 3 August, 1994, six Kurdish leaders in Turkey were committed to trial on charges of treason for allegedly fueling separatist activity among Turkey's Kurds. The six were stripped of their parliamentary immunity in March when Turkey's constitutional court banned the Democracy Party and ruled that

deputies representing the party in the Grand National Assembly should be removed from their seats.

The defendants, former deputies Layla Zana, Sirri Bakik, Hatip Dicle, Ahmet Turk and Orhan Dogan, members of the banned Democracy Party, and independent deputy Mahmut Alinak, could face the death penalty if convicted.

Human rights groups throughout the world protested against Turkey's persecution of the Kurdish leaders. The British and French bar associations, Amnesty International, and U.S. based International Human Rights Law Group and Human Rights Watch have sent observers to monitor the trials.

Madame Danielle Mitterrand sent Layla Zana, the only woman among the defendants, the following letter of support:



Danielle Mitterrand.

My very dear Layla,

Paris, September 5, 1994

On opening the newspaper Liberation this morning I was surprised to see a full page text resuming the defense that you made before the Turkish courts. I read and reread it with great interest. I very much appreciated the clarity of your ideas and the strength of your arguments and of your convictions. I congratulate you.

Your faith in democracy and in the need to seek political solutions to the serious problems facing your people through dialogue should win sympathy from public opinion in the Western democracies. You have moreover become the most popular Kurdish woman in Europe. The same would be true in your own country if you had there a truly free and independent press concerned with truth and objectivity. Observing the recent press campaigns against me, those conducted two years ago against Nelson Mandela who was dragged through mud for refusing the so-called Peace Prize granted by a government that persecutes its millions of Kurdish citizens, the attacks against the German SPD, against Amnesty, and against all those concerned over the fate of the Kurdish people and human rights in your country, I understand to what extent the media in your country finds itself in the service of governmental propaganda. Their absurd and crude stories, invented of whole cloth, only serve to discredit all the more your leaders. Unfortunately, they serve also to spread disinformation and to mislead the Turkish public which while it rightly defends the legitimate rights of Turkish communities in Bulgaria or Cyprus has great difficulty in understanding that in order to be credible and consequent in its actions Turkey must recognize these same rights for its Kurdish citizens.

Basically, these press campaigns tell those of us in the West a great deal about the workings of your state and its methods. They also have the effect of undercutting the credibility of the accusations made against you and your colleagues.

I am persuaded that the truth will triumph in the end and that all will understand that you are being tried for your opinions, because you are Kurds and because you seek, through non violent means, your identity and legitimate rights of your people and, for your country, a democracy that meets universal standards.

For this reason, the political trial to which you are being subjected will in the end become, for public opinion, the trial of the regime. Your government risks having a heavy price to pay should it issue a guilty verdict against you.

I continue to hope that will be avoided thanks to pressure of public opinion and to your own struggle, that reason will in the end prevail over passion, that Turks who value democracy will rise up to support you and that together you will be able to reestablish the dialogue and the peaceful relations that the Kurdish and Turkish peoples - victims of an absurd and ruinous war - so badly need.

It is with that hope that I send my best wishes for strength, and that I affectionately embrace my dear brave daughter. Don't forget to convey my greetings to Mehdi, to Ahmet Turk and to your other friends in jail.

- Danielle Mitterrand



Layla Zana.

SEPTEMBER 1994

Kurdish Affairs

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Réfugiés : l'Etat belge fait confiance au régime fasciste turc

Grève de la faim de trois familles kurdes de Charleroi expulsées

La Belgique octroie de moins en moins le statut de réfugié. Et encore moins aux Kurdes. On expulse deux candidats réfugiés par jour. Imam Celik est l'un d'entre eux. Il a reçu l'ordre de quitter le territoire. Cela fait cinq ans qu'il vit à Charleroi avec sa femme et ses deux enfants en bas âge.

Propos recueillis par Myriam Dely

Pourquoi as-tu quitté ton village du Kurdistan ?

Imam. La liberté du peuple kurde m'a toujours tenu à coeur. Nous étions opprimés, nous ne pouvions pas parler notre propre langue. Dans mon village, les combats se sont organisés surtout depuis 1984. Et la répression a augmenté aussi. En 1985, j'ai été arrêté quatre fois. J'ai été torturé. Les soldats m'emmenaient de mon village à la caserne : cinq kilomètres à pied. Je devais porter un soldat sur le dos. J'ai été frappé. On me menaçait : „Tu parles ou ce sera encore pire“. En 1986, ils ont changé de tactique : ils m'ont proposé de travailler pour eux. J'ai refusé. J'ai été torturé, pire qu'avant. Une fois, ils m'ont frappé devant les gens du village. Ma femme, Addicha, a crié : „Arrêtez“ ! Elle a voulu me protéger. Les soldats l'ont frappée à coups de crosse. Elle a eu la clavicule et le pied cassés. Alors, j'ai décidé de vivre dans la clandestinité dans les montagnes. Ma famille était restée au village. Je n'avais aucune possibilité de défendre ses droits.

J'ai quitté le Kurdistan en octobre 1989. C'était très dur. J'y laissais tout, mes parents, ma maison, mes souvenirs.

Pourquoi t'a-t-on refusé le statut de réfugié ?

Imam. Ils ont refusé les preuves que j'avais apportées. Quand je suis parti, j'étais sous le coup d'un mandat d'arrêt. Ma mère en a donné une copie à un ami qui venait en Belgique. Le Haut Commissariat a prétendu que c'était un faux. Ils ont pris leurs

renseignements à Ankara. Ils font confiance à l'Etat turc. Moi, ils ne me croient pas. Ils ne tiennent aucun compte de mes nombreuses arrestations.

Tu n'es pas le seul à avoir reçu un ordre de quitter le territoire ?

Imam. Beaucoup de familles sont frappées, à Charleroi, à La Louvière, dans toute la Belgique. La Belgique ne veut plus de réfugiés kurdes.

(Entre temps, un autre réfugié, Cetin Hüseyin, est entré dans la maison. Lui aussi est menacé d'expulsion. Il se joint à la conversation.)

Hüseyin. La Belgique soutient la "démocratie turque". Elle soutient les tortures, les massacres commis contre notre peuple.

Imam. Le premier ministre turc a fait un voyage en Belgique et en Europe. Partout en Europe, la répression contre les Kurdes s'amplifie.

La semaine passée, nonante Kurdes ont été arrêtés et il y a eu quatre blessés lors d'une manifestation à Paris.

Vous allez commencer une grève de la faim contre l'expulsion ?

Imam. Nous sommes trois familles kurdes de Charleroi à avoir décidé de commencer une grève de la faim. Nous n'avons pas le choix. Notre village a été incendié. Nous serons arrêtés ou tués dès notre retour.

Nous appelons tous les démocrates à soutenir notre combat.



L'armée turque n'hésite pas à attaquer en force les rassemblements de civils. Photo prise à Cizre, à la fête du Nouvel An, une demi-heure avant que l'armée turque se lance dans un massacre.

Le Kurdistan, une grande Palestine

Témoignage sur la dictature turque

Le mercredi 7 septembre à Ankara, on reprend le procès contre les six parlementaires kurdes du Parti Démocratique (DEP), entre temps interdit. Ils sont accusés d'avoir des liens avec le PKK communiste interdit et risquent la peine de mort par pendaison. Marc Vandepitte a assisté aux premiers jours du procès comme observateur.

Marc Vandepitte

L'accusation "liens avec le PKK" est en réalité absurde : chaque mouvement kurde a évidemment des liens avec le PKK et chaque Kurde a bien un membre de la famille qui est au PKK. Il n'est même pas question de quelque soutien "matériel" ou "physique" au PKK. Avec une accusation pareille, on peut condamner à mort les 20 millions de Kurdes.

Le procès même réduit la justice à une caricature : les droits de la défense sont bafoués et les juges ont un parti pris explicite. Les

"preuves" consistent par exemple en des communications téléphoniques écoutées mais dont la véracité n'a pu être vérifiée par personne. Parmi les déclarations et les discours politiques également utilisés comme "preuves", figurent des témoignages déposés par eux devant la commission d'Helsinki du Congrès américain. Il s'agit en fait d'une criminalisation de la liberté d'expression et des interventions politiques.

En fait, les parlementaires sont jugés parce qu'ils ont été élus par le peuple kurde dont ils défendent les intérêts.

Nous nous sommes également rendus à Adana, où se trouvent plusieurs centaines de milliers de réfugiés du Kurdistan.

La tactique de la "terre brûlée"

Certaines sources parlent de deux millions. En dépeuplant massivement et en brûlant des villages on tente de couper la guérilla de la population. Le scénario est toujours le même. Des unités spéciales de l'armée encerclent un village. Les gens doivent quitter leur maison et se rassembler. Ensuite, on en choisit arbitrairement quelques-uns qui sont torturés devant tout le monde.

Après cette intimidation collective, on incendie le village. Parfois avec le mobilier et le cheptel. Après avoir exhorté la population à quitter le village, l'armée se retire. En tout, plus de mille villages ont été ainsi détruits. De cette façon, le Kurdistan risque de devenir une grande Palestine.

Thursday, September 8, 1994

turkish daily news

DEP trial's second round begins

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The second round of the trial against five former Democracy Party (DEP) deputies and independent Deputy Mahmut Alınak resumed today as the defendants' attorneys questioned the validity of the evidence presented by the prosecutors.

On its first day of the second round of the trial, the court ruled against omitting from the case, files of evidence objected to by the defense.

The lawyers for the defendants — an army of 200 jurists occupying most of the courtroom — argued that the tape and video cassettes presented by the prosecutors to the court in the first round of the trial, were obtained without court permission and therefore should be declared invalid.

The lawyers claimed that evidence provided by those cassettes should be removed from the case files.

They also argued that certain "anonymous documents" within the indictment "contained wording that insulted" the defendants and should also be excluded from the files.

Lawyer Hasip Kaplan denied speculation that the prosecution will present a surprise witness against the defendants who have been charged with committing an act of treason and will face the death penalty if found guilty.

The "surprise witness" is believed to be Abdulcabbar Gezici, a former executive of the pro-Kurdish People's Labor Party (HEP) who testified in written statements against the ex-DEP deputies. "We have doubts about Gezici and the way his testimony was obtained," Lawyer Hasip Kaplan said.

He said the prosecutors had no right to offer new evidence to the court after the trial started.

"I have talked to Gezici in Kırklareli Prison where he is being held. He said that he was suppressed by the Ankara State Security Court chief prosecutor. In fact, he said this to Istanbul's First State Security Court," he said.

Hülya Sarsam, one of the lawyers defending Şırnak Independent Deputy Mahmut Alınak, said that Alınak's immunity was lifted concerning only three files, but the court was judging him on "all files."

"If there is the need for a general defense, the court should tell us, so we can formulate our defense accordingly," Sarsam said.

Alınak, however, declared that he would only defend himself on the three files for which his parliamentary immunity was lifted. Two prosecutors of the State Security Court — Nuh Mete Yüksel and Ali Rıza Konuralp — argued against the defense's demands.

They also demanded that public witnesses be brought to court to obtain their testimony and that the request to remove evidence from the case file be rejected.

"The court sees no need to remove any of the evidence (offered by the prosecutor) from the case files... Any public witness who wants to testify in the trial may do so," Court President Muammer Ünsoy said.

Having ruled out both requests of the defense, Ünsoy called on the defendants: Hatip Dicle, the former DEP chairman and ex-Diyarbakır deputy; former Mardin DEP deputy Ahmet Türk; ex-Diyarbakır deputy Leyla Zana; former Mus deputy Sırm Sakık; ex-Şırnak deputy Orhan Doğan; and Şırnak independent deputy Mahmut Alınak, to answer to the accusations against them.

Ahmet Türk, who is accused of holding a phone conversation with Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), denied having the conversation.

"They made me listen to that conversation in the police station. It is taped in such a way that only one voice is heard. I have had no such conversation. I want the court to listen to it. In one of the official documents, it says it is 'a voice believed to be Ahmet Türk,' another document presents it as 'Ahmet Türk's conversation with Öcalan.' Forensic Medicine has decided that it is not possible to determine whose voice it is, but, nonetheless, the cassette and the text are offered to court as evidence," he said.

Refuting the accusation that the deputies attended Abdullah Öcalan's press conference on June 8, 1993, Ahmet Türk and Orhan Doğan, accused of attending the conference, displayed their passports and their permission documents obtained by the Parliamentary Chairman.

The two men said they attended another meeting of Öcalan's — dated April 16 — with the knowledge and permission of late President Turgut Özal, then prime minister Süleyman Demirel and the ministers of the interior and foreign affairs.

Zana, the most controversial figure in the trial, refused claims that she sheltered in her house Şemdin Sakık, one of the PKK's hard-line military leaders. The prosecutor's demands are based on the testimony of an informer, Emel Doğu, who is said to be a member of the PKK.

"These appeared in a tabloid, Meydan. Zana sued the paper and won," Zana's attorney, Yusuf Alataş said. "It was later revealed that Doğu did not read or write and she was forced to sign what was told to her to be her testimony, after being held in custody for twenty days."

TURQUIE Le Kurdistan turc a été jugé suffisamment "pacifié" par M^{me} Çiller pour y effectuer une tournée, à la mi-août. Elle a promis aux Kurdes "la démocratie et les droits de l'homme". Pour y parvenir, il faut d'abord qu'Ankara cesse de s'appuyer sur les féodaux locaux corrompus, juge une journaliste qui l'accompagnait.

Laissons les Kurdes diffuser en kurde !

L'urgence est aux mesures sociales et psychologiques

Nur Batur
MILLİYET - ISTANBUL

KURDISTAN TURC

Depuis dix ans déjà, malgré le sang versé, les milliards dépensés, pourquoi n'arrive-t-on toujours pas à résoudre la "question du Sud-Est" [nom systématiquement utilisé par les autorités d'Ankara pour le Kurdistan turc] ? Pourquoi une organisation comme le PKK [Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, marxiste-léniniste, en révolte armée contre l'Etat turc], qui massacre les gens sans distinction,

Pourquoi n'arrive-t-on pas à résoudre la question du Sud-Est ? Pourquoi le PKK, attire-t-il les jeunes ?

femmes et enfants compris, parvient-elle encore à attirer des jeunes ? Appelez-la la "question du Sud-Est" si vous voulez, ou la "question kurde", mais pour mettre un terme au cauchemar que la Turquie vit depuis dix ans, il faut d'abord répondre à ces deux questions, sincèrement et sans peur.

Nous avons suivi le Premier ministre, M^{me} Tansu Çiller et son numéro deux, Murat Karayalçın, lors de leur "débarquement" dans le Sud-Est. Tous ceux qui étaient du voyage ont pu constater la nécessité de se confronter à ces deux questions. Toutefois, les craintes et l'hypocrisie l'emportent encore malheureusement. "Si nous auto-



Tansu Çiller : "Nous sommes ainsi délivrés de la démocratie."
Dessin de Tan Oral paru dans Cumhuriyet - ISTANBUL

risions une radio et une télévision privées en kurde, si nous introduisions le kurde dans les écoles, conduirions-nous le pays à la division ?", entend-on. En fait, pendant cette visite, on a pu se rendre compte clairement que le problème est beaucoup plus profond qu'une simple revendication identitaire. Soyons réalistes, [quelle que soit la solution apportée au problème kurde], que ferait un affamé, sans travail, sans logement ?

Le PKK a réalisé sa première action voici dix ans, mais ce n'est que depuis quatre ans qu'il est devenu le monstre que nous connaissons. C'est avec la crise du Golfe que ce parti est devenu incontrôlable. L'embargo contre l'Irak a sonné le glas, coupant l'artère vitale de la région. Aujourd'hui, tout le monde est conscient que le Sud-Est est dans une impasse. Les propos

du général Güres [chef d'état-major, parti à la retraite le 31 août], lors d'une conversation au cours de cette visite, sont révélateurs : se plaignant de l'Occident qui "ne tient pas ses promesses", il évoqua la guerre du Golfe, pour laquelle "la Turquie paie la facture".

Quant à "l'ouverture du poste frontalier de Habur", que Mme Çiller a annoncée comme une "très bonne nouvelle", elle n'apportera à la région qu'un ballon d'oxygène limité*. Aussi longtemps que l'embargo contre l'Irak est maintenu, il est impossible d'espérer la reprise de l'activité économique comme auparavant. Le passage par Habur permettra seulement des échanges très restreints avec le nord de l'Irak. Ce ne sont cependant là que des aspects mineurs de l'impasse dans laquelle se trouve le Sud-Est. Au fond, c'est la structure sociale et économique immuable de la région qui alimente la source où puise facilement le PKK.

Les gens n'en peuvent plus de l'oppression des grands propriétaires terriens (eux-mêmes kurdes). Ils veulent s'en libérer. Pendant longtemps, l'Etat a tenté de contrôler la région par l'intermédiaire de ces seigneurs féodaux. La facture en a été très lourde. Karayalçın a promis "la démocratie et les droits de l'homme" partout où nous sommes allés. Mais pour pouvoir en parler, il faut en priorité briser l'hégémonie de ces seigneurs féodaux au sein des partis politiques. Dans la bourgade de Hakkari, durant le meeting tenu sur la place publique, n'a-t-on pas vu les doléances du peuple à l'égard de ses

représentants clairement exprimées sur des pancartes ? "Mustafa Zeydan, fais ton travail de député et lâche les mafias des appels d'offre", disait une de ces pancartes.

"Nous demandons respectueusement un bilan des préjudices et le dédommagement de nos pertes"

M^{me} Çiller ne les a-t-elle pas vues ? On ne pourra parler de démocratie et de droits de l'homme, ou d'une politique sincère d'Ankara, que lorsqu'on aura brisé l'hégémonie de ces grands propriétaires. Sinon, comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui, le peuple perdra confiance dans les politiciens ; ce qui est très dangereux. Quant aux forces de sécurité, il est vrai qu'il est pénible d'effectuer son service dans le Sud-Est et de lutter contre le PKK. Vivre en permanence sous une menace de mort n'est pas chose facilement supportable. Mais la plus grave erreur qu'on puisse commettre en combattant le PKK serait de confondre toute la population de la région avec cette organisation.

Si, pour des raisons de sécurité, certains villages doivent être évacués - c'est le premier problème des habi-

tants de la région -, il faut au moins préparer les conditions minimales d'une vie décente dans les nouvelles localités, avant même que les paysans n'y soient déplacés. Sinon, construire de nouveaux logements après avoir forcé les gens à quitter leurs foyers ressemble à essayer d'éteindre un feu après avoir jeté de l'huile dessus ! Or c'est ce qui se passe actuellement dans la région.

Pendant le meeting de Hakkari, le chef du village d'Akkus, Sahin Kahraman, est venu glisser une pétition dans nos mains, puis est reparti aussitôt. Intitulée "Appel de détresse et au secours", la dernière phrase, adressée au président de la République et au Premier ministre, est révélatrice du drame : "En tant que citoyens, s'appuyant sur la Constitution, nous vous demandons respectueusement l'établissement d'un bilan des dommages et préjudices qui nous ont été causés injustement par les forces de l'ordre, ainsi que le dédommagement de nos pertes et la prise de mesures urgentes, dignes d'un Etat social, pour remédier à la situation des 90 familles privées de logement ou d'un abri."

Il est clair que, depuis un an, le PKK a été réprimé d'une poigne de fer. Il est temps maintenant de penser les blessures du peuple et de réaliser rapidement les changements qui se feront sentir dans la vie quotidienne des gens. C'est une décision juste que d'engager une mobilisation générale en vue d'investissements

vers la région, mais il faut des politiciens et des fonctionnaires sincères et honnêtes pour contrôler son application. Sinon, les milliers de milliards de livres iront une fois de plus dans les poches des seigneurs féodaux, et on reviendra à la case départ. Cette mobilisation a beau être sincère, les résultats ne se

Investir dans la région, c'est bien. Mais il faudrait des gestionnaires et des politiciens honnêtes

répercuteront pas au niveau des masses en l'espace de quelques mois. Il faut aussi envisager d'autres mesures à effet psychologique immédiat afin de gagner du temps. On pourrait, par exemple, autoriser les radios et télévisions privées régionales à émettre en kurde. Il ne faut pas en avoir peur.

* L'ouverture du poste frontalier de Habur avec l'Irak, annoncée par M^{me} Çiller lors de sa visite, est chose faite. Une dizaine de milliers de camionneurs, qui vivaient de ce commerce et faisaient vivre la région, ont été durement frappés par l'embargo. Ils vont de nouveau pouvoir transporter des vivres (seulement au nord de l'Irak) et revenir avec du pétrole. *Milliyet* évoque non seulement l'embargo contre l'Irak, mais aussi ses conséquences pour la Turquie, évaluées à 20 milliards de dollars de pertes jusqu'à présent.

Ah, les chameaux !



"Depuis quelque temps, dans les régions du Baloutchistan et du Sistan [à cheval sur les frontières de l'Iran avec l'Afghanistan et le Pakistan], les trafiquants de drogue préfèrent revenir aux chameaux pour transporter leur marchandise par caravanes plutôt que d'utiliser des voitures", explique le quotidien iranien *Kayhan* (Londres). Routes escarpées ou détruites, poids de la tradition, allez savoir... Le hic, c'est qu'une fois capturés par les gardes-frontières, les bêtes se comportent étrangement, puis, au bout de

quelques heures, se mettent à bâiller. Appelés d'urgence, les vétérinaires en sont d'abord restés babas, avant de se rendre à l'évidence : plusieurs animaux étaient eux-mêmes opiomanes, et parfois totalement défoncés... Confirmation du brigadier-général Djaploghi, qui dirige les forces de l'ordre dans ces deux immenses régions : durant leurs longs périples, "les trafiquants font partager aux chameaux la drogue qu'ils consomment eux-mêmes".

Après interrogatoire, les narcos locaux ont fini par permettre aux policiers d'élucider le mystère.

Nourrir les chameaux à l'opium constitue une forme "d'entraînement" : cela facilite le domptage, en particulier celui de l'animal qui dirige la caravane. Bien "allumé", ce dernier, une fois entraîné, est capable de mener la troupe sans homme jusqu'à la destination voulue. Il sait aussi "sentir" le douanier et éviter les zones à risques. En cas de danger, il parvient souvent à "dévier du parcours initialement prévu pour passer à travers les mailles du filet policier". Le prix du chameau opiomane expérimenté défie toute concurrence. ●

● Le Monde ● Jeudi 8 septembre 1994

Ankara marque sa volonté de répression lors de la reprise du procès de députés kurdes

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Commencé le 3 août dernier, le procès des six députés nationalistes kurdes, accusés de « crimes séparatistes », devait reprendre, mercredi 7 septembre, au Tribunal de la sûreté de l'Etat à Ankara, après plusieurs semaines d'interruption. La lecture de l'acte d'accusation terminée, le procureur doit présenter les informations – extraits de discours, enregistrements de conversations téléphoniques – tendant à prouver l'existence de liens directs entre les accusés et le PKK, le mouvement séparatiste kurde.

La dimension politique de ce procès a attiré l'attention des observateurs occidentaux sur l'attitude des autorités turques à

l'égard des douze millions de Kurdes et creusé le fossé qui existe entre la perception que l'on a souvent de la question kurde en Europe, l'oppression d'une minorité revendiquant ses droits culturels, et le point de vue prévalant en Turquie, où nationalisme kurde et terrorisme sont considérés comme synonymes. Beaucoup de Turcs, mal informés, interprètent d'ailleurs l'attitude critique des Occidentaux comme une confirmation d'un soutien implicite apporté à ceux qui cherchent à diviser la Turquie.

Les autorités civiles et militaires turques, contrairement aux gouvernements étrangers qui font pression pour une solution politique, demeurent convaincues

qu'il est possible de venir à bout du problème kurde militairement. Selon le ministre de l'intérieur, Nehit Mentese, 404 combattants kurdes ont été tués en août et 46 autres se sont rendus aux forces de sécurité. « Le PKK a subi des pertes énormes. Il est impossible qu'il reprenne ses forces », a déclaré le ministre mardi.

Que ce soit dans les montagnes du Sud-Est anatolien ou devant les tribunaux, Ankara poursuit une campagne virulente. Les Turcs ne demeurent pas pour autant unanimement indifférents aux violations des droits de l'homme et aux atteintes à la liberté d'expression. Le ministre d'Etat Fikri Sağlar, par exemple, s'est excusé auprès

de deux écrivains condamnés pour leurs opinions, Haluk Gerger et Fikret Baskaya, auxquels il a rendu visite dans leur prison. Une commission s'est réunie, le week-end dernier, sous l'égide du ministère de la justice pour tenter de redéfinir les limites légales de la liberté d'expression, mais, dans le climat actuel, des changements positifs ne sont pas attendus prochainement.

En attendant, les députés kurdes, les journalistes et les écrivains continueront d'être jugés selon les lois et la Constitution actuelles, appliquées avec zèle par le procureur en chef, Nusret Demiral. « Si quelqu'un vient et dit : « Je vais détruire cet Etat, les actions de telle organisation sont justes », je ne peux pas traiter ceci comme liberté d'expression », expliquait-il récemment dans un entretien accordé au quotidien *Turkish Daily News*, en ajoutant : « Ceci ne peut pas être considéré comme une pensée, c'est une action. »

NICOLE POPE

Tages-Anzeiger · Donnerstag, 8. September 1994

Kurdenprozess: Gradmesser für die Demokratie

Wiederaufnahme des Verfahrens gegen kurdische Parlamentarier in Ankara

■ VON WERNER VAN GENT,
ANKARA

Der Ablauf des Prozesses gegen die sechs Parlamentarier der Demokratie-Partei ruft starke Erinnerungen an jene Massenprozesse wach, mit welchen die Militärs nach ihrem Staatsstreich im Jahr 1980 die Ordnung im Lande wiederherstellen wollten.

Das gilt für den äusseren Rahmen, der von einem martialischen Aufgebot von Sicherheitskräften geprägt ist; das gilt für die endlosen Verhandlungen über detaillierte und oft nicht nachvollziehbare Verfahrensfragen, in denen sich sowohl die Anwälte wie das Gericht geradezu genussreich verwickeln, und das gilt letztlich auch für die politische Bedeutung dieses Prozesses.

Geändert hat sich auch ein Aspekt nicht, welcher das Verfolgen des Prozesses rein akustisch zu einer Tortur macht: die Schreibmaschine des Gerichtsschreibers, die, auf einem hölzernen Tischlein stehend, das Geräusch eines mittelschweren

Maschinengewehrs von sich gibt, sobald der Gerichtspräsident dem Schreiber ein Zeichen gibt, das Gehörte zu Protokoll zu bringen. Lange nicht alle Aussagen werden zu Protokoll gebracht. Darüber entbrennen jeweils wieder längere Diskussionen zwischen dem Gerichtsvorsitzenden und einem der rund 180 anwesenden Anwälte und Anwältinnen.

Die Verteidigung ist nach den eigenen Aussagen bemüht, den politischen Charakter des Prozesses herauszustreichen. Sie will nachweisen, dass der türkische Staat die sechs gewählten Parlamentarier aus politischen Gründen verfolgt. Für die ausländischen Medien, die diesmal nicht mehr ganz so zahlreich vertreten waren wie noch vor einem Monat beim Prozessauftakt, war dies schon weitgehend klar.

Intellektuelle sprechen von «inhumanem Prozess»

Neu ist, dass sich auch innerhalb der Türkei immer mehr Intellektuelle und Politiker gegen den Prozess aussprechen, obwohl sie nicht auf der gleichen politischen

Linie sind wie die sechs Parlamentarier der Demokratie-Partei. So war am Mittwoch der weltbekannte Autor Yasar Kemal nach seinen eigenen Worten einzig und alleine deshalb nach Ankara gefahren, um vor der Weltöffentlichkeit gegen diesen «inhumanen und undemokratischen Prozess» zu protestieren. Dabei geizte er auch nicht mit scharfer Kritik an die Adresse der westlichen Verbündeten der Türkei, die mit ihrer laschen Haltung das Ganze nicht nur geduldet, sondern geradezu heraufbeschworen hätten.

Von politischer Seite kritisierte der Parlamentarier Ercan Karakas den Prozess scharf. Er gehört der Sozialdemokratischen Volkspartei an, welche die Regierung von Frau Tansu Ciller mitträgt. Eine Lösung könne es nach seinen Worten nur geben, wenn sich alle Parlamentarier vereint für eine Abänderung der von den Militärs verabschiedeten Staatsschutzgesetze und der ebenfalls im wesentlichen vom Militär ausgearbeiteten Verfassung einsetzen. Insofern sei dieser Prozess ein Gradmesser für die Demokratie in der Türkei.

Talks with Iraq Stumble on Humanitarian Aid Issue

A high-ranking Iraqi delegation, headed by no less a dignitary than Ali Al-Anbari — who received international attention during the Gulf Crisis through his frequent television appearances as Baghdad's U.N. envoy — arrived in Ankara last week for talks on the flushing of the pipeline running between Turkey and Iraq.

The technical details of the flushing process had been more or less worked out previously between the two countries and officials say that once the necessary go-ahead is received from the United Nations, oil could be flowing within a month.

The current sticking point — the main focus of last week's talks — concerns the manner in which the humanitarian aid, to be purchased with a portion of the proceeds obtained from the flushing process, will be distributed in Iraq.

Under present U.N. conditions, it is this humanitarian aid which is the only thing that can accrue to Iraq from the flushing process.

The rest of the oil, or any gains from it, on the other hand, has to be withheld until such time as the sanctions on this country are lifted.

The United Nations has given Iraq permission to sell off \$1.6 billion worth of oil for humanitarian needs. But it has restricted the manner in which this aid can be distributed and has laid down the condition that this must not be done by Iraq.

The idea here is to prevent Baghdad from distributing the aid selectively, on the basis of its own political preferences.

This is a condition that Iraq has categorically rejected so far, arguing that it represents an infringement of its sovereign rights.

Turkey's proposal to Iraq that the Turkish Red Crescent Society should distribute the humanitarian aid aims at addressing these U.N. restrictions.

But this proposal was rejected by Al-Anbari last week and this appeared to make short-shrift of any expectations of flushing the pipeline at an early date.

Pointing to the great strides that have been taken so far on the question of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline, officials in Ankara remained optimistic that the current problem with Iraq over the distribution of aid could be overcome.

Analysts are not so optimistic, however, and indicate it very likely that Iraqi inflexibility on this issue will continue for some time to come.

What is certain at this stage is that the flushing will not be carried out in the coming weeks and there are growing doubts that it may be done this year at all.

Turkey is worried that the 985-kilometer (616-mile) pipeline, which has been unused since the United Nations imposed sanctions on Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, will be damaged by the corrosive effects of the 12 million barrels of oil trapped inside.

Because of this, it wants to flush and reflush the

pipeline in order to prevent further corrosion and to repair the damage that has already been done.

At stake are 27 million barrels of crude oil — 12 million currently trapped in the pipeline and another 15 million which will be pumped in to flush and clean it out.

From the oil to be flushed Turkey will also draw 3.5 million barrels in return for what it is owed by Iraq.

Given this, and the fact that the pipeline is a valuable national asset that is running the risk of being damaged, Turkey's interest in this issue is self evident.

It is interesting, however, to note reports coming out of Baghdad suggesting that all of this serves only Turkey's interests, almost as if it makes no difference either way for Iraq.

Of course Turkey, like any country, is considering its own interests and counting its losses — which it estimates at \$600 million from the pipeline alone, and at near on \$20 billion in total from the sanctions against Iraq.

But given the devastation that that country has suffered, and the isolation it has been condemned to, one would have assumed that any development such as Turkey's initiatives with the United Nations and United States for the flushing of the pipeline with Iraq would be a welcome development for Baghdad.

If, on the other hand, Iraq officials are merely looking on Turkey's initiative in this case as "the harbinger of the collapse of U.N. trade sanctions," as some western agencies are suggesting, then there is an insincerity here which will rebound on Iraq itself in the long run.

Granted that Turkey is suffering the effects of the sanctions on this country, but it is not debilitated the way Iraq is today.

The red-carpet treatment Turkish businessmen received last week in Baghdad, where they were on an exploratory visit, was a sign that many in that country are sincere in trying to avail themselves of the opening Turkey is providing them.

The fact that hundreds of lorries, laden with food and other commodities, crossed the border into Iraq at the recently opened Habur border post, as the Turkish businessmen were leaving Baghdad, was also welcomed by the Iraqi people.

Given all this, the onus is now on Baghdad to consider whether it wants to continue to remain isolated, as it will, or to allow the distribution of aid by an organization from a country like Turkey, which has, even if out of self-interest, been sticking its neck out internationally over Iraq.

Officials in Ankara would like to believe that their Iraqi counterparts will come around and see the light in this respect. ■

Diplomatic Briefcase

Talabani Claims Turkey Bombed His Peshmergas

The leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), Jalal Talabani, sent letters to President Süleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller in mid-August complaining about Turkish air strikes on camps belonging to his group, the Turkish Daily News reported during the week. Talabani, who represents one of the main Kurdish groups in northern Iraq, said in his letter, dated Aug. 15, that 10 Peshmergas (Kurdish fighters) belonging to the PUK had been killed and seven wounded in two separate raids that took place on Aug. 8. Pointing out that attacks by Turkish jets on PUK bases in the Sheranish and Devania regions on Aug. 8 had also left a number of Peshmergas wounded, Talabani maintained there were no PKK elements in these regions. "... we find the incident unjustifiable in every sense, for we have extensive channels of communication with the military authorities who should have, and could have, corroborated their information before such an operation," Talabani said. He asked Demirel and Çiller for their assistance "to prevent the recurrence of such incidents" and called for the families of the victims to be compensated. A PUK statement to the press later on Aug. 24 claimed Turkish planes had wounded civilians in the northern Iraqi village of Badawan, in an air strike the previous day.

NATO War Games in Southeast Turkey

NATO plans to hold war games in southeast Turkey throughout the month of September, the Turkish Chief of Staff's office, announced last week. It said the war games were designed to show solidarity among North Atlantic Treaty Organization member states and train its forces in joint maneuvers. Turkey's remote Southeast is the scene of a 10-year separatists' war by militants of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is outlawed in Turkey. Nearly 13,000 people have been killed in the PKK's war with security forces during this period.

Turkey and Iran Sign Security Protocol

The ninth term meeting of the Turco-Iranian Joint Security Committee met in Balıkesir last week with a view to further enhancing the growing cooperation in the security field between the two countries. A protocol comprising 11 articles was signed at the end of the two-day meeting which was headed by the Interior Ministry's Deputy Undersecretary Muharrem Göktayoğlu on the Turkish side and the Iranian Interior Ministry's Security Director Golam

Huseyin Bolvadiyen. The protocol foresees increased cooperation between Ankara and Tehran in the area of combatting terrorism. The committee meeting took place under an accord signed between the two countries in 1992. The next meeting is scheduled to take place in Tehran in three months time.

Walid Jumblatt Visits Turkey

The Lebanese Druze leader and chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party, Walid Jumblatt, arrived in Turkey last week as the official guest of Minister for State Salih Sümer, who is responsible for housing and resettlement. Jumblatt, who is the minister for public works in Lebanon, met in Istanbul with Turkish businessmen and investors before coming to Ankara for official talks. Arriving in Ankara from Istanbul last Thursday, Jumblatt told reporters at Esenboga airport that they were interested in developing relations with Turkey in every sphere. "We expect a lot from Turkey, which is a brotherly nation that acts as a bridge between the East and the West," he said. Salih Sümer for his part expressed satisfaction that relations between Turkey and Lebanon appeared to be developing fast. While in Turkey Jumblatt was also received by Prime Minister Tansu Çiller and held a meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın, who is chairman of the junior coalition partner, the Social Democratic Peoples' Party (SHP).

Turkic Cultural Center Protocol Signed in Ankara

A protocol foreseeing the opening of the Center for the Joint Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts (TURKSOY) was signed in Ankara over the weekend by Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal and Azerbaijan Minister for Culture Pulat Bülbüloğlu, who is also the general director for the TÜRKSOY project. The protocol covers the establishment of the TÜRKSOY center in Ankara and the personnel to be employed there. Delivering an address at the signing ceremony, Soysal pointed out that this was the first international document that he had signed since his recent appointment as foreign minister. Soysal said he was doubly happy to be signing such a document together with a minister from Azerbaijan. Bülbüloğlu for his part said that TÜRKSOY was an apolitical organization such as UNESCO whose aim was the preservation of Turkic culture. The ministers for culture of the Turkic nations had held their second joint meeting in Baku in 1992 and had decided that an organization for preserving the Turkic cultural heritage should be established. They had also agreed that this organization, which came to be known by the acronym of TÜRKSOY, should be based in Ankara.

turkish daily news

Friday, September 9, 1994

Claims of 'psychological torture' in Democracy Party case

Mahmut Alnak: Politics are made with the blood of young Turkish and Kurdish people

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Attorney Ali Rıza Dizdar claimed, during the second round of the trial against the five former Democracy Party (DEP) deputies and independent deputy Mahmut Alnak on Wednesday, that the deputies were subjected to "psychological torture" when they were in custody.

Dizdar alleged that the deputies had been interrogated until midnight being asked questions about things they already knew. "This is called psychological torture," Dizdar claimed. Orhan Doğan claimed that he and his colleagues had been interrogated in a glass partition and that some journalists had been allowed to watch the interrogation.

During the hearing at the Ankara State Security Court on Wednesday, former deputies Hatip Dicle, Orhan Doğan, Leyla Zana, Sırrı Sakık, Ahmet Türk and Mahmut Alnak, submitted their own evidence to answer the evidence presented by the prosecutor. Only five of the 21 files containing

12,000 pages prepared by the prosecutors, could be read that day. The court postponed the hearing until Oct. 7. Thus, it has become certain that the deputies will remain in detention until all the dossiers are completed.

Responding to the charges against him, Alnak claimed, "It is alleged that I went to Zaleh. There are confessions of two PKK militants on this issue. While one says I went there, the other one says I did not. The office of the prosecutor has put both statements in the case file. Which one should we believe? I have passport copies showing I have not gone abroad."

Alnak continued to claim that the trial against him and his colleagues is politically motivated. "Politics is made with the blood of young Turkish and Kurdish people. I am charged for obstructing those who would base their politics on blood. Even primary school children know a person cannot be accused with this evidence," Alnak alleged. Former Muş Deputy Sırrı Sakık claimed that villages were burnt

and people killed in his election district, and that he told top officials what was going on so they would end it. However, Sakık alleged that they did not believe him and his colleagues.

"Now Mr. Karayalçın (Social Democrat People's Party chairman and deputy prime minister) says villages were burnt. The interior minister says 'we have gone a little bit too far.' In an earlier statement to the press, I said I felt the pain of the dead soldiers in my heart and extended my condolences to their families, however the Office of the Chief of General Staff filed a complaint against me," Sakık alleged. He continued that the situation stems from the hatred of him due to his brother's being the commander of the PKK. "I am being tried because of my brother," Sakık said.

When Orhan Doğan received applause from those who were present at the court when he responded to criticism against him, Muammer Unsay, the presiding judge of the court, warned them to leave the hall if they

had honor and pride. "This is not a wedding hall," Unsay stressed.

During his speech, which increased the tension in the hall, Doğan claimed that prosecutors were trying to resemble their court to the "Courts of Independence." He continued, "The Office of the Prosecutor said they had been taken under protection. I have not seen any article in the law that calls for taking someone under protection. There are only articles in the law concerning smuggling and forestry that refer to seized items being taken into protection."

Doğan claimed that the case filed contained a letter of insult which was not undersigned and sealed. He alleged it was Nusret Demiral who was determining the future of the case. Following Doğan's speech, which led to arguments in the hall, Attorney Hasip Kaplan made an exciting speech. The court banned Kaplan from attending one hearing. It also rejected Attorney Ali Rıza Dizdar's request for the release of his clients.

Turkish economy trapped by spiralling debt stock

Domestic debt stock soared to TL 467.7 trillion at the end of June this year

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Debt financing through fresh borrowing has pushed the Turkish economy into a domestic debt trap, experts have warned. They claim that the fact that the government was opting for fresh funds from domestic bond markets in order to repay previous debts may further distort fiscal balances. There were official reports on Monday that Turkey's domestic debt stock soared 31.1 percent to TL 467.7 trillion at the end of June this year, up from TL 356.5 trillion at the end of 1993. Treasury figures revealed that the government made repayments in the first half of the year totalling TL 399.5 trillion but borrowed more than that. Fresh borrowing in this period reached TL 433.5 trillion, or 8.5 percent more than repayments. Turkey's officially-declared domestic debt stock of TL 467.7 trillion is 4.25 times larger than the government's year-end budget deficit target of TL 110 trillion.

Officials predict noticeable deviations from the deficit target. They say the year-end deficit will stand at between TL 150 trillion and TL 170 trillion.

The debt stock is 83.5 times larger than the aggregate of government's proposed investment in the poverty-stricken Southeast.

Turkish government is planning to make interest payments (excluding principal) worth TL 350 trillion during 1995, according to a draft budget for the coming fiscal year. "Debt stock is growing rapidly so as to threaten long-term economic recovery. The government continues to borrow irresponsibly in order to rescue the day," one Ankara professor of economics, advisor to a senior state official, told the Turkish Daily News.

He explained, "The politicians are so helpless that they cannot produce solutions other than borrowing, which is probably the easiest way to tackle daily fiscal problems."

One government economist confirmed that there was enormous pressure from the political authority for fresh funds and that this left no other option for the Treasury.

"The Treasury has been under pressure from the government to provide financing. This has become a vicious circle. What we are doing is to borrow in

order to repay previously-incurred debts. We shall borrow further when the time has come to repay today's debts," he commented, on condition of strict anonymity. Turkish policy makers, who presented an ambitious austerity program to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) earlier this year, did not specify any borrowing targets.

"It was clear from the very beginning of the April 5 economic recovery program that the government would use the borrowing mechanisms as much as it could.

This is what has happened so far," said one central banker.

A TDN analysis on the April 5 program had pointed out that the government deliberately abstained from presenting borrowing targets because its rescue plan was built squarely on the ability to borrow.

Turkey puts restrictions on passage into N. Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey officially announced Thursday that it was imposing restrictions on passage into northern Iraq. However, it will continue to assist in activities to supply humanitarian aid to that region, according to a Foreign Ministry statement.

"After the mass exodus from northern Iraq to Turkey in the spring of 1991, Iraq's sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity were confirmed and the international community was invited to send humanitarian aid to this country under U.N. Security Council Resolution 688. Under the present circumstances, we consider this our responsibility, on the issue of passage into northern Iraq, according to this

resolution," the statement said.

It also indicated that diplomatic missions in Ankara had been informed about the regulations.

"The Habur border gate is an opening to northern Iraq, which is Iraq's territory. The activities in this region relate closely to Turkey's security under the circumstances in which we are continuing our struggle against terrorism. Considering this situation, our authorities have to investigate with care crossings which have goals differing from those of humanitarian missions. Within the framework of such considerations, it was decided that permission would be needed to make a crossing," said the statement.

PKK halts traffic in Hakkari, attacks army post in Tunceli

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Kurdish separatist terrorists killed scores of people in attacks on remote targets in southeast Turkey, officials disclosed on Thursday.

Local commanders said a heavily-armed force of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) attacked a military post on Wednesday night at Cambaluk, in the Tunceli province, killing four soldiers and badly damaging the installation.

The militants, backed by rocket fire, also wounded four soldiers and abducted two more, the commanders said. Security forces were searching for the attackers near the town of Ovacik. Troops sup-

ported by helicopters sealed off the area. In a separate incident, PKK militants ambushed a passenger bus and for a short time cut off the road between Hakkari, capital of Hakkari province, and Çukurca.

The emergency rule governor's office, based in Diyarbakir, said six people were killed in the attack on Wednesday and at least five others were abducted.

Local commanders said 14 people were killed in the second attack, including six state-sponsored village guards, 20 vehicles were destroyed and 30 people were abducted. They said the incident occurred at 3.30 p.m. on Wednesday.

US spent \$1 billion on Iraqi Kurds since 1991

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The United States has spend over \$1 billion since 1991 to help and protect the Kurds of Northern Iraq, according to figures released by the Congressional Research Service.

Approximately half of this amount — \$572 million — was spent as “dire emergency supplemental appropriation” back in 1991 for initial relief operations taken on by the Defense Department or DOD (\$320.5 million) and by the State Department and related agencies (\$251.5 million).

Such “dire emergency supplemental funds” were again appropriated between 1991 and 1993. Fifteen million was spent in 1992 on the Kurdish and “other Iraq-related humanitarian operations,” by DOD.

One-hundred million was spent on military operations

conducted between 1991-1993 supporting the “no-fly zone” established in Northern Iraq, to the north of the 36th parallel — which protected the kurds from Baghdad.

In 1993, \$40 million was spent for “DOD relief activities” including food delivery, health care, water supply and mine clearing

Again in 1993, \$3 million went to “general DOD humanitarian aid,” \$5 million as “urgent humanitarian aid,” \$23 million as “general DOD humanitarian aid,” including \$10 million to buy part of a Kurdish-grown wheat crop.

For DOD activities related to Operation Provide Comfort, \$201.2 million was spent in 1993.

In 1994, \$30 million went to Northern Iraq as “general DOD humanitarian aid” — including \$15 million in winter relief. Another \$100 million was spent on the enforcement of the “no-fly zone and related supply, maintenance and personnel costs.

Another \$15 million is scheduled for 1995 as “general DOD humanitarian aid.”

The total the United States appropriated to help the Kurds of Northern Iraq, including the above amount mentioned for 1995, comes to \$1.1 billion.

Does Zana regard herself as one of us?



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

Former Democracy Party Diyarbakir deputy Leyla Zana, who is now facing treason charges at the Ankara State Security Court along with five other colleagues, as usual is on the wrong track. Like her colleagues, she is trying to enlist international support for her case in the hopes that she can create enough turmoil to put international pressure on Turkey and its authorities.

In general terms we do not approve of the way the DEP deputies lost their immunity, the way they lost their parliamentary seats and now have to face treason charges. We believe that there are some DEP deputies who were involved in clandestine activities and should be punished for this because what they did was a crime against the brotherhood and unity of the citizens of the Turkish Republic, irrespective of their ethnic origin. We also believe that there are some DEP deputies who are innocent and should never have lost their parliamentary seats even if their party was closed down by the Constitutional Court. But if the DEP deputies feel there is any injustice, the way to struggle against this is through the laws of this land and its independent courts.

Leyla Zana and her colleagues have to learn to believe in the independent courts and judges of the Republic of Turkey. We have experienced it ourselves that the judges in this country are independent. Even at the worst of times when the judges were ordered by the authoritarian regime of the post 1980 coup to sentence us, they resisted, and we were acquitted by these honest and dignified people, simply because they were loyal democrats.

The judges will uphold the laws of the land and just like in any civilized country, they will distribute justice according to the rules set before them. If the defendants feel they have received a had decision, they still have a chance to appeal to a higher court.

But, what Zana and her friends are doing is seeking external help for an internal issue which should be solved at home. When the DEP trials opened, there were hundreds of foreign observers monitoring the trial. When the second round of the trial was held on Wednesday, there were only a handful of observers. That clearly shows that international attention on the DEP case is dwindling.

So what does Zana do? She writes an article to Le Monde complaining that she is not getting the international attention that is fixed on Teslima Nasrin, the writer from Bangladesh who is now a target of Moslem fundamentalists. She also wrote articles to the London Times demanding support for the plight of the DEP deputies. What does she intend to achieve with such futile exercises?

Besides, we are well aware that the articles sent to these papers are not the work of Zana, because she is simply not capable of writing an article with even modest sophistication (those who heard her, try to address various conferences in the United States can testify to that). Does Zana really feel like one of us? Does she accept she is a citizen of the Turkish Republic? Or is she playing this game of exploiting her citizenship rights for other motives? These are some of the things she has to openly answer.

We feel the prosecutors are making a grand mistake with their indictment against Zana. They should simply ask her to explain in clear terms why she has refused to condemn the PKK as a terrorist organization, even when this group killed innocent women and children of Kurdish origin in southeastern Turkey... Then they could also ask her whether she wants a separate Kurdish state in Turkey or not? Last but not least Zana could also tell us whether she felt she was serving in the Parliament of a foreign country when she was a deputy and does she feel she is being tried in a court of her own country or the court of a foreign land. Her answers to all these would reveal her true face and identity...

If Zana today said she is a loyal citizen of the Turkish Republic and her only aim is to keep this country united and that her struggle is designed to see to it that all the people of the country are treated as first class citizens, irrespective of the region they live in, she would find many supporters in Turkey. But is this really the case?

Le nouveau « caractère » de la diplomatie turque

En poste depuis juillet, le ministre des affaires étrangères, Mumtaz Soysal, a révisé quelques principes traditionnels de la politique extérieure, en prenant le risque de froisser les Occidentaux

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

En quelques semaines, le nouveau ministre des affaires étrangères, Mumtaz Soysal, dont la nomination en juillet avait provoqué une controverse animée dans les cercles politiques, a imprimé sa marque sur la politique extérieure de la Turquie. Sous l'influence du ministre, partisan d'une diplomatie ayant « du caractère » pour protéger sa « dignité », la Turquie a durci le ton, exprimant ouvertement des vues qui pourraient l'éloigner de ses alliés occidentaux.

Si l'orientation n'a pas radicalement changé, l'attitude en revanche est différente. « En politique étrangère, le ton et la manière sont souvent aussi importants que le contenu », déclare un diplomate occidental qui affirme suivre de très près les récents développements.

Critiquée de toutes parts pour ses violations des droits de l'homme, convaincue d'être incomprise et mal-aimée, la Turquie soigne son amour-propre en passant à l'offensive. Elle a exprimé son soutien à la décision de la « République Turque de Chypre du Nord », qui a rejeté le principe d'une fédération comme solution à la question chypriote et évoqué la possibilité d'une intégration économique et militaire avec la politique turque.

La question chypriote

M. Soysal, conseiller de longue date du président Rauf Denktas avant son accession à la tête de la diplomatie turque, défend avec énergie, voire avec intransigeance, les intérêts des Turcs de Chypre. La décision, prise le 5 juillet par l'Union européenne, d'imposer un embargo sur les produits en provenance de Chypre du Nord est en partie responsable de ce revirement de la position turque-chypriote. Le ministre s'y est référé dans une lettre adressée au secrétaire général de l'ONU, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, dans laquelle il exprime l'espoir que les

« obstacles » placés sur la voie d'un accord visant à rétablir la confiance entre les deux communautés pourront être écartés rapidement.

Les Européens et les Américains souhaitent la poursuite des négociations sous l'égide de l'ONU et ne voient pas d'un très bon œil les conditions préalables – des contacts visant à éliminer ces obstacles – posées par les Chypriotes turcs. Selon le quotidien *Turkish Daily News*, proche du président Demirel, le chef de l'Etat aurait exprimé sa préoccupation face aux récents développements, déclarant que Chypre pourrait révéler un plus grand problème que le PKK dans les relations de la Turquie avec l'Occident.

La Grèce, traditionnellement perçue comme le trublion de ces relations, a également été la cible de la colère turque au cours des dernières semaines, Ankara accusant Athènes de vouloir étendre la limite de ses eaux territoriales à 12 milles, selon les droits accordés aux Etats par la nouvelle loi maritime de l'ONU qui entrera en vigueur le 16 novembre.

Autre divergence possible avec les Occidentaux : Ankara a multiplié ses contacts avec le gouvernement irakien et déclaré clairement son désir de voir l'embargo contre Bagdad levé prochainement. Le commerce, de faible intensité, a repris au poste-frontière de Habur, les autorités turques ayant autorisé les camionneurs locaux à importer de faibles quantités de pétrole irakien en contrepartie de leurs livraisons.

Les relations avec l'Irak

La Turquie estime qu'elle a trop longtemps négligé ses propres intérêts – ses relations commerciales avec l'Irak – au profit de ceux de ses alliés occidentaux qui ne l'ont pas payée de retour. Depuis plusieurs mois, les diplomates turcs s'efforcent d'obtenir de l'ONU le droit de vidanger l'oléoduc turco-irakien. Les négocia-

tions avec les Irakiens ne sont d'ailleurs pas faciles ; Ankara et Bagdad ne sont pas encore parvenus à un accord sur les modalités de cette opération. Les autorités turques n'ont pas encore convaincu les Irakiens d'accepter les conditions imposées par l'ONU pour l'utilisation des revenus de la vente du pétrole qui seraient obtenus lors de cette opération. Sur la question de l'embargo, la position turque est proche de celle de la France, même si Paris exprime la sienne plus diplomatiquement dans les couloirs du Conseil de sécurité.

Pour faciliter leurs relations régionales, les autorités turques semblent également prêtes à réviser leur politique à l'égard des Kurdes du nord de l'Irak. Ankara avait jusqu'à maintenant maintenu de bonnes relations avec les partis kurdes irakiens, autorisant notamment les alliés à baser leurs avions sur son territoire pour assurer leur protection dans le cadre de l'opération « Provide Comfort », malgré sa crainte de voir se former un Etat kurde indépendant.

La situation chaotique causée par le conflit qui s'est développé entre le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) de M. Barzani et l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) de M. Talabani, les pressions de Bagdad et la récente conférence kurde qui s'est tenue à Paris – une source d'inquiétude pour Ankara – ont modifié l'analyse que les Turcs font de la situation. Bien qu'ils n'aient pas officiellement modifié leur politique, ils semblent aujourd'hui penser que la région kurde presque autonome qui s'est développée sous la protection des alliés présente une menace trop importante pour l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak et pour la stabilité du sud-est de la Turquie, où les forces gouvernementales se battent contre les séparatistes kurdes du PKK.

Durcissement à l'égard de Bruxelles

D'autres décisions de moindre importance, notamment l'introduction prochaine de visas pour les ressortissants de pays imposant des visas aux Turcs et le rejet

des 10 % de l'assistance financière américaine (36,3 millions de dollars) retenus par l'administration américaine jusqu'à preuve de progrès dans le domaine des droits de l'homme, ont été salués par les nationalistes turcs comme preuve que leur pays est capable d'imposer ses conditions à l'Occident.

La satisfaction des sentiments nationaux ne devrait cependant

pas être l'objectif principal de la politique étrangère et les commentateurs politiques l'ont rappelé dans leurs éditoriaux. « La Turquie est confrontée à une série de problèmes internes, notamment les troubles économiques et le terrorisme du PKK, écrivait Hasan Cemal dans *Sabah*. Il serait raisonnable d'assurer le soutien de l'étranger dans la lutte contre ces problèmes, plutôt que d'ouvrir de nouveaux fronts dans le domaine de la politique étrangère. »

Le rappel soudain de l'ambassadeur Cem Duna, représentant la Turquie auprès de l'Union européenne, et son remplacement par Uluç Ozülker, un diplomate connu comme négociateur coriace, a également provoqué des remous dans la presse. Intervenant dans une période cruciale des négociations pour l'union douanière, prévue pour 1995, cette décision a été interprétée par certains commentateurs comme un durcissement à l'égard de Bruxelles.

Il est vrai qu'avec un gouvernement faible et une économie instable, la Turquie ne peut guère se permettre des frictions avec l'Occident dont elle dépend largement dans les domaines économique, politique et militaire. Les milieux diplomatiques occidentaux s'interrogent et analysent en détail les communiqués du ministère des affaires étrangères, mais personne n'a pour l'instant tiré de conclusion. Changement de style ou changement de politique ? Il est possible que M. Soysal, membre d'un gouvernement constamment à la recherche d'une base plus solide, ait durci le ton pour jouer la carte d'une politique populiste à l'intention de ses compatriotes. A moins que les récents développements ne soient réellement les signes avant-coueurs d'un tournant dans la diplomatie turque.

NICOLE POPE

Condenados a altas penas de prisión 8 diputados turcos de origen kurdo

AFP / EFE, Ankara

El Tribunal Estatal de Seguridad de Turquía condenó ayer a penas de entre 3,5 y 15 años de prisión a 8 ex diputados del prokurdo Partido Democrático detenidos hace nueve meses cuando el Gobierno prohibió las actividades de este grupo al que considera separatista y ligado a la guerrilla del Partido de los Trabajadores de Kurdistán (PKK).

El tribunal condenó a Leyla Zana, Hatip Dicle, Ahmet Turk, Organ Dogan y Selim Sadak a 15 años por "creación y pertenencia a banda armada", en referencia al PKK, que mantiene desde 1984 una lucha separatista en el sureste de Turquía que se ha cobrado más de 10.000 vidas. Sedat Yurttas recibió una condena a 7,5 años por "ayuda y apoyo a banda armada", y Sirri Sakik y Mahmut Alinak, a 3,5 años y multas de 200.000 pesetas.

"Es una decisión política contra la que recurriremos. No se ha podido probar que los acusados hayan actuado de forma terrorista", aseguró uno de los defensores, Yusuf Alatas. Diversas organizaciones defensoras de los derechos humanos protestaron por el veredicto. Numerosos llamamientos a la suspensión del proceso habían llegado en los últimos días procedentes de diversos países occidentales. El propio Departamento de Estado norteamericano había expresado su preocupación. Ayer, el ministro de Exteriores alemán, Klaus Kinkel, señaló que su Gobierno seguirá presionando en favor de los condenados. Por su parte, la primera ministra, Tansu Ciller, declaró que "la justicia en Turquía es independiente".

Las acusaciones de "separatismo" y "atentado a la integridad del Estado", que podrían haber acarreado la pena de muerte, fueron retiradas la víspera de la sentencia.

GAMK — 10 septembre 1994

Dur hiver pour les réfugiés kurdes de Turquie

Les villageois kurdes contraints à l'exode en raison des affrontements entre les forces armées turques et les rebelles du PKK s'appêtent à affronter un hiver particulièrement rigoureux dans l'est de la Turquie, où ils attendent toujours l'aide promise par Ankara. Près de 4 000 réfugiés se sont ainsi entassés depuis octobre dernier dans la ville de Hozat du district de Tunceli, dont ils ont investi tout les locaux disponibles, dans l'attente des subsides annoncés par les autorités turques. La plupart de ces réfugiés sont d'autant plus amers qu'ils ont été contraints à quitter leurs villages par les forces armées turques, et non, comme le prétendent les autorités, sous la pression du PKK.

Depuis le mois de septembre, la guerre fait en effet rage dans la province de Tunceli, où les forces armées turques ont lancé des offensives d'une ampleur sans précédent pour en déloger les rebelles du PKK: près de 40 localités de la région ont dû être évacuées par leurs habitants, sous la menace des soldats turcs qui n'ont pas hésité à incendier plusieurs villages.

Cette vague d'offensives n'a jusqu'à présent pas donné les résultats attendus par l'armée

turque, qui s'est fixé pour objectif de capturer ou de neutraliser le commandant régional du PKK, Semdin Sakik, retranché avec 2000 combattants, dans la forteresse naturelle du Mont Munzer. Malgré les renforts envoyés par Ankara pour épauler les 20 000 soldats déjà déployés sur le terrain, les forces armées turques ne sont toujours pas parvenues à leurs fins.

Et de fait, le plus grand scepticisme est de mise parmi les réfugiés kurdes qui doutent d'une aide gouvernementale, alors même que c'est ce même gouvernement qui les a chassés de chez eux. Un scepticisme partagé par les responsables locaux, qui n'ont toujours rien vu venir et qui se demandent comment subvenir aux besoins de cet afflux de réfugiés. Chaque famille a pour l'instant reçu la somme de 41 dollars, et une petite quantité de riz et de lentilles, à peine suffisante pour une journée. Quant aux logements préfabriqués prévus pour abriter les réfugiés, ils ne sont pas arrivés et les villageois kurdes déracinés, dont la plupart disent qu'ils n'avaient aucune envie de quitter leurs villages où ils n'avaient aucun problème avec le PKK, se résignent d'ores et déjà à passer l'hiver sous la tente.

Kurdes

DES RESPONSABILITES

PARTAGEES. Dans un article intitulé « Comment peut-on être kurde ? », publié dans le numéro du 27 août de *Valeurs Actuelles*, l'auteur nous rappelle les tribulations et les misères du peuple kurde et nous brosse un long et sombre tableau des atrocités commises par le régime de Saddam Hussein dans la répression féroce dont il a été victime.

On pourrait croire que seul l'Irak s'est acharné à exterminer la population kurde, alors qu'elle a été opprimée de tout temps et que ses rébellions ont été sauvagement réprimées, aussi bien en Iran et en Turquie qu'en Irak.

Il ne fallait pas passer sous silence d'autres faits, non moins importants, qui ont contribué et contribuent encore de nos jours aux malheurs de ce peuple.

Dans *le Figaro* du 27 avril dernier, on pouvait lire que l'état-major turc était décidé à « écraser » les séparatistes kurdes, et que la dernière opération de l'armée, laquelle sévit aussi bien en territoire irakien, était spectaculaire : hameaux détruits, paysans battus, prisonniers exécutés...

L'Etat d'Israël fournissait des armes aux pechmergas en lutte contre Bagdad, de même que les rebelles kurdes, encouragés par les Etats-Unis dans le but de « déstabiliser » Saddam Hussein, ont été bien vite lâchés par Washington, ce qui a conduit à l'exode de deux millions de Kurdes, dans les conditions que nous savons.

Jean Leconte, *Saint-Denis*

Libération — 10-11 septembre 1994

Poursuites du Pentagone après une bavure mortelle en Irak

Le Pentagone a décidé jeudi de poursuivre pour homicide par imprudence et manquement à ses devoirs le pilote de l'un des avions F-15 qui avaient abattu par erreur, en avril, deux hélicoptères américains dans la zone kurde du nord de l'Irak, dont l'espace aérien est contrôlé par les Etats-Unis. Le lieutenant-colonel Randy May risque jusqu'à vingt-cinq ans de prison, de sources militaires la plus sévère sanction jamais demandée contre un pilote américain à la suite d'un tel incident.

Les deux hélicoptères Blackhawks, qui transportaient des officiers américains, britanniques, turcs et français, avaient été pris pour des appareils irakiens par les deux pilotes. L'accident avait fait 26 morts. Le colonel May est plus particulièrement accusé de ne pas avoir procédé à l'identification formelle des appareils, comme le lui avait demandé son chef de patrouille, qui n'a pas été inculpé. Par ailleurs, cinq membres de l'équipage d'un avion-radar Awacs impliqué dans l'accident ont été inculpés la semaine dernière de manquement aux devoirs de leur charge.

P. Br. (Washington)

turkish daily news

Saturday, September 10, 1994

By-elections will be held for 23 vacant seats in 14 provinces

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- If the parliamentary general assembly approves True Path Party (DYP) Denizli Deputy Nabi Sabuncu's resignation from Parliament, by-elections will be held for 23 vacant seats in 14 provinces within three months as required by the Constitution.

Eight of the provinces where by-elections are constitutionally required to be held are located in the region under emergency rule.

Diyarbakır takes the lead with four vacant seats. If Sabuncu's resignation is accepted, the provinces where by-elections will be held and the number of vacant seats in these places are as follows:

Adana: One seat vacated with the death of Yılmaz Hocaoğlu of the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP);

Adıyaman: Two vacant seats due to the death

of Kemal Tabak of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and now defunct Democracy Party (DEP) Deputy Mahmut Kılınç's losing his parliamentary membership;

Ankara: One vacant seat due to Welfare Party (RP) Ankara Deputy Melih Gökçek's automatically losing his membership following his decision to become a mayor;

Batman: One vacant seat due to DEP Deputy Nizamettin Toğuç's losing his parliamentary membership;

Bursa: One seat vacated with the death of Mumin Gençoğlu from ANAP;

Diyarbakır: Four vacant seats due to Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Deputy Fehmi Işıklar and DEP Deputies Leyla Zana, Hatip Dicle and Sedat Yurtaş's losing their membership;

Isparta: One vacant seat because of DYP Deputy Süleyman Demirel's election as presi-

dent;

Istanbul: Two vacant seats due to the deaths of Adnan Kahveci and Temel Gündoğdu of ANAP;

Mardin: Three vacant seats due to the killing of DEP Deputy Mehmet Sincar and DEP Deputies Ali Yiğit and Ahmet Türk's losing their memberships;

Muş: One vacant seat due to DEP Deputy Sırrı Sakık's losing his membership;

Sırt: Two vacant seats due to DEP Deputies Naif Günes and Zübeyir Aydar's losing their memberships;

Şırnak: Two vacant seats due to DEP Deputies Selim Sadak and Orhan Doğan's losing their memberships;

Van: One vacant seat due to DEP Deputy Remzi Kartal's losing his membership;

Denizli: One vacant seat due to DYP Deputy Nabi Sabuncu's resignation.

As Iraqi Kurds start feeling the pressure



Ilnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

The decision by Turkey to restrict the entries of foreign journalists, human rights observers and other persons into northern Iraq, is yet another step by the Ankara administration to serve notice to friends and foes alike, that it will not tolerate any fait accomplis against the territorial integrity of Iraq...

The new move effectively cuts off access to the area administered by the Kurds. That means if the Iraqi Kurds "step out of line" against the wishes of Ankara, they may well face isolation. Of course Turkey has left some room to maneuver for the Iraqi Kurds as it has said humanitarian assistance will be permitted.

Ankara still believes something has been cooked up behind its back at the Paris meetings sponsored by the French, to bring together the feuding Iraqi Kurdish groups led by Mesoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani. It says the results of the meetings went well beyond a reconciliation and set the stage for the creation of some vital institutions of a separate Kurdish state in northern Iraq.

There are reports that soon, Talabani and Barzani will travel to Paris to sign the agreements and put into motion decisions like holding general elections in northern Iraq in 1995, administrative reforms and a restructuring of armed forces in the region. Such a move may well be ill advised in view of the current mood in Ankara.

Turkey feels that for long it has gone along with too many decisions of its coalition partners of the Gulf war, which has meant the violation of Iraq's sovereignty in northern Iraq. Now it feels the time has come to stop this kind of policy that is gradually eroding Iraq's territorial integrity, is sowing the seeds of division and creating an environment for the creation of a Kurdish state.

In a series of exclusive news stories in the past few weeks we had reported on the change of heart in Ankara and that the Turkish government would move to limit access to northern Iraq. If those concerned fail to get the necessary mes-

sage, Ankara may well decide to take further steps and expand its ties with Baghdad, while turning its back on the Kurds. This does not seem to be an imminent threat but it is still possible.

Turkish businessmen have already visited Baghdad and have talked about expanding economic ties. The Turkish government has opened diplomatic channels with Baghdad. All in all there is a very positive atmosphere developing between Ankara and Saddam's administration, which has irked the West as well as the Iraqi Kurds.

It is time the Iraqi Kurds and the Turkish government sat down in earnest and discussed their differences and concerns. The alternative would be for the Iraqi Kurds to be alienated and thrown into the laps of the Syrians and Iranians who would like to play the Iraqi Kurdish card instead of Ankara.

Iraqi Kurd leaders to meet in Paris

Reuters

PARIS- The leaders of the two rival Kurdish factions in northern Iraq plan to meet in Paris within days, though a precise time and place have not yet been set, Kurdish officials said on Thursday.

"There will be a meeting between KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) leader Masud Barzani and PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) leader Jalal Talabani in the next few days," said KDP Paris representative Jafar Guly.

"Discussions between Barzani and Talabani are to take place soon, but the details are not yet set," said Mohamid Ismail, another Iraqi Kurdish representative.

A French foreign ministry spokesman said he had no information on the meeting.

Hundreds of people were killed after tensions erupted in violence last May and split Kurdish-held northern Iraq. The two sides signed an accord in Paris in July in an attempt to resolve their differences.



Kurdistan Democratic Party leader Masud Barzani



Patriotic Union of Kurdistan leader Jalal Talabani

Saturday, September 10, 1994

turkish daily news

"Since July 26, there have been no confrontations (between the two factions) apart from a few isolated incidents," Guly told Reuters. "Relations between the two parties are going in the right direction."

Guly said the aim of the Barzani-Talabani meeting was to "consolidate and confirm what was signed in Paris in July." The July settlement included an agreement to hold

general elections in May 1995 when the term of the present Kurdish parliament ends.

It also set administrative reforms and a restructuring of armed forces in the region. The KDP and PUK have shared power equally in the government, but their feud shook the aspirations of Kurds to rule themselves in a democratic, orderly fashion. Officials from Britain, France and the United States attended the July talks as observers.

Sunday, September 11, 1994

turkish daily news

Turkey plans to expand its visa requirements

Reuters

ANKARA- Turkey said on Saturday it is moving ahead with plans to impose visa requirements on citizens of countries that demand similar documents from visiting Turks.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry said in a written statement that the new visa era was based on the "principle of mutuality" and dismissed domestic criticism that it would undercut Turkey's vital tourist industry.

"After continuing work and evaluation by our ministry it was decided to issue compulsory visas to citizens of these countries," it said. The statement did not set a deadline, nor did it list the countries in question.

Seeking to quieten critics, it said visits by tourists already required to obtain visas were on the rise, in contrast to a drop in visitors from countries now exempt. It suggested tourist visas would be available at border crossings and airports. The announcement, which had been expected, came two days after Ankara said it was restricting access into Kurdish-controlled Northern Iraq from Turkish soil.

Ruffled by human rights reports from foreign delegations crossing into Northern Iraq, Turkey said on Thursday it was clamping down on the border crossing at Habur.

"The northern area across from Habur is Iraqi territory, and in the present circumstances with a battle against terrorism going on, activities there closely concern Turkey's security," Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman said in a written statement.

Ataman said Turkey would continue to allow passage for U.N. aid groups helping the Kurds estranged by Baghdad, but said exit for other reasons would be assessed individually.

Foreign Ministry officials later confirmed the restrictions would also be used to keep out journalists traveling from Turkey.

Separatists kill seven in village raid

Reuters

ANKARA- Kurdish separatists killed seven civilians in an overnight raid on Ulukale village in southeast Turkey, Anatolian news agency reported on Saturday.

A group of the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) guerrillas raided Ulukale, in Tunceli province, on Friday night, killing seven villagers and wound-

ing two, the semiofficial agency said.

Anatolian said the separatists set fire to houses in the village before fleeing. It quoted officials as saying operations were underway to capture the attackers.

The report could not be independently confirmed.

The interior minister said last week that security forces killed more than 400 separatists last month.

KDP blasts Talabani for alleging bias by Ankara in N. Iraq

The northern Iraqi Kurdish group says Ankara has been 'evenhanded and balanced' in dealing with the region's Kurds

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) of Northern Iraq has responded angrily to claims by Jalal Talabani, the leader of the rival Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), that Turkey has not been neutral in the conflict between the various Kurdish groups in Northern Iraq.

In a written statement on Saturday a spokesman for the KDP in Ankara said Turkey has over the past two years dealt with the KDP and the PUK in an "evenhanded and balanced way." "Turkey has provided military logistic support, facilities and travel access to both parties on an equal basis despite the PUK's known relations with the KDP" the statement said. In a letter sent to President Süleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller last month, Talabani accused Turkish jets engaged in operations in Northern Iraq against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in August of bombing PUK targets and killing civilians as well as Peshmergas (warriors).

Talabani in his letter of August 15 also openly hinted that Turkey was indirectly assisting PUK's rivals in Northern Iraq in this way.

Talabani had said that two raids by Turkey on August 8 had killed 10 PUK peshmergas and wounded a number of others, including civilians.

Turkey has increased its raids in northern Iraq against PKK positions in the past month in an attempt to flush out militants of this group, who are fighting a bitter and bloody separatist war in southeast Anatolia, from the region.

Analysts say the raids are also a message to the various Kurdish organizations in the region that as long as PKK militants are tolerated in the region Turkey will continue the raids.

"(The August 8 raid), I fear, could be viewed as a contradiction of Turkey's stated neutrality in the context of the recent internal conflict of Iraqi Kurdistan in which Turkey played a positive role to facilitate its resolution," Talabani had said in his letter to Demirel and Çiller.

turkish daily news

Monday, September 12, 1994 /

The PUK has been in conflict with the KDP as well as Iran backed pro-Islamic northern Iraqi groups since the beginning of the year.

Officials in Ankara deny that any Kurdish group other than the PKK is targeted in the raids and that Turkey is giving up its neutrality in the region, although they have expressed dissatisfaction about the PUK's ambiguous position on the PKK. Analysts and diplomatic sources for their part indicate that an open inclination by Ankara to favor Massoud Barzani's KDP has been discernible in the past.

Commenting on the letter sent by Talabani to Demirel and Çiller — on the basis of the extensive quotes from this letter published by the Turkish Daily News on September 6 — the KDP said in its statement that they were "surprised" by the letter. "At a time when the normalization and peace process is underway in the Kurdish region of Iraq, and when both the KDP and PUK have agreed to refrain from any propaganda war or any actions that galvanize the situation, this latest letter has surprised us and, to say the least, is unhelpful," the KDP statement said.

"The PUK does not have any bases in Dahok Province, and the presence of PUK fighters in the bombed PKK makeshift base near Sharanish is an indication that the PUK leadership is determined to pursue its collusion with the PKK despite recent assurances and pledges given to the contrary by Mr. Talabani to Turkish officials" the statement added.

This was a reference to the PUK claims that the Turkish air raids in the Dahok region had targeted PUK bases.

"Turkey has not taken sides in the current conflict, as implied in Talabani's letter and has observed neutrality and mediated in the conflict and played a constructive role to contain the internal conflict. Suggestions to the contrary is a sheer misrepresentation," the statement concluded.

Rights Commission to take up cases against Turkey next month

If ruling goes against Turkey, applications against Ankara could increase say analysts

By Semih D. Idiz and Hayri Birler
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey is entering a turbulent period in terms of its already tarnished human rights image, as the European Human Rights Commission (EHRC) readies to study the merits of four cases brought up against Ankara by Turkish citizens. All of the cases are said to be related to developments in the Southeast, and all reportedly concern allegations ranging from village burnings and mass deportations to torture and ill treatment at the hand of Turkish security forces combatting the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the region. Sources informing the Turkish Daily News indicated that there are over 250 applications against Turkey to the EHRC and that of these, four have been joined in a single file and will be considered for admissibility by the commission on Oct. 16. They said that these four cases are of an "exemplary" nature and the ruling on them will have a bearing on many of the other applications against Turkey.

These sources also indicated the speed with which these four applications have been put in the processing pipeline and suggest that this is a result of the "pressure of the growing number of cases against Turkey."

The fact that the EHRC's decision could activate a process that could lead all the way up to Turkey's expulsion from the Council of Europe, is said to have left the Turkish government "deeply concerned."

Because many of the charges levelled against Turkey concern security forces and the army in southeast Anatolia, Turkish military circles are said to be deeply concerned about the possible outcome of these cases.

The National Security Council's placing this subject on the agenda of its last meeting on Aug. 29 appears to confirm this concern in military quarters.

According to the established procedure, the EHRC will hold an oral hearing on the four applications against Turkey. A lawyer representing Turkey will also be present at this hearing to present Ankara's views on the applications. The EHRC at the end of the hearing will submit its views in a report on whether the applications are admissible or not. This report will not contain any aspects that represent the essence of the case, but will merely recommend that the cases be taken up or not based on the facts submitted by the two sides and the procedures they have employed in doing this. If the report finds the applications admissible, then the case will either go to the European Court of Human Rights or to the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe.

Should the Court take up the case, then its ruling, whatever it may be, will be binding on Turkey which will then be asked to correct the circumstances that have led to these cases being opened and to provide indemnities for the injured parties. If Turkey does not comply with the ruling, this could end up leading to Turkey's expulsion from the council of Europe. Should the Ministerial Committee take up the cases, then the EHRC's report will have to be adopted by a two thirds majority in the Committee.

Analysts say when the situation reaches this point, usually the accused country is given a period of time in which "to set the situation right" vis a vis the charges brought against it. If Turkey should not comply with the Committee's requests, then a process that could result in Turkey's expulsion from the Council of Europe is entered into.

One key aspect of the four applications against Turkey, is that none of them have gone through the prerequisite procedure of exhausting all legal channels in Turkey. It is expected that this procedural point will be dwelled on by Turkey during the open hearing on Oct. 16 with an

attempt to get a ruling of inadmissibility from the EHRC.

But the lawyers for the plaintiffs, for their part, are expected to argue that the nature of the charges being brought against Ankara indicate that there is no recourse to legal restitution in this respect in Turkey. Analysts say that in this sense, the EHRC could be setting a precedent far worse for Turkey, than its merely being requested to pay reparations and "set things right."

This would open the doors to cases being brought against Turkey within the European Court of Human Rights, without having to bring up the cases first in Turkish courts.

This in turn, analysts say, would be a major slight on the country's judicial system, indicating indirectly a lack of confidence in the quality of Turkish justice. The loss of prestige that such developments would incur, is said to have caused the government of Tansu Çiller to attempt counter measures in an attempt to bolster the country's lagging human rights image.

The speeding up of work by the Minister of Justice Mehmet Moğultay, to determine "the acceptable limits of freedom of expression," as well as the new "publicity onslaught" announced over the weekend by Çiller, are being seen as parts of this plan.

But western diplomatic sources say it is unlikely that the negative image resulting from an adverse ruling by the EHRC, the European Court of Human Rights or the Council of Europe's Ministerial Committee, could be done away with with such "palliative moves."

"There is a general impatience with Ankara in the West where there is a widespread belief that Turkey has, over the years, been given the benefit of the doubt, often far in excess of what it merits" one such source, who wished to remain anonymous, told the TDN.

"To convince its human rights critics in Europe and America, Turkey is going to have to take determined and substantive moves from here on," he added.

Analysts are also pointing to the fact that if a ruling against Turkey should come out of the EHRC after its hearing on Oct. 16, this could turn the present flood of applications against this country into a deluge.

Washington may report on Turkey, sources say

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A U.S. State Department official today criticized Turkey's reluctance to admit human rights violations in Turkey, speaking at a panel discussion during the 15th Annual Convention of the Assembly of Turkish American Associations (ATAA), John R. Hamilton, director of Central American Affairs, said: "We were opposed to 10 percent (withholding of aid to Turkey) in Congress and we told them so. But (on the other hand) we cannot pretend that there are no problems in Turkey. There are human rights violations."

Commenting on Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's recent decision not to accept the conditional 10 percent of American aid, Hamilton said: "If that's the way they respond, we'd have to go and prepare a report on human rights violations in Turkey." Foreign aid bill HR 4426 demands such a report prepared by the State Department, in consultation with the

Pentagon, be submitted to Congress before the (conditional) 10 percent of the U.S. aid is released to Turkey.

Hamilton was a substitute speaker, replacing Marshall Adair, director of Southern European Affairs, who could not attend the ATAA panel.

At this point Sermet Atacanlı, counselor of the Turkish Embassy, said: "We are not always in agreement with the U.S. administration; the way they are presenting developments in Turkey to Congress. We would appreciate it if the (U.S.) administration pays more attention to this aspect."

Common strategic interests

Hamilton, in his presentation, repeated that "dual containment" of Iraq and Iran remained a common strategic interest for both the United States and Turkey. "Turkey provides Operation Provide Comfort. We thank Turkey for that." He said that the free flow of oil was also important but it was not the same thing as dual containment.

He also said that U.S.-Turkish cooperation must continue in arms non-proliferation and the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty. Radical changes in the post-Cold War era required new thinking for far-reaching change everywhere, he said. The "Partnership for Peace" scheme attempted to meet the requirements of such a new era, trying to reach to the former enemies. The program aimed at creating an "integrated Europe, not creating a split between friends and foes."

turkish daily news

Tuesday, September 13, 1994

PKK militants kill six village teachers

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Only hours before children returned to school, militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) killed six primary school teachers in the village of Darikent near the town of Mazgirt in Tunceli.

Around 50 PKK militants raided the village on Sunday night and ordered the six teachers, Vedat İnan, Ali İhsan Çetinkaya, Metin Kaynar, Müminhan Temizkan, Rüstem Sen and Mustafa Kaynarcan, out of their quarters. They forced the teachers and the people of the village to gather in the square to listen to separatist propaganda. Before the execution of the six teachers, who were gunned down in cold blood, witnesses claimed that the militants had said: "This is Kurdistan. You cannot teach here without obtaining permission from us. Let Tansu Çiller come and protect you."

The PKK militants abducted three health workers and three villagers as they fled the scene.

The fact that the new school year has begun

with a massacre perpetrated by the PKK has been seen as a sign that the PKK wishes to intimidate teachers, particularly those who are assigned to eastern and southeastern Anatolia.

In a separate overnight incident, PKK militants killed nine citizens and abducted two others in the village of Selimiye near the town of Zara in Sivas.

In the village of Özbek near Kulp in Diyarbakır, two villagers were killed and three others were wounded in a rocket attack by PKK militants.

In the town of Çınar in Diyarbakır, five people were seriously wounded when a minibus hit a mine planted by PKK militants. A statement from the Office of the Emergency Rule Regional Governor said Monday that eight PKK militants were killed in clashes with security forces during operations carried out in the southeast Anatolia region. It also said that three terrorists gave themselves up.

Political and economic issues

Hamilton stressed that, in addition to the strategic issues, Turkish-U.S. cooperation now has to include political and economic issues as well. The Clinton administration places great emphasis on "quality of democracy" and "quality of respect for human rights," he pointed out. "Our relationship can best be described by the term 'friendship,' which is more than the sum of its parts," he said.

Joint economic commission

Hamilton stressed that the U.S.-Turkish Joint Economic Commission was going to play an important role in the development of the political and economic dimension in Turkish-U.S. relations. "In the early years our relationship consisted of amplification of security interest. But we want to expand it, to make it reciprocal and mature. But this joint economic commission should not be there just to administer the economic aid for the United States to Turkey. More

business-to-business and person-to-person levels should be developed in our relationship," he said.

This is what he understands by the term "enhanced partnership," referred to by Sermet Atacanlı during his preceding presentation on Turkish-U.S. relations.

Saddam is a security threat

When asked a question about the negative effects on Turkey of the embargo on Iraq, Hamilton said: "The

pipeline shutoff was a U.N. action, not a U.S. action. Turkey suffers from these sanctions. We are doing all we can to alleviate Turkey's pain. But ultimately Iraq will determine the resolution. It is up to Iraq whether to comply with the demands of the world body."

A similar answer has been given by other State Department officials in the past months concerning the U.S. role in the continuation of the embargo on Iraq. They all maintained that the Iraqi people were suffering, not due to the U.N. embargo, but because of Saddam Hussein's reluctance to comply with the U.N. sanctions.

On a follow-up concerning the economic disaster the region was facing due to the embargo, Hamilton stated that this was not only an economic issue. "Saddam is also a security threat for all in the area," he said — Turkey included.

Atacanli: Mature relations

In a previous presentation Sermet Atacanli stressed that

U.S.-Turkish relations had gone through two "wake-up calls."

The first wake-up call was the Johnson letter in 1964, warning then Prime Minister İsmet İnönü that if Turkey intervened in Cyprus, then the United States might not defend Turkey against Soviet aggression.

The second wake-up call, Atacanli said, came in 1975 with the arms embargo after the Turkish intervention in Cyprus in 1974.

But now relations were entering a new phase of more "mature" and "realistic" relations.

"Turkish-U.S. relations cannot and should not be the same as in the past. We must change the concept that the United States helps Turkey and Turkey receives U.S. aid.

An enhanced partnership should define the new relationship," he said. In this phase it should be accepted as natural if the two countries did not see eye-to-eye on every issue.

Iraqi Kurds worried about entry limit decision

Soysal says some humanitarian organizations aid separatist groups

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Following Turkey's decision to require permission for foreign observers who wish to cross into Northern Iraq from Turkey, Northern Iraqi Kurds expressed concern on whether this new decision would hamper humanitarian aid to the Kurdish-dense region.

"We certainly would like to discuss this issue with Turkish officials," Safeen Dizayee, the spokesman for Massoud Barzani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan told the Turkish Daily News. "Our concern is obviously the unhampered continuation of the humanitarian aid efforts."

In a foreign ministry statement last week, Ankara stressed that it would not intervene in the transportation of humanitarian aid.

But Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal signalled Monday his reservations on the activities of the humanitarian groups. "We, as a neighboring country, do not want any damage to the territorial integrity of Iraq. Therefore, some people in the region who come within the framework of providing humanitarian aid will be subjected to some control. Because some of them are not there for humanitarian aid, but to aid separatist groups," Soysal said as he received Finnish Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto. Soysal did not name the "separatist group," but Turkish officials have previously expressed their concern that the so-called aid organizations were in fact aiding the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Turkey's security concerns required the new regulations which went into force this week, the statement, made last week, said. More than three million Iraqi Kurds in the north, where they live under Western military protection, depend on relief supplies because of Baghdad's economic embargo on them. Ankara's concern stems from several arrests of foreign journalists made in the past for allegedly collaborating with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party and working as couriers for it. "In some cases, we arrest the man, then all hell breaks loose as foreign activists and even governments ask for his pardon," a Turkish diplomat said.

"We understand Turkey's concern for its security, but we certainly hope that not too many will be stopped from entering Northern Iraq," Dizayee said.

About 45 Iraqi nationals, who carried foreign passports from various European countries, were stopped recently by border guards as they wanted to cross into Iraq, Dizayee said. "We were told that Iraqi people, even if they carry foreign passports will be allowed to enter," he said. "We immediately notified the Foreign Ministry, and they send a message. Consequently, the people in question were able to pass through." Turkey last week stopped a German TV crew from crossing into Northern Iraq, claiming they did not have the required permission.

"We expect journalists to apply to the Foreign Ministry directly, rather than through their embassies," a Foreign Ministry official told the Turkish Daily News. "The full procedures have not yet been determined."

Wednesday, September 14, 1994

turkish daily news

US State Department calls on the CSCE and the European Commission to effect 'human rights improvements' in Turkey

Shattuck says human rights report to come after his October visit

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- John Shattuck, the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, extended an appeal on Sept. 12, to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as well as the European Commission, to help improve the "human rights situation" in Turkey.

Shattuck said that "the United States leadership can be helpful but so indeed is the international community's help required. And in the case of Turkey I think CSCE and the European Commission are also very appropriate organizations to bring to bear interest on human rights improvements.

"Shattuck made his comments during a luncheon hosted by the Woman's National Democratic Club of Washington D.C. The assistant secretary visited Turkey in July.

He said he will pay another visit in early October, right after the current visit of Peter Tarnoff, the State Department's Under Secretary for Political Affairs.

Sources in Washington told TDN that human rights and Cyprus will be among the topics addressed by Tarnoff during his one-day visit to Ankara.

Answering the question "what can the U.S. do to assist and encourage Turkey to promote human rights and at the same time deal with the Kurdish terrorist elements?" Shattuck said the following:

"Turkey is one of the countries I visited recently and I'll be going back in October. As you know, Turkey is at the moment in a serious human rights struggle which involves the deterioration of many aspects of human rights in Turkey.

There's been arrests of Turkish parliamentarians, put on trial for speeches they've given

in the area of encouraging or speaking about Kurdish freedom and that of course creates difficulties in the context of Turkey. But clearly there are mechanisms that could be brought to bear on this subject."

"I think the diplomacy, bilateral diplomacy of the U.S. is very actively engaged in Turkey. The CSCE which I mentioned before, that is also very actively working to persuade Turkey to begin to address some of its internal problems (regarding human rights violations)."

Shattuck said that all solutions should respect Turkey's sovereignty: "I think it is going to be a difficult task but certainly a great deal can be done to try to work with Turkey to get it to change its ways, in a manner that's consistent with its own sovereignty."

When the Turkish Daily News asked Mr. Shattuck the status of the report on human rights violations in Turkey (as well as the Cyprus situation) that the Foreign Aid Bill HR 4426 made incumbent on the State Department to prepare and submit to the Congress, he said that the report would be prepared after his October visit to Turkey.

He also confirmed that Mr. Tarnoff would discuss human rights issues with the Turkish under secretary of foreign affairs in Ankara. Shattuck said he would like to evaluate both Tarnoff's, and his own discussions with Turkish authorities before the report is drafted.

The Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs declined to give a specific date as a deadline for the preparation of the report.

Another source told TDN that Shattuck might prefer to wait for the outcome of the Turkish Justice Ministry commission study on human rights currently underway, before he finalizes his own report.

Clinton names Grossman as new ambassador to Turkey

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON-President Bill Clinton nominated Marc Grossman, a former deputy chief of mission to Ankara, as the new U.S. ambassador to Turkey on Tuesday.

Grossman, who knows Turkey very well having served here previously for three years, will replace Richard Barkley before the end of autumn, diplomatic sources said. Grossman, 42, is currently the special adviser to Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Clinton also named career diplomat Charles E. Redman for the post of U.S. ambassador to Germany. Redman, 50, is currently a special envoy to the former Yugoslavia.

Both nominations have to be confirmed by the Senate. Barkley is one of the several outgoing ambassadors in Turkey.

The others include the ambassadors of South Africa, Brazil, Morocco and possibly Greece, the latter having been called back abruptly for home service.

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Turquie-Kurdes

46 rebelles kurdes et trois soldats turcs tués dans l'est et le sud-est

ANKARA, 13 sept (AFP) - Quarante-six rebelles kurdes et trois soldats turcs ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires et accrochages dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a annoncé mardi la préfecture de Diyarbakir, chargée de la coordination de la lutte contre la rébellion kurde de Turquie.

Ce bilan porte à 88 le nombre officiel de tués (68 rebelles kurdes, 17 civils et trois soldats turcs) depuis samedi dans ces régions lors d'attaques rebelles contre des villages et de combats entre l'armée turque et maquisards du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

Ces opérations et combats se sont déroulés dans les régions de Bingol (est), Diyarbakir, Hakkari (frontière avec l'Irak et l'Iran) et Mardin (frontière syrienne), selon un communiqué de cette super-préfecture.

Le sud-est anatolien, frontalier avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, que le PKK appelle le "Kurdistan du nord", est le principal théâtre de la rébellion armée kurde, déclenchée en août 1984 contre le gouvernement d'Ankara.

CE/hc/sp

AFP /JO0245/131845

SEP 94

LA DÉPÊCHE DU MIDI — 14 septembre 1994

Toulouse-Kurdistan : soutien aux opposants

Le comité de vigilance Toulouse-Kurdistan communique :

Leina Zana, Hatip Dicle, Ahmet Turc, Sirrik Sakik, Oran Dogan, Mahmut Alimak, Selim Sadak, Dedat Yurttas, députés kurdes comparaissent actuellement devant la cour de sûreté de l'Etat.

Voici quelques extrait de l'acte d'accusation : « Ils ont mené des activités visant une solution sur le plan politique à la lutte armée. Les droits et les libertés fondamentaux ne peuvent être utilisés pour introduire une distinction linguistique, sociale et religieuse. L'identité kurde, la culture kurde, une éducation en kurde sont les revendications de l'organisation de terreur le PKK ».

Requête n. 1 : « les actions des accusés contiennent la caractéristique suffisante pour parler du délit de trahison à la patrie, de crime contre le pays et la souveraineté de l'Etat ».

Extrait de l'article 125 du code pénal truc : « Trahison à la patrie, délit contre le pays et la souveraineté de l'Etat : il n'est pas nécessaire que cet acte (séparatisme) soit accompli par la violence... Quiconque aura commis un acte visant à placer les territoires de l'Etat en totalité ou en partie sous la souveraineté d'un Etat étranger ou à restreindre l'indépendance de l'Etat ou à saper son unité ou à séparer de l'administration de l'Etat une partie des territoires se trouvant sous la souveraineté de l'Etat sera puni de la peine de mort ».

Nous demandons le respect du droit du peuple kurde et exigeons la libération immédiate de ces députés.

Le comité de vigilance Toulouse-Kurdistan, chez CIDES, 1, rue Joutx-Aigues, 31000 Toulouse, tél. 61.29.88.42 ou 61.25.02.32.

Ouest France — 13 septembre 1994

Sur décision judiciaire un Kurde reconduit en Turquie

Le tribunal administratif a lundi rejeté le recours de Naif Toprak, 22 ans, citoyen turc d'origine kurde, en situation irrégulière en France, contre un arrêté préfectoral de reconduite à la frontière. Entré en France en 1990, M. Toprak s'était vu refuser le statut de réfugié politique par l'Office des réfugiés (OFPRO). Devant le tribunal, il a, en vain, mis en avant le danger que constitue pour lui son

retour en Turquie, où les Kurdes sont menacés. M. Toprak a également indiqué qu'il devait se marier avec une Caennaise mais que « les autorités sont intervenues à deux reprises pour stopper ce mariage souhaité par lui-même et sa compagne. » Cette intervention aurait constitué une atteinte à la vie privée, mais le tribunal n'a pas retenu cet argument.

CSCE: DEP trial has grave implications for Turkish democracy

'This politically motivated trial clearly raises questions about Turkey's CSCE commitments'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) started circulating a "Dear Colleague" letter in the U.S. Congress on Tuesday, calling on U.S. lawmakers to join the CSCE in protesting against the trial of pro-Kurdish former deputies of the Turkish Parliament (TBMM). The second round of the trial against the five former Democracy Party (DEP) deputies and independent Deputy Mahmut Alınak started in Ankara on Sept. 8. The CSCE called upon Turkey last July to release the six deputies now on trial.

The CSCE letter signed by Representative Steny H. Hoyer (Dem. Maryland) CSCE co-chair; Representative Benjamin A. Gilman (Rep. New York) ranking minority member, U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs; Representative Benjamin L. Cardin (Dem. Maryland) CSCE commissioner; and Representative Carlos Romero-Barcelo (member of Congress) asked other members of Congress "to join us in transmitting to Turkey's Prime Minister, Tansu Çiller, our concern over an ongoing trial with grave implications for Turkish democracy."

Four U.S. deputies said that "six duly elected parliamentarians face death sentences for speaking out in the National Assembly and other forums about problems facing their constituents. Their showcase trial raises serious questions about the Turkish government's commitment to free speech and other principles which underlie democracy... The six former members of (TBMM)... are charged with treason for speeches and writings advocating Kurdish rights and for alleged contacts with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The charges are premised on restrictive laws which contravene Turkey's international human rights commitments."

"We ask you to join us and our CSCE Parliamentary Assembly colleagues in expressing concern over a politically motivated trial which clearly raises questions about Turkey's CSCE commitments," the CSCE said.

"We are sending a message to the government of Turkey that democratic nations do not detain and try individuals for exercising their rights to free speech — however unpopular that speech might be. We further believe that Turkey's increasingly volatile Kurdish crisis should be resolved through peaceful, democratic means and through dialogue."

Letter to Çiller

The CSCE members invited the U.S. legislators to sign a letter they drafted to be sent to Tansu Çiller. The letter, dated Oct. 4, 1994, and addressed to "Dear Madame Prime Minister," says "as members of the United States Congress, we are disturbed that duly elected parliamentarians face the death penalty for speaking out in the National Assembly and other forums about problems facing Kurds in Turkey."

"If Turkey's Kurdish citizens continue to be denied a voice in the political process, an important avenue for resolving the Kurdish issue will have been cut off and extremists on all sides strengthened — an outcome you seek to avoid.

"We understand Turkey faces a difficult and complex security problem. However, we believe the violence responsible for 13,000 deaths since 1984 will intensify if your government fails to distinguish between acts of terrorism and the legitimate exercise by individuals of their rights of free speech." After reminding Çiller that the 3rd meeting of CSCE Parliamentary Assembly held in Vienna in July '94

"overwhelmingly adopted a resolution noting the deteriorating human rights situation in Turkey with regard to freedom of speech, assembly and movement," the CSCE members concluded by urging Çiller "to seek an end to the brutal cycle of violence that threatens to undo all the significant progress that Turkey has made — and is committed to ensuring — toward a democracy premised upon the rule of law and a society rooted in the protection of individual rights."

Ex-DEP mayors to be jailed for separatism

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The former mayors of the defunct pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) were sentenced by the State Security Court to 20 months imprisonment each, and were fined TL 210 million for making "separatist" statements to the former pro-Kurdish daily Özgür Gündem.

The former mayors: Şükrü Çallı, from the city of Hakkari; Halit Nazmi Balkaş, from the township of Lice; and Abdullah Kaya from the Kozluk township, reportedly reacted to the assassination of former DEP deputy Mehmet Sincar by telling Özgür Gündem "we will not remain indifferent" to the "ongoing war." The court ruled that these were separatist statements.

Yaşar Kaya, the former publisher of Özgür Gündem who fled the country, was also fined TL 235 million, while the editor of the paper was fined TL 126 million and was sentenced to a 6-month jail term.

The court also decided to close down the paper for two weeks despite the fact that the paper closed down for good a year ago...

Court orders compensation for villager whose house was destroyed in Southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A court in the southeastern provincial capital of Diyarbakır awarded TL 71 million in state compensation to a villager identified as Cüneyt Alphan for his destroyed home, which was burnt down during clashes between security forces and militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the village of Sabe near Silvan township.

The court ordered the Interior Ministry to pay the compensation without any delay. The ministry appealed against the judgement saying, "the administration has nothing to do with damage inflicted during the struggle carried out by security forces against terrorists."

Alphan said the appeal was rejected, but the Interior Ministry still refused to pay the compensation.

Thus, he is now seeking ways of seizing assets of the ministry by way of a court order. The house was completely destroyed when fire bombs were hurled at it during clashes between security forces and PKK militants in Sabe in 1991.

The villager filed a case against the Interior Ministry at the Diyarbakır Administrative Court

demanding compensation of TL 106 million for his damaged house and TL 25 million for "personal losses."

The court decided that the Interior Ministry was responsible for the destruction of the house and awarded Alphan TL 71 million for the loss of his home.

The villager had also claimed there had been TL 30 million in cash at the house and wanted to be compensated for this.

The court rejected this demand saying Alphan could not prove the existence of the money. The court also rejected any compensation for "personal losses" suffered by the villager.

The ministry, in its defense, said it should not be held responsible for a villager's losses during clashes between security forces and terrorists.

It indicated that while citizens could file cases against the state and its departments, the Constitution restricted the accountability of these departments especially in cases where the security forces were using their right of defense against terrorists.

Thursday, September 15, 1994

Tarnoff in Ankara with 'open agenda'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Peter Tarnoff, the U.S. State Department's third-ranking officer, arrives in Ankara today with what Turkish diplomats call an "open agenda."

"We are going to take up all bilateral and regional issues," Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman said, citing a number of issues from the situation in the Caucasus to the Balkans, from Cyprus to the Middle East.

Ankara sees Tarnoff's visit as an opportunity to stress — once more — its losses from the embargo against Iraq. Tarnoff, in turn, is expected to voice Washington's reservations about Turkey's increasing contact with Iraq. "It is certain that Tarnoff will stress the need to maintain the coalition against Saddam Hussein," a diplomat told the Turkish Daily News.

The senior American diplomat is also expected to bring up the question of human rights, with particular stress on the trial of the former DEP deputies, he said.

Ankara in turn, will explain its stance on Cyprus and its desire for the UN-sponsored efforts to concentrate on the confidence-building package, rather than a larger framework accord like that suggested by Resolution 939. But both sides appear focused on Turco-Greek ties and the explosive atmosphere

of recent days. Ataman said he had no information about the content of the letter Tarnoff would bring to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller from President Bill Clinton.

"All we know is a statement by the State Department announced that Tarnoff will be bringing a letter to Çiller and another to Greek Prime Minister Papandreou," Ataman said. "Naturally, we do not know the content of the letter yet."

According to the statement made by the State Department, the letter will express the US desire to work with Greece and Turkey to enhance peace and stability in the eastern Mediterranean. "We have not been informed about an attempt to mediate at this point," Ataman said.

Asked about press reports that Turkey might reassess the privileges it gives the United States under the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA), Ataman said: "From what I understand of the (press quotations of Soysal), this will be considered if the U.S. reacts to our previous decision to reject the conditional one-tenth of U.S. aid. At this stage, it is a hypothetical question."

Tarnoff will be in Ankara at noon today and will meet with Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal — whom he will meet for the first time — and Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk. A working dinner is also planned.

turkish daily news

Euro-Parliament Commission decides to suspend ties with Turkish Parliament

Diplomatic sources expect the European Parliament to endorse the Foreign Affairs Commission decision by the end of the month

turkish daily news

Thursday, September 15, 1994

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Citing the continuing trial of former pro-Kurdish deputies of the now banned Democracy Party (DEP), the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission has decided to suspend all contacts with the Turkish Parliament, the Anatolia news agency reporting from Brussels said on Wednesday.

The decision was made by the Presidential Council of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Anatolia said.

The main effect of the decision if it is approved by the European Parliament will be that the Turkey-European Union Joint Parliamentary Commission meetings, an important contact platform between Turkey and the Union, will be suspended.

The Presidential Council of the Foreign Affairs Commission said in its statement concerning the decision that the suspension would remain in force as long as the "uncertainty surrounding the trial of the former deputies remained."

Anatolia said the European Commission's former rapporteur for Turkey, Abel Matutes, had been charged with the duty of conveying the European Parliament's decision to Turkey's ambassador to the EU, Cem Duna.

It added that this decision was expected to be voted on at the end of the month during the General Assembly

meetings of the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

Diplomatic sources indicate it is highly likely that the Commission's decision will be endorsed by the European Parliament and come into force.

The European Parliament earlier this year adopted resolutions condemning Turkey for the lifting of the Parliamentary immunity of pro-Kurdish deputies and placing them on trial for treason.

Since then the expectation in Ankara has been that the European Parliament, currently dominated by Socialist members, would move in the direction of seeking a suspension of ties with the Turkish Parliament.

Commenting on the decision of the Foreign Affairs Commission to the Anatolia news agency, Matutes tried to underplay this decision saying it covered "a temporary period."

He said that he personally would do his best to ensure that relations with Turkey were normalized as soon as possible, adding that he was sure the Turkish side would do the same.

Anatolia added that certain groups within the European Parliament were also preparing to call for a total suspension of relations between the EU and Turkey, as well as to suspend the enactment of the customs union proposed to come into force in 1995.

Foreign Ministry explains stance on entry limitations

Resident foreign journalists in Turkey will not be restricted from crossing into N. Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Amid rumors that Prime Minister Tansu Çiller was not happy with the Foreign Ministry's decision to limit foreigners' entry into Northern Iraq, the Ministry attempted Wednesday to clarify its stance on the new decision.

"Our limitation on entry of foreigners into Northern Iraq is caused by two concerns: the security of Turkey and the territorial integrity of Iraq," Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat

Ataman said in a briefing Wednesday.

Ankara announced on Sept. 8 that it would limit the entry of foreign observers, politicians and journalists into northern Iraq. Those who wanted to cross into Iraq would have to obtain explicit permission from Turkey.

Although three diplomats briefing the press Wednesday firmly denied that the move was a "favor to the Baghdad government," Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal's open message — "let them go through Baghdad" he told journalists last week — implies that Ankara aims to restore Baghdad's control over passage to northern Iraq. The official statement also stresses that the new decision takes into consideration the "territorial integrity of Iraq."

"The reason for this new arrangement is our security concerns which have become more urgent as we continue our battle with terrorism. As far as we are concerned, our sole obligation for passage into Iraq is to allow the flow of humanitarian aid for Operation Provide Comfort," Ataman said.

Operation Provide Comfort, popularly known as Poised Hammer, is an allied force stationed in Turkey that enforces the no-fly zone to the north of the 36th parallel.

However, speculation indicates that Ankara

may also limit the entry of lesser-known humanitarian organizations to the area. Soysal told Finnish radio that some of the humanitarian organizations were not there to provide aid but to support "separatist groups."

"This is not a decision taken to favor this or that government. Nor do we aim to limit the freedom of the press who want to cover events in Northern Iraq. But we have to consider our own security," Turkekul Kurtekin, head of the Iraq and Middle East desk, told journalists.

The Foreign Ministry has sent a diplomat to the region to prepare a report on entry into Iraq. A German TV delegation that wanted to cross into Northern Iraq was turned back. "The new implementation has begun," Ataman said. But press reports indicate that Çiller herself objected to the practice, saying no such decision has been made at the state level limiting entry to northern Iraq. "I am bothered by the appearance of some important matters in the press before they have been discussed in the cabinet," Çiller, herself a master of off-the-cuff remarks, was quoted as saying.

Who is exempt?

Turkish diplomats also brushed aside speculation that Ankara was protecting the Iraqi border

on behalf of Iraq, or was asking foreigners for an Iraqi visa.

"There is no truth to statements that Turkey is asking for Iraqi visas on behalf of Iraq from those who want to cross into Iraq," Cenk Duatepe, the head of the Foreign Ministry Intelligence Department, said. "Turkey does not intend to force foreigners to get a visa from Baghdad. But, of course, if someone has a visa from Iraq, we cannot stop them from entering this country."

He said that the need to obtain permission —

through direct application to the Foreign Ministry — would not apply to Turks or Iraqis. "Even Iraqis who are now nationals of another country can freely pass," he added.

Resident foreign journalists in Turkey, who are given "permanent foreign correspondent status" by the General Directorate of Press and Information, will be able to cross the border freely as well.

Diplomats said the decision to limit the entry of foreigners was made on two grounds. "First,

certain activists are provoking Northern Iraqi leaders into action, which is not helpful in maintaining the territorial integrity of Iraq. Certain journalists are also acting as couriers and propagandists for the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)," Duatepe said, citing a German "journalist" caught with documents of the PKK as an example. The journalist, Stefan Waldberg, was pardoned by President Süleyman Demirel after insistent requests from all levels in Germany.

NORD ECLAIR

15 septembre 1994

Les ruines du Kurdistan

Le comité de Paix de Ville-neuve d'Ascq et le Mouvement de la paix du Nord vous invitent le vendredi 23 septembre à 19 h au foyer du Betit Bosquet, rue du G.-Leclerc, près de l'église St-Pierre à Fliers-Bourg.

Philippe Revelli de Ville-neuve d'Ascq, photographe et reporter, présentera les photos et le témoignage du voyage qu'il a fait au mois de juin dans le Kurdistan irakien sur les traces des démineurs.

Des millions de mines et de déchets de guerre sont répandus sur plus de 60 théâtres d'opérations de par le monde (Afghanistan, Irak, Cambodge, ex-Yougoslavie, etc). Les mines tuent, mutilent et menacent des populations considérables, surtout rurales, longtemps après la fin des conflits.

Ce sont des armes de destruction massive et aveugle. On estime à 1 million le nombre de personnes tuées en 20 ans.

D'autres organisations comme par exemple Handicap International ou Greenpeace ont engagé des actions d'envergure. Pour nous aussi, la perspective de la révision de la convention de 1980 l'année prochaine à Genève est un espoir d'en finir définitivement avec ces armes monstrueuses.

LE MONDE

15 septembre 1994

TURQUIE

Dix-sept civils dont six enseignants tués par le PKK

Le premier ministre turc, M^{me} Tansu Ciller, a condamné mardi 13 septembre le meurtre de six enseignants par le PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatiste), dimanche dans l'Est anatolien. M^{me} Ciller a indiqué que la quasi-totalité des écoles qui étaient restées fermées dans la région au cours de la dernière année scolaire, en raison de l'insécurité due à la rébellion du PKK, ont néanmoins été réouvertes pour la rentrée scolaire lundi, comme promis par le gouvernement. Dix-sept civils au total, dont ces six enseignants, avaient été tués lors d'attaques rebelles dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi dans différentes villes d'Anatolie de l'Est et du Sud-Est. Selon les autorités, les enseignants ont été sortis de leur école puis mitraillés par un groupe du PKK.

D'autre part, de nouveaux affrontements sanglants entre les forces de l'ordre et les rebelles ont eu lieu lundi et mardi, faisant 46 morts dans le PKK et 3 parmi les soldats. Au total 88 personnes sont mortes depuis le samedi 10 septembre dans l'Est et le Sud-Est anatoliens, selon les autorités d'Ankara. — (AFP, Reuter)

LIBÉRATION -16 septembre 1994

La frontière entre la Turquie et l'Irak fermée aux étrangers

La Turquie vient de fermer aux étrangers sa frontière avec le Nord de l'Irak. Les ressortissants de pays tiers qui souhaitent se rendre dans cette zone, sous contrôle kurde depuis avril 1991, devront dorénavant obtenir un visa de Bagdad. Seule l'aide humanitaire devrait pouvoir passer. Par cette mesure, le nouveau chef de la diplomatie turque, Mumtaz Soysal, manifeste sa volonté de s'opposer à tout dépeçage du vaincu de la guerre du Golfe. Afin d'empêcher un nouveau massacre des Kurdes d'Irak, l'Occident a permis la création d'un sanctuaire dans le nord du pays. Ses habitants sont depuis soumis à un blocus de la part du régime de Saddam Hussein. La Turquie constitue leur seule porte de sortie.

Ankara, qui mène une guerre sans merci contre les séparatistes kurdes du nord-est de l'Anatolie, supporte de plus en plus mal la présence le long de sa frontière d'une entité kurde jouissant d'une quasi-indépendance. Le gouvernement turc n'a accepté qu'avec réticence le déploiement sur son sol d'avions américains, français, et britanniques chargés de protéger les populations du nord de l'Irak. Et le nouveau chef de la diplomatie, qui appartient à la gauche nationaliste, milite en faveur d'un rapprochement avec le régime de Bagdad.

Ch. B. avec AFP

Découverte

Kurdistan

LA VIE DANS LES C



Dans le Kurdistan irakien, les terres autour de Pendjwin, une petite ville le long de la frontière avec l'Iran, sont infestées d'obus de mortier ou de mines (ci-contre). Tandis que les enfants assistent aux opérations de déminage du site, plus loin dans la ville de Suleimaniyah, au Centre de handicap International, un mutilé va essayer des prothèses.



CHAMPS DE MINES



Au Kurdistan irakien, mais aussi en Angola, au Cambodge, au Salvador ou en Afghanistan, des millions de mines continuent de tuer, de mutiler, même là où l'on ne parle plus de guerre.

Hawar court dans la montagne. Ici, c'est l'Irak, le Kurdistan d'Irak; en face, c'est l'Iran. Hawar a dix ans, il court dans la montagne. La détonation d'une mine qui explose est sèche, impitoyable, juste un nuage de poussière que le vent dissipe, et puis plus rien.

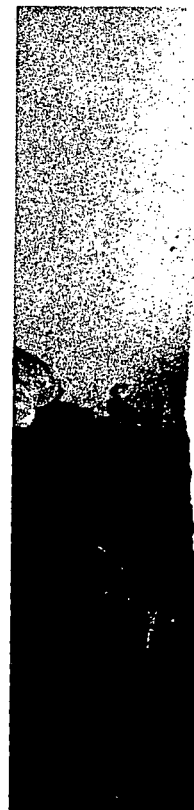
Hawar gît sur un lit d'hôpital, petite chair déchiquetée, il semble si peu vivant encore.

Hawar s'en est sorti. Hawar n'a plus de jambes.

Ailleurs, dans les bureaux d'une société anonyme, dans le salon d'un hôtel quatre étoiles, à l'autre bout du fil d'un téléphone sans fil, un homme se rengorge, satisfait : la preuve est faite.

« Notre mine a été conçue dans le but de handicaper les personnes. Les recherches tactiques ont montré qu'il vaut mieux blesser l'ennemi que le tuer. Un homme blessé requiert des soins, un transport et une évacuation vers l'arrière (...). De plus, une personne blessée a un impact déprimant sur ses camarades de combat. » (1) ▶

Quand les paysans kurdes reviennent après tant d'années - les huit ans de guerre contre l'Iran, les années de répression et la guerre du Golf -, ils ne reconnaissent plus leurs champs et cultivent des terrains dont personne ne sait s'ils sont minés ou non. A Suleimaniyah, Mme le docteur Cheeman, qui elle-même a perdu une jambe lors d'un bombardement iranien, surveille la rééducation des patients au centre de Handicap International.





Les enfants de Pendjwin ont bricolé leurs carrioles avec des carcasses de mines antichars... Mais parfois, leurs jeux s'arrêteront net, à l'explosion d'une des milliers de mines antipersonnel... A l'hôpital de Nalparez, un enfant estropié.

► Mais revenons en arrière : 1980-1988, la guerre Iran-Irak. Des deux côtés de la frontière, des millions de balles, d'obus, de bombes, de mines sont tirés, largués, posés. Juteux négoce pour les marchands de mort qui, sans état d'âme, commercent avec les deux camps.

Dans le nord de l'Irak, où la population est majoritairement kurde, rébellions et répression se succèdent jusqu'en 1991 – sans oublier la guerre du Golfe – quand, à l'ombre de l'ONU, un gouvernement kurde est mis en place.

Dans ce contexte de chaos politique et de crise économique aiguë, des centaines de milliers de déplacés et de réfugiés commencent alors à regagner leurs villages... Le long de la frontière irano-irakienne, des millions de mines les attendent. Vingt millions, estime-t-on, cinq mines par habitant!

Or le déminage coûte cher, très cher, trop cher pour qu'un pays pauvre et désarticulé par des années de guerre puisse s'offrir ce luxe (2).

Résultat : les mines sont toujours là et ne respectent ni traité de paix ni cessez-le-feu; continuant à frapper aveuglément les civils. Principales victimes : les populations rurales pauvres. Celles qui n'ont pas d'autre choix pour survivre que de cultiver leur lopin de terre – même si les tomates doivent mûrir au milieu d'un champ de mines – et de mener paître leurs troupeaux dans la montagne – même si, selon l'expression d'une paysanne kurde, celle-ci recèle « plus de mines que de brins d'herbe ».

Dix mille Kurdes ont ainsi été gravement mutilés depuis la fin de la guerre et, selon l'organisation humanitaire Handicap International, pour chaque blessé qui arrive à l'hôpital, deux meurent dans la montagne. Pour tenter de réparer (en partie) les dégâts, Handicap International a aménagé un atelier orthopédique dans la ville de Suleimaniyah, tandis que le Mines Advisory Group (MAG), une organisation non gouverne-►

Des démineurs kurdes de l'organisation anglaise MAG recherchent les engins qu'il faudra ensuite prudemment désamorcer. A l'hôpital de Suleimaniyah, une victime d'une mine antipersonnel de fabrication italienne très répandue dans la région (l'Italie est parmi les premiers producteurs au monde). Au village de Pendjwin, une vieille femme casse du sucre dans un ustensile de cuisine fabriqué avec une mine antichar.



► mentale anglaise spécialisée dans le déminage, forme et encadre des équipes de démineurs kurdes.

Dégager un chemin, nettoyer le terrain autour d'une école, déminer une zone de pâturage ou de culture, stocker et détruire des tonnes de munitions non explosées, sensibiliser et éduquer la population : c'est un travail de fourmi, dangereux et épuisant. Pendant ce temps-là,

les Turcs et les Iraniens posent de nouvelles mines le long de leurs frontières...

En 1995, une conférence de l'ONU planchera sur une nouvelle mouture du Protocole des mines. Au-delà de divergences politiques ou idéologiques, des organisations, des personnalités ont déjà pris position sur cette question : il faut interdire toute production, vente, transfert et utilisation des mines...

Même si cela constitue une entorse aux sacro-saintes lois du libre-échange.

Texte et photos de Philippe Revelli

(1) Document de la « Division Export of Pakistan Ordnance Factories ».

(2) Exemples : Kurdistan, Cambodge, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Salvador.

A l'inverse, le déminage du Koweït, après la guerre du Golfe, s'il a fait 84 victimes parmi les démineurs, n'a été l'affaire que de quelques semaines... et d'une substantielle quantité de pétrodollars.

Handicap international
ERAC : 14, avenue Berthelot,
69361 Lyon Cedex 07,
tél. : 78.69.79.79.

US tells UN Council: Iraq not abiding by peace terms

Friday, September 16, 1994

turkish daily news

Tehran deplores the renewal of Baghdad sanctions

Reuters

UNITED NATIONS- The Security Council has maintained sanctions against Iraq with the United States opposing France and Russia on when to consider lifting or easing the oil embargo against Baghdad.

U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright strongly objected to a French-Russian proposal to set a specific time limit for testing a weapons monitoring program, after which they want the Council to consider lifting oil sanctions.

Albright, in a tough statement to Council members, said that Iraq's record taken as a whole, represented "a stunning failure" to comply with peace terms set after the 1991 Gulf War.

Russia in turn, delivered a veiled criticism of the United States, warning members not to change the provisions of Security Council resolutions for political reasons.

The Security Council is not expected to consider seriously lifting or easing sanctions against Iraq until sometime in 1995 — if

Baghdad by then has formally recognized Kuwait and its borders and complied with all weapons demands.

But as Iraq is cooperating more closely with U.N. arms inspectors, political divisions are apparent in a badly divided Council with the United States and Britain insisting on no change in the foreseeable future and France, Russia and

China saying the embargo cannot continue indefinitely. Members debated Iraq behind closed doors during the Council's 21st review of crippling trade sanctions, imposed in August 1990 after Baghdad's troops invaded Kuwait.

They spoke to reporters or released statements of their remarks. A 1991 Gulf War cease-fire resolution links the oil export embargo to compliance on weapons while Iraq's adherence to other Council demands is tied to embargoes of imports to Iraq. The last major arms destruction project is a long-term monitoring program to make sure Iraq does not reacquire nuclear, chemical, biological and ballistic missiles.

Testing the program is expected to begin within the next few weeks. France, Russia and some other members want to set a six month limit on the testing after which the Council should debate lifting the oil embargo.

But Albright said, "We are opposed to committing ourselves to a specific trial period of compliance before the program has been thoroughly tested. We should not anticipate how Iraq will act."

She also argued for a wider interpretation of the cease-fire resolution, saying that Iraq must show a pattern of compliance on a range of U.N. demands, including honouring human rights.

"Any discussion of lifting the oil embargo and other sanctions cannot be limited to future Iraqi cooperation in the areas of weapons of mass destruction but must take into account all the issues which comprise the true test of Iraq's peaceful intentions," Albright said.

Russia's U.N. ambassador, Sergei Lavrov said the Council should in the near future "start a countdown" of no more than six months to test the monitoring program before it considered lifting the embargo.

He also objected to the U.S. interpretation of the cease-fire resolution. Without mentioning Albright by name, he said resolutions were compulsory not only for the offending states but "for the members of the Security Council." "Any attempts to oppose this principle for political reasons as well as to stretch formulated provisions of the Security Council resolutions, contradict the task of strengthening security on a legal basis," he said.

The Council also allowed its president to speak about the sanctions review for the first time since March. Members then could not agree on his statement.

Council President Juan Antonio Yanez-Barnuevo of Spain said despite progress by Iraq, resolutions of the Security Council "remain unfilled and there is therefore no agreement that the necessary conditions exist for a modification of the sanctions regime."

Iran deplores sanctions

Meanwhile, Iran on Thursday deplored the renewal of U.N. Gulf War sanctions against Iraq, saying the West did not care that the economic measures killed innocent Iraqis.

Tehran Radio said in a commentary that Washington led efforts against lifting the curbs because it wanted to keep the Gulf situation tense in order to justify its military presence in the region.

"What is regrettable is the fate of the Iraqi people which is apparently of no importance to that country's rulers and international powers," the radio said.

"Western powers speak of human rights but their attitude towards Iraq is political. They do not care what pressures the economic embargo exerts on the Iraqi people or how many of them die each day because of their decisions," it said.

Iran, which fought a war against Iraq from 1980 to 1988, condemned Iraq's invasion for Kuwait and remained neutral when U.S.-led forces kicked Iraq's army out of the emirate in 1991.

UN group to provide food to Iraq, urges donations

Reuter

ANKARA- A total of 100,000 tonnes of emergency food aid is needed to feed the displaced and destitute in Iraq before winter sets in, the U.N. World Food Programme (WFP) said on Thursday.

In a statement released in Ankara, the WFP said 50 percent of the total emergency food needs for the next six-month operation was already pledged by the United States, Germany and Sweden. "The Programme urges donors to fill the remaining food gap and accelerate food deliveries in order to avert further suffering," it said.

Iraq is under U.N. trade sanctions imposed after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. Although food and medicine are exempt, Iraq, deprived of its oil export revenues,

can only feed its people with difficulty. "The living conditions for most of the Iraqi civilian population remains extremely precarious as a result of the Gulf War and its aftermath," the WFP said.

It is appealing for \$33.6 million for the operation which will deliver wheat flour, wheat, vegetable oil, pulses, rice and sugar to 775,000 people in the north administered by dissident Kurds and 550,000 people in central and southern Iraq.

The figures include 25,000 Turkish Kurds who have fled from a separatist war in southeastern Turkey and 40,000 Iranian refugees in southern Iraq.

Turkey runs a separate food and medicine aid scheme worth \$13.5 million across the border to northern Iraq.

US visitors to Turkey up 7 percent in 1994

136,000 Americans traveled to Turkey between Jan. and July. Number of beds now over 1 million

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON — In the first seven months of 1994, Turkey posted an approximate 7 percent increase in U.S. visitors compared to the same period in 1993, the Turkish Tourism office in Washington announced today.

A total of nearly 136,000 American tourists chose Turkey this year as their travel destination. March and July were the favorite months — 36 percent of the visitors went in March and 22 percent in July.

This upward trend in the number of Americans visiting Turkey is expected to continue through to the end of the year with tourism officials forecasting a total of 273,000 U.S. visitors in 1994. Almost 3.6 million international travelers have visited Turkey this year and 1994 tourism revenues are expected to top the \$4 billion mark.

"These figures indicate that ever-increasing number of U.S. travelers are discovering Turkey as an accessible destination that offers a multitude of year-around activities from which to choose," said Mustafa Siyahhan, director of the Turkish Tourism Office in Washington DC. "In comparison to more traditional European vacations, Turkey offers a distinctly unique combination of value and choice that has put the country at the top of the list for travelers who wish to experience the many facets of ancient cultures and more sophisticated sojourns."

Turkey's total bed capacity in guest lodgings is reported by the Ministry of Tourism to have surpassed the one million mark in 1994.

An independent source, The Washington Institute, has also reported an "astounding 253 percent growth in hotel rooms" in Turkey between 1981 and 1991, "which amounts to 13.5% annual growth for ten consecutive years."

The Washington Institute, in its recent study "Tourism Cooperation in the Levant," reported that the number of "hotel rooms" in Turkey went up from 26,704 in 1981 to

94,383 in 1991. The jump in the number of beds seems to be supported by this vast increase in the number of hotel rooms.

Turkey is reported to have 300,000 beds licensed with the Ministry of Tourism and another 300,000 beds licensed by municipalities.

Capacity is said to continue to grow as new construction is completed and new establishments begin operation.

Two-hundred-and-fifty-thousand additional beds are expected to be licensed by the Ministry when hotels, under construction, are completed over the next several years.

The Ministry is also offering new land development opportunities to private investors.

Financing is provided for investors in construction projects for 16 hotels to provide an additional 4,650 licensed beds.

Turkey's tourism revenues

account for 26 percent of the country's total export earnings and is quickly becoming Turkey's second largest industry.

Over the last ten years, tourism revenues increased from \$804 million to \$4 billion, and international visitors went up from 1.6 million to 6.6 million.

Doubling of the value of the U.S. dollar against the Turkish lira since January is expected to render vacationing in Turkey more affordable than ever for the American visitors. "Moderately priced hotel accommodations range from \$30 to \$170 a night," Washington Tourism Office says. "AAA-rated four and five star hotels charge between \$33 and \$400 per night. Pensions and one and two star hotels may be as inexpensive as \$9 night."

Our readers in the United States might wish to contact Turkish Tourism Office in Washington, (202) 973-0372 for more information and reference.

'PKK militant' dies mysteriously at the Adapazari Police Department

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Adapazari Police Department said that a 17-year-old girl, who had been taken into custody for her alleged involvement in the bombing of two banks in Adapazari, jumped Wednesday from the fourth floor of the department building.

Police officials claimed that the teenager, who carried false identification papers under the name Nuriye Özgüroğlu, had been a militant of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). According to the police, the girl was taken into custody while she was on the run after throwing explosives at the

Emlak Bank and Pamukbank buildings, both on Atatürk Boulevard in Adapazari. They said she jumped from the window of the fourth floor of the building where she was brought for interrogation after once managing to escape from officials.

Members of the anti-terror team squad reported that the girl tried again to escape by jumping from the window, forgetting that she had been on the fourth floor.

Questions as to how the girl managed to escape and jump from the window were not answered by the police, whose account of the death has raised suspicions.

Independent Deputy Firat claims he is banned from going abroad

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Abdülmelik Firat, independent deputy from Erzurum, said Thursday that as he was about to depart from Istanbul airport to go to Germany on July 8, he learned that he has been banned from going abroad.

At a press conference in Parliament, Firat said that the people who accused those who suggested a political solution for the Kurdish problem of being separatists were themselves betraying the state.

Firat claimed that he had been attacked by some individuals after he and 33 other deputies

from various parties issued a joint declaration on Nov. 10, 1993. Giving an example of such attacks, Firat claimed that the door and window of his house in the town of Hınıs in Erzurum had been broken during a search for PKK (outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party) militants.

He also alleged that his son-in-law who was engaged in the wholesale food business in Erzurum had been taken into custody on the grounds that he was providing logistical support to the PKK but that the office of the prosecutor had not found any evidence for filing a case against him. "Some forces within the state plot

against those of us who exert intensive efforts to stop the bloodshed and restore peace. They fan the fire. State security forces will exaggerate these incidents; however, we will continue to tell the truth. I want peace. Those who are after profit do not want peace. We are not representatives of anyone's armed actions. We said, 'let this problem be solved in Parliament.' This has been considered an offense," Firat claimed.

Meanwhile, Erzurum Police Director Natic Canca denied Firat's allegations, including the claim that Firat was not allowed to go abroad, according to the Anatolia news agency.

Why push Turkey out of Europe?



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

We have been warning for quite some time that the relations between Turkey and the West are entering a phase of outright antagonism which is against the interests of both sides. We feel the Western countries are justified in complaining about the sluggish pace of democratic reformation in Turkey, about human rights violations and even the lack of certain freedoms. Yet, let us not forget in any way that Turkey, compared to all its neighbors, is democratically the most mature and stable country in this part of the world.

We agree with our European friends that they want to treat Turkey as a member of the Western club and thus they

want it to live up to the requirements of staying in this club of nations. That means creating a democratic mentality in Turkey which has not existed before.

All these are fine. But none of the democratic reforms or improvements in human rights in Turkey can be achieved by isolating the country or alienating its people. On the contrary, when people abroad try to impose their will on Turkey and force changes it only serves the cause of the hard-liners who win prominence and national support.

On Wednesday, a group of European parliamentarians called for their Turkish counterparts to be snubbed because of the trial of pro-Kurdish former deputies accused of separatism.

The Euro-MPs, senior members of the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs and Security Commission, recommended against setting up a joint parliamentary panel with the Turkish Parliament until the trial is over.

Do these deputies think they are really contributing to the advancement of democratic reforms with their attitude?

We feel they are not. Their attitude is helping the anti-Western elements in Turkey to drum up support for their cause saying that the European parliamentarians are seeking to "divide Turkey" by paying lip service to separatist pro-Kurdish politicians. We feel the trial of the pro-Kurdish deputies is full of errors yet this does not justify our European friends committing new errors and further complicating the situation. The more such decisions are taken in Western legislative bodies against Turkey (like the U.S. Congress decision to link 10 percent of aid to Turkey to Cyprus and human rights), the more justification the hard-liners will get to introduce new steps like the restrictions on foreigners entering northern Iraq from Turkey. What is all this serving?

We feel the West has to take serious steps to integrate Turkey more into its fold and then obtain a leverage to influence Turkish leaders. Keeping Turkey at arm's length is not the solution.

Deputies react angrily to EU Parliament Commission decision

Turkish JPC Chairman Bilget says it is out of the question that the Turkish Parliament concede on vital points

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Members of the Turkish-European Union Joint Parliamentary Commission (JPC) have reacted angrily to the decision by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the European Parliament to recommend a suspension of ties with the Turkish Parliament.

The Foreign Affairs Commission of the European Parliament decided on Wednesday to recommend that all relations with the Turkish Parliament be suspended because of the trial of former pro-Kurdish deputies of the now banned Democracy Party (DEP). The Commission said that the decision, which is expected to be endorsed by members of the European Parliament by the end of this month, will remain valid "until the uncertainty surrounding the DEP trial ended."

If endorsed by the European Parliament, as expected, the workings of the JPC will effectively be halted — as was the case after the Sept. 12 1980 military coup.

Reacting angrily to this development the Joint Chairman of the JPC, True Path Party Deputy for Aydın, Tunç Bilget, said on Thursday that the European Parliament had

been maintaining a sense of enmity towards Turkey for the past three years. In a written statement on behalf of the Turkish wing of the JPC, Bilget said that in spite of this enmity and anti-Turkish resolutions adopted by it the Turkish parliament had nevertheless decided not to opt for a complete severance of ties with the European Parliament.

Instead of opting for such a break, Bilget said, the Turkish Parliament had decided to answer the criticism made by the European Parliament in due time and in an appropriate manner. "The essence of these responses has been the underlining of the national unity of the Republic of Turkey, defending its territorial integrity, and criticizing those who have supported terrorism by the PKK (the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party), as well as the rejection of the strong allegations leveled against the (Turkish) Government. It is out of the question that the Turkish Parliament concede on these points." In his statement Bilget also indicated that it was out of the question that the legislature in Turkey should intervene with the

judiciary. Motherland Party Deputy for Gümüşhane, Oltan Sungurlu, another member of the Turkish wing of the JPC for his part said on Thursday that he did not respect the decision of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the European Parliament because he knew it involved "double standards."

Parliamentary Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk, on the other hand said the decision of the Commissions was unjustified and unfair towards Turkey.

Sources close to Cindoruk say he has also criticized Prime Minister Tansu Çiller in private for not anticipating such a development and showing the necessary effort to prevent such a decision emanating from the European Parliament.

While most deputies in the Turkish Parliament questioned about this decision found it to be "excessive" it was also noteworthy that they said, on the whole, that it was, nevertheless "expected."

IRAK

Les appels pour une levée partielle de l'embargo se multiplient

Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU a une nouvelle fois prolongé, mercredi 14 septembre, les sanctions internationales imposées depuis quatre ans à l'Irak, mais le fossé s'est encore creusé entre les partisans d'un assouplissement, dont la France, et ceux qui le refusent, principalement les Etats-Unis. Les appels se multiplient pour une levée partielle de l'embargo.

« Nous réclamons la levée de l'embargo économique imposé au peuple irakien et le renforcement de l'état autour de la dictature [de Saddam Hussein]. Depuis près d'un an déjà, le Parti communiste irakien a adopté ce slogan tout simplement, explique Moufid El Jazairi, membre du comité central, parce que c'est la population qui paie pratiquement seule le prix de l'embargo économique.

« Le régime doit être isolé politiquement, diplomatiquement et militairement », mais les échanges commerciaux doivent reprendre, plaide M. El Jazairi, qui était récemment de passage à Paris. La situation économique est telle, selon lui, que la société irakienne est désormais minée de « maux » en tout genre : « crimes, vols, corruption à tous les étages, y compris dans le corps enseignant, voire dans l'appareil judiciaire, dissolution des mœurs » ; tout est bon pour « gagner » son pain quotidien et faire vivre les siens. « Faut-il vraiment, pour obtenir la chute de Saddam [Hussein] obliger les gens à en arriver là ? », interroge notre interlocuteur. D'autant que le président irakien profite de cette situation, qui force la population à ne penser qu'à sa subsistance. Toute velléité d'opposition politique est réduite à néant.

Arguant d'une violation de sa souveraineté, l'Irak a toujours refusé la vente limitée de son pétrole, à hauteur de 1,6 milliard de dollars, sous le contrôle de l'ONU, comme l'autorisent à le faire les résolutions 706 et 712 du Conseil de sécurité. Cette somme aurait permis l'achat de vivres, dont la distribution se serait faite aussi sous le contrôle de l'ONU. Elle aurait également financé les activités des Nations unies en Irak et payé une partie des dommages de guerre.

Outre l'embargo, qui entraîne une augmentation effarante des prix, la spirale inflationniste est aggravée par « le recours irresponsable à la planche à billets pour financer le déficit budgétaire », précise Raïd Fahmi, un

économiste irakien. Alors, ajoute-t-il, que « la famille de Saddam et ses proches contrôlent les principaux circuits du marché noir », accumulant des fortunes, le régime réprime les commerçants et les changeurs, à qui il impute l'effondrement du dinar et l'inflation. « Une telle situation, souligne M. Fahmi, ne fait que rendre la situation économique encore plus chaotique et plus difficile. »

M. El Jazairi demande que la communauté internationale maintienne le régime dans un isolement sévère, pour exiger le respect des droits de l'homme, un minimum de libertés démocratiques et l'organisation d'élections libres. Il admet qu'une reprise économique profitera aussi au président irakien ; mais, plaide-t-il, la pression sur la population, après quatre ans d'embargo, est telle qu'entre deux maux il faut choisir le moindre.

Paris favorable à une période probatoire

Pour peu que l'état se desserre, « il n'est guère exclu que Saddam joue les concessions politiques formelles », estime pour sa part Ahmad Bamarni, membre du « parlement » kurde irakien. L'une des devises du parti Baas au pouvoir n'est-elle pas, indique-t-il : « Nous sommes venus pour rester et ferons tout pour rester. » Il rappelle à ce sujet, qu'en 1970 Saddam Hussein, qui commençait à devenir l'homme fort du régime, était allé trouver l'un des dirigeants kurdes, Massoud Barzani, et lui avait tendu une feuille blanche portant sa signature : réclame ce que tu veux, lui avait-il dit en substance, pour rallier les Kurdes au régime.

L'opposition est toutefois divisée. La position du PC irakien est partagée par quelques petites formations de l'opposition et de nombreux opposants indépendants. Mais le principal rassemblement de mouvements hostiles au régime, le Congrès national irakien, ne partage pas ce point de vue. Bien qu'ils aient à subir un double embargo – celui des Nations unies et celui que leur inflige le régime au gré de ses « humeurs » – et bien que la situation dans le Kurdistan empire de jour en jour, les Kurdes souhaitent le maintien de l'Irak dans l'isolement, même s'ils sont convaincus qu'à terme l'embargo commencera à être levé.

Un nombre croissant de pays réclament en effet de plus en plus ouvertement un allègement, au moins, des sanctions et Bagdad s'emploie à élargir ce cercle. Des

émissaires sont en effet dépêchés dans plusieurs capitales pour plaider le « dossier » irakien. Le régime de M. Hussein fait même preuve d'une certaine volonté de coopérer. Ses représentants sont revenus la semaine dernière à la table des négociations sur la question des Koweïtiens portés disparus – après une absence de plus d'un an. Qui plus est, Bagdad a admis que quarante-cinq Koweïtiens avaient bien été faits prisonniers, même si c'est pour dire qu'« on a perdu leur trace », en raison des soulèvements dans le sud du pays en mars 1991.

L'Iran a récemment joint sa voix à celles de la Turquie et de la Jordanie, dont les dirigeants se sont prononcés ouvertement pour la levée le plus tôt possible de l'embargo imposé à leur voisin (*le Monde* du 31 août). Ankara a même rouvert le poste frontalier de Habur au début de septembre.

Au sein du Conseil de sécurité, la France, la Russie et la Chine réclament une mise en place rapide du mécanisme de surveillance du désarmement irakien, pour que se déclenche la période probatoire au terme de laquelle Paris et Moscou voudraient voir l'embargo sur le pétrole levé. Alain Juppé, ministre français des affaires étrangères, l'a clairement dit jeudi dernier à Rolf Ekeus, chef de la commission spéciale de l'ONU pour le désarmement de l'Irak. Il n'est pas exclu que M. Ekeus annonce dès mercredi son intention de mettre en place ce mécanisme vers le début d'octobre.

Mais Bagdad n'a pas encore reconnu la souveraineté du Koweït, ni non plus le tracé de ses frontières par les Nations unies, après la guerre du Golfe. Bien que cette reconnaissance ne soit pas l'une des conditions posées par la résolution 687 relative à l'embargo, elle est désormais considérée comme une exigence indispensable pour l'allègement des sanctions.

Les Etats-Unis et les monarchies pétrolières du Golfe craignent aussi une chute des prix du pétrole en cas de retour du brut irakien sur le marché et voudraient différer autant que faire se peut la levée même partielle des sanctions. Mais les vues des experts divergent à ce sujet. Selon une récente étude d'un groupe privé de recherche américain, le Cambridge Energy Research Associates, cette crainte est injustifiée, car la demande mondiale devrait croître de 1 million de barils par an, notamment à cause d'un marché asiatique en pleine expansion.

MOUNA NAÏM

Ankara seeks return of guerrilla



ANKARA wants to extradite one of its most wanted public enemies from France, but is likely to face French objections if it insists on a possible death sentence for the accused.

Dursun Karatas, 41, the elusive leader of the left-wing extremist group Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left), was arrested at Menton on the French-Italian border on 10 September and taken to Paris where he was charged. He is wanted in connection with numerous political murders in Turkey.

Karatas formed Dev-Sol in 1978 as a Marxist splinter group. He was arrested in 1980 and charged, with 41 others, of killing 37 people - including a former prime minister - during five years of rampant political violence in which 5,000 Turks were killed.

In 1989 he escaped from a maximum security prison in Istanbul while he was still on trial. In 1991 he was sentenced to death *in absentia*, but this was later commuted to life imprisonment.

If brought to trial in Turkey and convicted, he would face the death penalty. French law bans extradition to a country where the individual might face capital punishment.

Teachers shot: Kurdish guerrillas killed six teachers, on 11 September in the southeastern province of Dancak. The attacks, believed to be part of a campaign against the state-run education system, took place hours before schools were scheduled to open for the new term.

Gunmen ordered the teachers out of their houses and shot them dead, shouting slogans such as "No one is allowed to teach Turkish here." The use of Kurdish in education and broadcasting is banned in Turkey. Last year, Kurdish rebels burned down schools and killed at least a dozen teachers.

Bomb attack: Two people were killed and four wounded in a bomb explosion in the city of Gaziantep. The bomb was thrown into a cafe late on 10 September. No group has claimed responsibility for the attack.

Journalists freed: Three Swedish journalists were arrested on 10 September

by Turkish police after filming without authorisation in the town of Kulu, in Konya province south of Ankara.

Lief Hedman, Lief Nilsson and Kurd-born Arif Zerewan apologised and were later freed. A fourth Swedish journalist, Orhan Kotan, was set free on 9 September.

LA CROIX — 16 septembre 1994

Impatiences turques

ANKARA
DE NOTRE CORRESPONDANT

La partie s'accélère entre Ankara et Bagdad. Un début de normalisation est en cours entre ces deux capitales. Les « petits pas » gardent toutefois une portée symbolique. La Turquie, si elle pousse ses alliés occidentaux à lever l'embargo sur l'Irak décrété par l'ONU le 2 août 1990, n'entend pas briser l'interdit.

Le 25 août dernier, Ankara a rouvert le poste frontière de Habur, au sud-est du pays. Pour la première fois en quatre ans, des camionneurs turcs ont emprunté ce point de passage pour un petit commerce d'hydrocarbures échangés contre leurs livraisons. La même semaine, 70 hommes d'affaires, journalistes et intellectuels turcs se sont rendus à Bagdad. Un protocole commercial a été signé et les Irakiens ont incité leurs hôtes à « venir pendant ces jours sombres » s'ils veulent s'arroger une part des nouveaux marchés. Des entreprises de travaux publics turques sont d'ores et déjà candidates à la construction du métro de Bagdad ainsi qu'à des projets énergétiques.

Ce retour sur la scène irakienne est motivé par le sentiment que la Turquie a assez sacrifié ses intérêts à ceux de ses alliés durant la guerre du Golfe. En mai dernier, le vice-ministre des affaires étrangères, Ozdem Samberk, estimait à 110 milliards de francs les pertes de la Turquie causées par l'embargo

depuis août 1990. Deux cents sociétés auraient fait faillite après la suspension de tout échange avec un pays qui représentait 40 % des échanges routiers avec le Moyen-Orient. Le manque à gagner causé par la fermeture de l'oléoduc transportant des hydrocarbures irakiens vers les ports turcs de Méditerranée est estimé sur quatre ans à 7,5 milliards de francs.

Ankara craint aussi les conséquences des troubles qui agitent le nord de l'Irak contrôlé par les Kurdes, qui y ont instauré un régime d'autonomie. De violents combats interkurdes ces dernières semaines et au printemps ont fait plusieurs centaines de morts. La presse d'Istanbul évoque des négociations menées sous parapluie occidental et visant à obtenir une garantie internationale pour l'autonomie kurde dans un Irak unifié. Une reconnaissance inacceptable pour la Turquie qui s'acharne contre « ses » propres mouvements kurdes séparatistes.

Mesure significative, le Parlement d'Ankara a voté la semaine dernière une loi restreignant l'accès des étrangers au Kurdistan d'Irak. Journalistes et membres des organisations non gouvernementales désirent s'y rendre doivent dorénavant obtenir un visa des autorités de Bagdad avant de se présenter devant les douaniers turcs qui se contentaient jusque-là de vérifier que le visa de leur pays était en bonne et due forme. **Claude ORTACQ**

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

Turquie-Kurdes lead

46 personnes, dont 27 rebelles kurdes, tuées depuis jeudi soir

ANKARA, 17 sept (AFP) - Quarante-six personnes -27 rebelles kurdes, 9 membres des forces de l'ordre turques et 10 civils- ont été tuées depuis jeudi soir dans l'est et le sud-est de l'Anatolie, ont annoncé samedi les autorités turques.

Neuf civils ont été tués et sept autres blessés, dont six grièvement, samedi matin dans un minibus lorsque le véhicule a sauté sur une mine près d'Eruh dans la province de Siirt (sud-est), a rapporté l'agence turque Anatolie. La mine avait été posée sur la route par des rebelles kurdes, selon les autorités citées par Anatolie.

Les blessés ont été hospitalisés à Diyarbakir (chef-lieu du sud-est de l'Anatolie à majorité kurde) et à Siirt, et un bébé d'un an figurait parmi les morts, selon la même source.

D'autre part, 25 rebelles kurdes, 9 membres des forces de l'ordre et un civil ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires ou d'attaques rebelles dans les régions de Bingol (est), Hakkari (à la frontière avec l'Irak et l'Iran), Sirkak (à la frontière avec la Syrie et l'Irak), Tunceli (est), Sivas (centre-est), selon un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir, chargée de la coordination de la lutte contre le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

Par ailleurs, deux rebelles kurdes ont été tués vendredi soir lors d'opérations militaires dans la région de Kars (frontière avec l'Arménie), selon un communiqué de la préfecture de cette province.

Ce bilan porte à 200 le nombre officiel de tués (152 rebelles kurdes, 27 civils, 20 soldats turcs et un milicien pro-gouvernemental) en une semaine dans l'est et le sud-est de l'Anatolien.

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Irak-divers

Oreilles coupées pour 780 déserteurs, selon l'opposition

TEHERAN, 17 sept (AFP) - Les autorités irakiennes ont, "pour l'exemple", coupé les oreilles de 780 déserteurs, selon une formation irakienne de l'opposition basée en Iran.

Certaines des victimes de ces sévices -300 personnes à Bassorah, 250 à Nasiriyah et 230 à Amarah, dans les provinces chiites du sud de l'Irak- sont mortes d'hémorragie, a ajouté l'Assemblée suprême de la Révolution en Irak (SAIRI) dans un communiqué publié à Téhéran.

Quatre médecins ont été arrêtés à Nasiriyah pour avoir refusé de pratiquer ces mutilations, ajoute l'organisation qui cite les identités de trois d'entre eux: "Les docteurs Rabih Abdulhadi, Yahya Rajab-Khafaji et Esam". Le quatrième, non-identifié, serait le chef de l'hôpital Sogh al-Shioukh de Nasiriyah.

Selon l'organisation, les mutilations ont été ordonnées le 27 août et ont fait l'objet de publications dans la presse.

La Voix du peuple du Kurdistan, une radio kurde irakienne captée par la BBC à Londres, avait affirmé, début septembre, que le régime du président Saddam Hussein avait "lancé une chasse aux déserteurs" dans le sud du pays. "Les hommes du régime en ont capturé 800 et les ont emmenés aux hôpitaux Al-Joumhouriya et Saddam à Bagdad, où ils ont eu chacun les oreilles coupées et le front marqué au fer", ajoutait la radio.

Le Congrès national irakien (CNI), coalition de diverses formations de l'opposition basée à Salaheddine, dans le Kurdistan irakien, avait alors également fait état d'un décret irakien prévoyant le tatouage au front de tous les prisonniers ayant subi des amputations après un crime.

lma-jhd/chm

turkish daily news

Saturday, September 17, 1994

Hakkari teachers defiant, want extension of duties

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- In an act of defiance, teachers in the southeastern border province of Hakkari have applied to the local authorities for an extension of their duties for another year after separatist terrorists murdered six village teachers in the eastern province of Tunceli on Monday.

The 100 teachers employed in various villages and the city center of Hakkari said they do not want to give up their posts and go to more prosperous parts of the country despite the fact that they have won this right. Hakkari is at the hub of terrorist activities where militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) are

involved in a bloody struggle.

Hakkari Governor Lütfullah Bilgin said the action of the teachers deeply moved all the local authorities and said: "We are lost for words."

Hakkari is among the least popular provinces for civil servants. The teachers said they do not want to leave the people of Hakkari without teachers and will continue to make all the necessary sacrifices for the sake of their pupils.

On Monday, 50 PKK militants descended on a village in Tunceli and murdered six teachers in the village square. The incident coincided with the start of the educational year.

In a related development, opposition Republican People's Party spokesman Adnan Keskin said the state is obliged to provide security for civil servants and criticized the authorities for not providing adequate security for the teachers.

Speaking to university presidents in Ankara, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller said all schools in southeastern and eastern Turkey remain open and insisted that the state will not be intimidated by the actions of the terrorists.

The prime minister said that in the past 5 to 6 years nearly 5,000 schools were closed down due to PKK terrorism and stressed now this was not the case.

Ankara clarifies position on northern Iraq crossings again

'These crossings will, as before, be realized under the control and coordination of the relevant department in our ministry'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The foreign ministry on Friday issued a new statement on the restrictions placed on crossings into northern Iraq in an attempt to clarify "continuing misunderstandings on this issue." It said that no new restrictions had been placed on crossings involving humanitarian aid within the context of United Nations Security Council resolutions.

"These crossings will, as before, be real-

ized under the control and coordination of the relevant department in our ministry" the statement said.

It went on to add that border crossings into northern Iraq related to Operation Provide Comfort, the allied military initiative based in Turkey to protect the northern Iraqi Kurds and other minorities, would continue under the same regulations as before.

The statement underlined that crossings

by Turkish and Iraqi citizens would not be subject to any restrictions, in keeping with past policy.

It said that Iraqi citizens, even if they have taken on a new citizenship, will still be able to cross freely into northern Iraq.

It added that the spouses of citizens of countries other than Turkey or Iraq will have the same privileges they enjoyed before.

The statement said that foreign journal-

ists residing in Turkey would not be subject to any restrictions or require permission to cross over into northern Iraq.

It said that the case of those wishing to cross into northern Iraq and falling outside these listed categories will be subject to approval by Turkish authorities, particularly the foreign ministry.

The statement also indicated that it is out of the question that persons carrying an Iraqi visa be restricted.

Tarnoff convinced of need to control Turkish-Iraqi border

US official urges 'closer communication' between Turkey and Greece, says Athens has no immediate plan to increase its territorial waters,

Saturday, September 17, 1994

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- U.S. Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff, who arrived in Ankara for a visit, was convinced by Turkish officials on the need to maintain the security of Turco-Iraqi border, reliable sources told the Turkish Daily News on Friday.

Tarnoff's acknowledgement that it was necessary for Turkey to maintain some sort of control over passage into northern Iraq came amid reaction from various Western countries to Turkey's decision to limit foreigners' entry to Iraq from Turkey. "After the talks with Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal, we were fully convinced of the need to maintain the security of southeastern Turkey and northern Iraq," a high level U.S. official said. "With Turkey's new decision, it is clear that people who should be in northern Iraq will be allowed to pass and who shouldn't will be stopped."

Turkey declared last month that it would require foreign observers, parliamentarians and journalists not accredited to Turkey to have explicit permission when they wanted to cross into northern Iraq from Turkey. Faced with an adverse reaction, the Foreign Ministry gave an extensive briefing on the issue, saying the move did not mean an umbrella prohibition but was mainly an effort to maintain volatile southeast Anatolia's security and Iraqi territorial integrity. "We are getting weary of activists who cross into the northern Iraq to act as a courier for the Kurdish terrorists or encourage northern Iraqi leaders in action against territorial integrity of Iraq," a Turkish diplomat told journalists on Wednesday.

"The United States agrees to restoration of order on Turkey's southeast border. In fact, we are surprised that Turkey waited so long to take this decision," a U.S. official told the TDN on condition of strict anonymity.

But the United States also appealed to Soysal to "make sure" that the Operation Provide Comfort II, an allied force stationed in Turkey to deter Baghdad, and the humanitarian operations were not affected by the decision.

Tarnoff, however, responded to a journalist's question on the new decision with a wait-and-see attitude. "It remains to be seen how this will be implemented... I am under the impression that Turkey is still trying to establish the modalities." At that point, U.S. Ambassador Richard Barkley intervened, saying Turkey had assured the allies that Provide Comfort and humanitarian aid operations would not be affected

by the new decision.

But if the United States side was convinced on the need to restore "order at the border," the two sides were definitely not eye-to-eye on Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

Soysal told Tarnoff that the "differences of opinion" between Washington and Ankara should be discussed openly, rather than being swept under the carpet or pretend that such differences did not exist, Anatolia reported.

Soysal allegedly cited the Iraqi policy of Turkey and the United States as an example and went over Turkish policy toward Iraq in great detail.

Earlier remarks made by U.S. officials indicated that Tarnoff would urge Turkey "not to weaken the anti-Saddam alliance." On the same day Tarnoff arrived in Turkey, Madeline Albright, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, told a closed meeting of the Security Council that "signs of sympathy or encouragement are exploited by Iraq for its own ends." "We sincerely believe in being vigilant over Iraq. The sanctions must continue," Tarnoff said.

"There are no signs that Saddam Hussein's regime will change its former attitudes," Tarnoff said, adding that Operation Provide Comfort, a Western air force patrolling northern Iraq, should remain based in southern Turkey.

"I have sufficient reason to believe we will work profitably with Turkey regarding Provide Comfort," Tarnoff said. The mandate for the operation, extended by Turkish parliament every six months since 1991, comes up for a vote in December.

Greece and Turkey

Denying speculation of a formal mediation by Washington between Turkey and Greece, Tarnoff urged the two countries to step up communications to prevent an escalation of tensions over the Aegean.

He also brought Ankara assurances from Athens — his previous stop — that Greece has no immediate plan to increase its territorial waters beyond six miles — a move Turkey considers reason for war.

Semiofficial Anatolia news agency, however, quoted Turkish sources as saying that Tarnoff had told Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal that an escalation of tension between Turkey and Greece would have "negative spill-

over effects" in Turco-U.S. ties. But, speaking to journalists, Tarnoff made no linkage of Turco-U.S. ties and Turco-Greek conflict. Denying a formal role of mediation undertaken by Washington, he signalled his government's willingness to "help" if both sides asked Washington.

"If asked, we are ready to help. The United States' interest in both countries and the region continues," he reportedly told journalists.

At this stage, however, he merely suggested "increased communications" between the two countries.

"I talked of our desire to have increased communication between Turkey and Greece. This is something that should take place directly," Tarnoff told reporters at the airport before his departure. "We are not mediating, but we would like to encourage dialogue.

Tarnoff also carried to Ankara Athens' assurance that Greece would not allow terrorism to emanate from borders. "ERNK, the so-called political wing, has an office, but the same organization has offices throughout Europe," Greece reportedly told Tarnoff. He also stressed the U.S. condemnation of PKK terrorism.

Displeasure over TRNC decision

Tarnoff, who had been given a full briefing on the Cyprus issue by Foreign Minister Soysal, said he was "concerned" that the last decision of the Turkish Cypriot parliament would be interpreted as "moving away from U.N.-sponsored talks." "We believe that the negotiation process should go on, although a certain weariness is seen on both sides," he said.

Soysal-Christopher meeting

The meeting between Tarnoff and Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal proved to be a testing of the waters on the part of Washington for Soysal, known for his anti-United States views. The talks also aimed at fixing the agenda of the meeting between Soysal and Christopher in New York at the end of the month, where both will be attending the U.N. General Assembly.

"Everyone has a different style... Differences of opinion may occur between members of the same family. But I think Professor Soysal is committed to the improvement of Turco-U.S. relations," Tarnoff was quoted as saying at breakfast meeting with a small group of journalists.

turkish daily news

Turkey seeks to prevent Kurdish summit in Paris

The idea of a Paris summit put on hold for the time being, Turkish officials say

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- An anticipated "summit" between Northern Iraqi Kurdish leaders and French President Francois Mitterrand is stalled for the time being, largely due to the major pressure exerted by Turkey on all sides.

After the first round of talks in Paris in July between the two Northern Iraqi parties — Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) — Ankara expressed unease and anger about what it called an "attempt to establish the institutions of a separate state in the long term."

The second round of the same initiative, which would bring together Talabani and Barzani to seal what was signed in Paris in July, was seen by Ankara as "even more worrying than the first round" because it would be hosted by President Francois Mitterrand himself.

The first meeting was organized by the Kurdish Institute in Paris, closely linked with France's first lady Danielle Mitterrand. But the fact that officials from France, U.K. and the United States attended as observers created unease in Ankara, as it lent an "official air" to the meeting. After that, Turkey started a major diplomatic drive vis-a-vis France, Northern Iraqi Kurdish leaders and other regional states — Iran and Syria — to express its criticism of the occasion and to prevent a second, higher level, meeting from taking place.

"I think we may consider such a meeting stalled for the time being," a senior Turkish diplomat said, pointing out that the meeting had already been postponed twice.

The "summit" was first scheduled for the beginning of September. Afterwards it was reported that the meeting would be held in mid-September, but all parties concerned say that no concrete date has been set yet. Present speculations indicate that it cannot take place earlier than October.

Worried that Turkey may toughen its stance toward Northern Iraq further if the summit is held without Ankara's "blessing," Northern Iraqi leaders are seeking ways to convince the Turkish government.

Coming to Ankara in August, a high-level KDP delegation briefed Turkey on the closed-door meeting and suggested options for the second round which may please Turkey. One of them, according to Northern Iraqi sources, was to tell Ankara that they could launch efforts vis-a-vis France, the host, for the inclusion of Turkey. In the first round, Turkey was excluded from the Paris meeting mainly due to Kurdish Institute President Kendal Nezan and Madame Mitterrand, Kurdish sources said. But Turkish officials speaking to the Turkish Daily News appeared determined that no Turkish official would participate in such a meeting.

"No Turkish ambassador, and not even a third secretary in the embassy, can sit opposite Kendal Nezan in a meeting which obviously targets Iraqi integrity and encourages separatism," the senior Turkish diplomat said.

Another suggestion was to assure Turkey that the draft can be penned

in a way that would prevent misunderstanding and mistrust. Turkish officials, outraged at the draft accord, mistrustful of Kendal, and even of Talabani, remained unconvinced.

KDP, which enjoys better ties with Ankara than PUK at the moment, appeared more reluctant about the meeting, fearing it would offend Turkey and could spur further reconciliation between Ankara and Baghdad, sources said.

However, the same sources claimed that Barzani is worried that Jalal Talabani may exploit his reluctance in order to score a political point against Barzani by declaring publicly that PUK wants to go to the meeting, but that KDP does not.

While some Kurdish sources say that they are completely at the mercy of Turkey for their passage to Paris and would not be able to attend the meeting if Turkey refused to provide helicopters, it appears that French officials are having second thoughts about hosting such a meeting. Asked about when and if a second round would take place, responses from French officials are vague and noncommittal.

A Reuters dispatch from Paris quoted an unnamed French Foreign Ministry spokesman as denying that they had any information on the matter. The line is echoed by the French Embassy in Ankara. "We have no information on the meeting."

But France seeks a settlement to the Kurdish problem through maintenance of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all regional countries," a spokesman for the embassy said.

The stress on "the territorial integrity of all countries in the region" has been made by President Mitterrand himself several times, apparently as a move to soothe the anxieties of Turkey, Iran and Syria. In a tripartite meeting in Damascus a week after the Paris summit, the foreign ministers of Turkey, Iran and Syria condemned "extra-regional attempts" which encouraged Iraqi Kurds' "separatism."

"Our assessment is that the points put forward in the Paris meeting are not in line with Mitterrand's statements of support for territorial integrity. We consider Mitterrand a responsible and consistent statesman," the senior Turkish official said, adding that, at this stage, there would be no invitation from Paris.

Turkey's objections

The July settlement included an agreement to hold general elections in May 1995 when the term of the present Kurdish parliament ends. Turkey, which did not recognize the first election is against holding a second.

The settlement also set administrative reforms and a restructuring of armed forces in the region. The idea of a common armed force and a common policy — which Turkey claims goes beyond autonomy stipulated in the Iraqi constitution — is unacceptable to Turkey.

Turkish officials also point out that the draft makes no reference to the territorial integrity of Iraq.

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Turquie-Irak-Kurdes

Une tentative des Kurdes d'Irak de créer un Etat indépendant empêchée par Ankara

ANKARA, 19 sept (AFP) - La Turquie a récemment empêché une tentative des Kurdes d'Irak de créer les institutions d'un Etat indépendant dans le nord de l'Irak sous leur contrôle, a-t-on affirmé lundi de sources proches du gouvernement turc à Ankara.

Les représentants des dirigeants kurdes irakiens Massoud Barzani et Jalal Talabani, respectivement chefs du Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) et de l'Union Patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), ont élaboré le 23 juillet à Paris un texte qui peut être considéré comme un projet de constitution, selon les mêmes sources.

Ankara estime que cette tentative constitue une préparation d'un Etat indépendant dans le nord de l'Irak, région qui échappe depuis le printemps 1991 au contrôle de Bagdad. La Turquie, qui ne veut à aucun prix d'un tel Etat à sa frontière, a mis en garde les dirigeants kurdes d'Irak, a-t-on ajouté de mêmes sources.

Mme Danielle Mitterrand et l'ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères Roland Dumas ont contribué à la préparation de ce texte qui aurait dû être signé le 13 septembre à Paris, ajoute t-on de mêmes sources.

Après l'avertissement d'Ankara, les dirigeants kurdes ont renoncé à aller à Paris et les nouvelles mesures du gouvernement turc restreignant l'entrée des étrangers dans le nord de l'Irak, ont été prises après cette tentative kurde, toujours selon les mêmes sources.

Le texte prévoirait également l'organisation d'élections kurdes en mai 1995 (tenues pour la première fois en mai 1992), auxquelles Ankara est catégoriquement opposé, et la création d'une armée kurde dirigée par un "chef d'état-major général", ce qu'Ankara considère comme une tentative d'aller au-delà de l'autonomie kurde dans la région.

ce/hc/mfo

AFP /JO0245/191759

SEP 94

turkish daily news

Monday, September 19, 1994

Iraq praises Turkey for resisting US pressure

Reuters

BAGHDAD- Iraq's most influential newspaper praised Turkey on Sunday, saying the United States was losing its ability to pressure its allies into maintaining anti-Iraqi policies. Ankara recently clamped tighter controls on its southeastern border where it is fighting a Kurdish insurrection. The move delighted Baghdad but not Iraqi Kurds in the north. "Finally, Turkey has decided to take yet another step in the right direction," declared the newspaper Babel in a front-page editorial.

"This step conceals several important political indications, the foremost is that America's ability to pressure Turkey to execute anti-Iraq policies is waning," said Babel, which is published by President Saddam Hussein's eldest son, Uday. Northern Iraqi Kurds, aided by Western airpower based in Turkey, control most of northern Iraq and

run their affairs outside Baghdad's authority.

But Babel viewed Turkey's decision as heralding the collapse of the self-declared Kurdish regional government.

"The role of agent elements and saboteurs in northern Iraq has ended and the countdown has started...The Kurds are looking forward to the merciful hand of their leader Saddam Hussein to heal the wound..." Babel said.

In a television interview last week, Iraqi Foreign Minister Mohammad Saeed al-Sahaf praised his Turkish counterpart Mumtaz Soysal for opposing sanctions against Iraq.

A senior U.S. State Department official, Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff, was in Turkey last week to defend continued sanctions.

But Turkey, a major transit point for Iraqi oil before the shutdown, says the embargo is hurting its economy, and that sanctions-related losses total tens of billions of dollars. Iraq is wooing Turkey with the promise of lucrative contracts once the embargo is eased or lifted. The U.N. Security Council on Wednesday extended the sanctions imposed on Baghdad after it invaded Kuwait in August 1990. Washington is adamant that the ban should not be eased until Iraq complies fully with U.N. terms ending the 1991 Gulf War.

TURQUIE

Le nouveau trublion de la politique turque

Le riche homme d'affaires Cem Boyner s'est inventé un parti: la Nouvelle démocratie. Ni à droite ni à gauche, laïc convaincu mais aussi musulman, un rien démagogue, il pourrait devenir le Berlusconi du Bosphore.

Istanbul, correspondance

Il est jeune, beau, riche, ambitieux et paraît avoir des idées à revendre pour secouer une classe politique assoupie et délégitimée. «*Nous avons un besoin vital d'une perestroïka turque*», clame Cem Boyner. Figure de proue du mouvement la Nouvelle démocratie (YDH), ce PDG de 42 ans, propriétaire de la plus grande société de textile turque, Altinyildiz, et de magasins de prêt-à-porter de luxe, semble en passe de bouleverser le paysage politique. Très bon orateur, il en est le leader symbole. Mais avec modestie, dans les réunions publiques comme à la télévision, il préfère se présenter, seulement comme «*le porte-parole*» de la Nouvelle démocratie.

Depuis des années, les mêmes caciques et les mêmes partis alternent au pouvoir. L'irruption sur le devant de la scène d'un visage nouveau comme celui de Tansu Ciller, première femme chef du gouvernement de l'histoire turque portée au pouvoir par l'inusable Suleiman Demirel, aujourd'hui chef de l'Etat, est un simple ravalement de façade. Ce héraut du grand chambardement, devenu la coqueluche des médias istanbouliotes, veut aller beaucoup plus loin. Grand admirateur du défunt président Turgut Özal, il s'est lancé dans l'arène politique en prônant la naissance d'une «*deuxième République*», prenant acte des limites du modèle jacobin pur et dur instauré il y a soixante-dix ans par Mustafa Kemal sur les décombres de l'Empire ottoman.

«*C'est un vrai bourgeois libéral et progressiste*», clament ses partisans. Son programme politique n'en reste pas moins assez vague: privatisations radicales, annulation des subventions agraires, une meilleure entente entre travailleurs et patrons. Sa force, comme celle de Silvio Berlusconi en Italie au début de son ascension politique, est d'être un homme d'affaires à succès incarnant les forces vives de la société civile. Mais à la différence du magnat italien de la presse, il se situe plutôt à gauche et se distingue du reste des politiciens en affrontant des thèmes jusque-là tabous... «*Le problème kurde est avant tout un problème turc, nous devons leur accorder leurs droits*», lance-t-il dans ses discours. Sur l'islamisme, il est tout aussi iconoclaste, soulignant que l'incapacité de la droite comme de la gauche face aux problèmes sociaux est la véritable raison du vote massif des électeurs en faveur du Parti de la prospérité (RP, islamiste, grand vain-

queur des élections locales du 27 mars).

C'est un laïc convaincu. Il n'omet pourtant jamais dans ses discours de faire sentir à son audience qu'il est aussi musulman. Ainsi, il défend le droit pour les femmes de porter, si elles le veulent, le turban islamique à l'université ou sur leur lieu de travail. Ce n'est pas de la démagogie. La République de Mustafa Kemal imposa par la force la laïcité. Elle n'est pas, comme en France, synonyme de démocratie. Il souhaite réconcilier la Turquie avec son passé et pourfend «*ceux qui ont fait de la laïcité une religion alternative*».

Le passé de Cem Boyner n'est certes pas celui d'un progressiste de choc. Cet ex-gendre d'un député du Parti d'action nationaliste du colonel Türkes (Loups gris, extrême droite) avait publié, avant le coup d'Etat militaire du 12 septembre 1980, deux petits livres dans lesquels il faisait l'éloge de la famille et de la religion musulmane. Les deux livres sont aujourd'hui épuisés. Cem Boyner s'est quand même excusé publiquement pour ces fautes de jeunesse: «*A l'époque, moi-même j'ai été pris par des courants extrémistes.*»

Ancien patron des patrons, il désire, comme jadis Turgut Özal, réunir au sein d'un même mouvement l'ensemble des courants politico-idéologiques en faveur «*d'une Turquie moderne*». Il refuse de se qualifier de droite ou de gauche. «*Des termes démodés*», répète Cem Boyner, parcourant inlassablement la Turquie profonde. Les grosses têtes de son état-major, où se côtoient aussi bien d'anciens idéologues de l'extrême droite que d'ex-communistes prosoviétiques, viennent tous, sans exception, des familles aisées. Une liste de cent personnalités «*nouvellement démocratiques*», comme ironisent leurs adversaires, a été publiée dans l'hebdomadaire *Aktüel*, avatar local de *Paris-Match*: 38 sont professeurs d'université, 47 industriels et le reste des professions libérales.

Pour les «*kemalistes*», la vieille garde laïque et républicaine, grandie dans le culte du fondateur de la Turquie moderne, il incarne le mal absolu. A droite, on souligne qu'«*il est très facile de faire des propositions originales quand on est en dehors du champ de bataille politique*». Lui, garde son sang-froid devant ces critiques et évite les débats houleux, sûr de gagner: «*Lors des premières élections générales, nous aurons 45% des votes.*» Elles pourraient avoir lieu au printemps prochain.

Musa AKDEMİR

L'opposition irakienne édifie une armée

Quelque 750 recrues s'entraînent dans le Kurdistan.

L'opposition irakienne cherche à édifier une armée de 8000 soldats basée dans le nord de l'Irak tenu par les peshmergas kurdes pour prendre le contrôle du pays à la chute espérée du régime du président Saddam Hussein.

Le Congrès national irakien (CNI), qui regroupe différentes formations de l'opposition, entretient à cette fin trois camps d'entraînement dans le secteur de Chaklawa, une vallée protégée par une chaîne de montagnes. D'anciens miliciens et des civils y sont formés pour devenir des soldats disciplinés.

«Nous avons des gens de tout l'Irak, des chiites, des sunnites, des Kurdes, des Turcomans et même des chrétiens», affirme le chef d'un des trois camps, le lieutenant Hammad al-Douleimi, lui-

même originaire de l'ouest de l'Irak. «Chaque mois, près de quatre-vingt personnes fuient vers le nord de l'Irak, venant de diverses régions du pays, et parmi elles il y a toujours trois ou quatre officiers de l'armée irakienne.»

Le CNI avait affirmé au début du mois que les autorités irakiennes menaient depuis peu une campagne contre les déserteurs de l'armée et que ceux qui ont été capturés ont eu les oreilles coupées et le front marqué aux fers.

Selon le général Kassem Ali, un chiite qui a déserté les forces de Saddam Hussein, l'édification de l'armée du CNI a commencé l'année dernière avec 250 miliciens.

Maintenant, nous disposons de quelque 750 soldats», affirme-t-

Toutefois, les affrontements à répétition qui opposent depuis début mai les principales forma-

tions kurdes irakiennes, membres du CNI, pour le contrôle du Kurdistan, ont ralenti le processus. Le général Ali précise que 400 soldats du CNI sont actuellement déployés dans la région d'Erbil, «capitale» du Kurdistan d'Irak, pour établir des barrages et servir de force d'interposition neutre entre les formations rivales.

Selon le lieutenant-colonel Muchtar Ahmad, un Turcoman, cette armée sera divisée en deux unités: des forces spéciales entraînées pour la guérilla urbaine, et un contingent pour la guerre en montagne et dans les marais.

Le CNI a lancé une campagne de recrutement par le biais des stations de radio et de télévision kurdes.

TOLLE ARAM/AFP
CHAQLAWA

LE NOUVEAU QUOTIDIEN - 20 septembre 1994

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Turquie-Politique

Vers des élections partielles en Turquie

ANKARA, 20 sept (AFP) - Le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, a appelé mardi à Ankara à l'organisation d'élections partielles en raison de la vacance de 22 sièges sur 450 au parlement monocaméral, mais sans en préciser la date exacte.

"Nous avons 22 sièges vacants dans une quinzaine de circonscriptions du pays. Ce nombre est suffisant pour l'organisation de partielles", a dit Mme Ciller lors d'une intervention devant le groupe parlementaire de son Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP, droite).

La Constitution turque impose l'organisation de partielles dans les trois mois lorsque 5% des sièges au parlement, soit 23 sur 450, deviennent vacants.

Ces élections partielles, objet depuis quelque temps d'intenses spéculations dans les milieux politiques turcs, revêtiront un caractère délicat pour les partis au pouvoir, notent les observateurs. En effet, 15 des 22 sièges vacants représentent des circonscriptions du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde et appartenaient au Parti pro-kurde de la Démocratie (DEP), dissous en juin. Or dans cette région, c'est le Parti islamiste de la Prospérité (Refah) qui l'avait emporté lors des dernières municipales du 27 mars.

CE/hc/bw

AFP /JO0245/201436

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LE SOIR DE BRUXELLES- 20 septembre 1994

Otan : un concurrent pour Willy Claes

La bataille pour le siège du prochain secrétaire général de l'Otan n'est pas encore gagnée pour le ministre belge Willy Claes. Celui-ci reste certes le favori avec, dit-on dans les milieux atlantiques informés, dix pays sur seize qui se sont prononcés en sa faveur.

N'ont pas encore donné leur avis la Norvège et le Danemark, favorables à un candidat scandinave, les Etats-Unis, le Canada, l'Islande ainsi que la Turquie qui, elle, ne pardonne pas au gouvernement belge et à M. Claes en particulier leur tolérance à l'égard des réfugiés et des activistes kurdes en Belgique.

Or le nom d'un nouveau candidat vient d'apparaître. On prête en effet au gouvernement de Copenhague l'intention de proposer l'ancien ministre danois des Affaires étrangères, M. Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, après le scrutin législatif de ce mercredi au Danemark. On s'attend à un bon comportement de la formation

de M. Ellemann-Jensen, le parti libéral, mais sans perspective pour lui d'accéder au poste de Premier ministre.

Diplomate expérimenté et actif, européen autant qu'atlantiste, le candidat danois devrait jouir d'un soutien résolu de la part des deux pays scandinaves membres de l'Otan et éventuellement de la part des pays anglo-saxons, sinon de l'Allemagne, redevable d'une ancienne dette en la matière contractée à l'endroit de la Norvège lors de la nomination de M. Wörner à la tête de l'organisation atlantique.

La décision de l'Otan est toujours attendue vers le 26 septembre, quand les ministres des Affaires étrangères des pays membres se retrouveront à New York en marge de l'ouverture de l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies. Un appui américain pour l'un ou l'autre candidat, qui interviendrait dans les prochains jours, serait, dit-on, décisif. L'objectif est que le nouveau secrétaire général puisse entrer en fonction vers la fin octobre ou le mois de novembre de manière à pouvoir présider les réunions ministérielles atlantiques de décembre.

P. L.

■ **IRAK. Tentatives indépendantistes kurdes.** La Turquie a récemment empêché une tentative des Kurdes d'Irak de créer les institutions d'un Etat indépendant dans le nord de l'Irak sous leur contrôle, a-t-on affirmé lundi de sources proches du gouvernement turc à Ankara.

Les représentants des dirigeants kurdes irakiens Massoud Barzani et Jalal Talabani, respectivement chefs du Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) et de l'Union Patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), ont élaboré le 23 juillet à Paris un texte qui peut être considéré comme un projet de constitution, selon les mêmes sources.

Ankara estime que cette tentative constitue une préparation d'un Etat indépendant dans le nord de l'Irak, région qui échappe depuis le printemps 1991 au contrôle de Bagdad. La Turquie, qui ne veut à aucun prix d'un tel Etat à sa frontière, a mis en garde les dirigeants kurdes d'Irak, a-t-on ajouté de mêmes sources. (AFP)

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Bulgarie-Kurdes

Conférence internationale sur la question kurde

SOFIA, 21 sept (AFP) - Une conférence internationale réunissant des chercheurs et des personnalités de huit pays européens a lancé mercredi à Sofia un appel aux institutions européennes pour qu'elles encouragent un dialogue entre les autorités turques et les responsables kurdes.

Les participants, invités par deux partis nationalistes bulgares, le Parti national du travail et Nouvelle Bulgarie, venaient pour la plupart de Turquie, de Grèce, de Chypre et de Bulgarie. Ils se sont adressés notamment au parlement européen, à l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe et à la CSCE, leur demandant d'intervenir auprès du gouvernement turc pour établir "un dialogue entre Ankara et le peuple kurde".

Les participants à la conférence ont également demandé à l'ONU d'envoyer des observateurs et des Casques bleus dans les régions turques comptant une population kurde, au cas où "le gouvernement turc ne se conforme pas aux demandes de l'opinion publique internationale d'arrêter la violence".

Les participants à la conférence ont par ailleurs soutenu une initiative lancée en mars dernier par l'épouse du président français, Mme Danielle Mitterrand, pour une solution politique du problème kurde.

vs-km/mfo

AFP /JO0245/211905

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Irak-Kurdes

Les réfugiés kurdes turcs en Irak refusent de gagner une zone plus sûre

ERBIL (Irak), 21 sept (AFP) - Les quelque 10.000 Kurdes turcs réfugiés dans la zone de Zakho, dans l'extrême-nord de l'Irak, refusent de quitter cette région montagneuse cible de nombreux raids aériens turcs, malgré un ultimatum du Haut commissariat des Nations unies aux Réfugiés (HCR).

Le HCR a menacé de retirer son aide aux réfugiés s'ils ne quittaient pas avant la fin du mois cette région proche de la frontière turque. "Nous préférons mourir que bouger", a déclaré mercredi à l'AFP Mahmud Shirin, un représentant des réfugiés.

"Depuis mai, nous essayons de les convaincre de s'installer près de Dohouk (à 50 km au sud), parce que l'endroit où ils sont actuellement est dangereux, non seulement pour eux, mais aussi pour les agences" de l'ONU, a indiqué à l'AFP M. Sanjal Gupta, dirigeant du HCR pour le nord de l'Irak.

"Si nous allons là-bas, nous ne pourrions pas rendre visite à nos familles à Zakho. Si des parents viennent de Turquie pour nous voir, ils ne sauront pas où nous sommes. Si la Turquie veut nous bombarder (à Dohouk), personne ne s'en souciera, parce que c'est un endroit complètement isolé", répond Mahmud Shirin.

Ils ont néanmoins accepté de quitter la vallée encaissée proche de Zakho où ils s'étaient installés il y a quelques mois, pour choisir une plaine quelques kilomètres plus au sud.

Des milliers de Kurdes turcs ont fui dans le nord de l'Irak sous contrôle kurde irakien depuis mars dernier, à la suite de l'aggravation du conflit entre le gouvernement d'Ankara et les séparatistes kurdes qui a fait près de 11.000 morts en dix ans.

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Turquie-Irak-Koweït

Ankara et Koweït contre la création d'un Etat kurde dans le nord de l'Irak

ANKARA, 22 sept (AFP) - La Turquie ne permettra pas la création d'un Etat kurde indépendant dans le nord de l'Irak frontalier avec la Turquie, a déclaré jeudi à Ankara le président du Parlement turc, M. Husamettin Cindoruk, en recevant son homologue koweïtien Ahmad Abdulaziz Al Sadoon.

"Nous sommes contre une création d'un nouvel Etat qui pourrait menacer la sécurité de la région et de la Turquie et prêts à déployer des efforts communs pour la prévention d'une telle formation", a répondu M. Al Sadoon.

L'occupation du Koweït par l'Irak a "bouleversé les équilibres" dans la région concernant la sécurité et la Turquie souhaite "un retour aux conditions normales", a ajouté M. Cindoruk, en présence de la presse.

"Ce retour ne doit pas se faire au détriment de l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak. La Turquie ne permettra jamais la création d'un Etat kurde dans le nord de l'Irak", a-t-il précisé. "La protection de l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak est importante pour tous les pays de la région", a-t-il poursuivi.

La Turquie compte 8 à 12 millions de Kurdes sur 60 millions d'habitants, dont une bonne moitié vit dans le sud-est anatolien. Elle lutte dans cette région, frontalière de la Syrie, de l'Irak et de l'Iran, contre la rébellion armée du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), qui vise à créer un Etat indépendant, et ne veut à aucun prix d'un Etat kurde à ses frontières.

Le gouvernement turc a apporté depuis deux semaines des restrictions aux entrées des étrangers dans le nord de l'Irak via la Turquie.

CE/uh/hm

AFP /JO0245/221557

SEP 94

Druck Ankaras auf die nordirakischen Kurden Aufhebung der Restriktionen am Grenzübergang Habur

Die türkische Regierung hat am Wochenende ihre vor kurzem angekündigten Restriktionen für den türkisch-irakischen Grenzübergang Habur grösstenteils wieder rückgängig gemacht. Gleichzeitig wurde ein Gipfeltreffen der nordirakischen Kurdenführer, das in Paris stattfinden sollte und in Ankara auf kühle Ablehnung stiess, auf unbestimmte Zeit vertagt.

it. Istanbul, 20. September

Tagelang haben in Ankara die Vertretungen westlicher Staaten über die in Ankara neulich angekündigten, aber vage definierten schärferen Kontrollen am türkisch-irakischen Grenzübergang Habur gerätselt und sich darüber Gedanken gemacht, wie sich diese Massnahme auf die nordirakischen Kurden auswirken wird. Um Unklarheiten zu beseitigen, wie es offiziell hiess, hat das türkische Aussenministerium am letzten Wochenende die neuen Richtlinien nochmals bekanntgegeben. Demnach werden sämtliche Organisationen der Vereinten Nationen sowie grosse, internationale Hilfsorganisationen wie bisher ungehindert ihre humanitäre Arbeit im Nordirak fortsetzen können. Weiter dürfen ausländische, in Ankara akkreditierte Journalisten ohne administrative Einschränkungen in den Nordirak reisen. Nordirakische Kurden sollen auch künftig in ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit nicht gehindert werden, selbst wenn sie mittlerweile über eine andere Staatsbürgerschaft verfügen. Alle übrigen Personen oder Körperschaften, darunter fallen auch Schweizer Hilfswerke, müssen um die ausdrückliche Genehmigung der türkischen Behörden ersuchen.

Eine neue Regelung

Mit der Bekanntgabe vom Wochenende wurden die wichtigsten Anfang September angekündigten Restriktionen für den Grenzübergang Habur faktisch rückgängig gemacht. Auch die Erklärung des neuen türkischen Aussenministers *Soysal* vor einer Woche, wonach Journalisten, Politiker und Vertreter internationaler Hilfsorganisationen künftig ein irakisches Visum benötigen, um durch die Türkei in den kurdischen Nordirak reisen zu dürfen, wurde stillschweigend nicht wieder aufgenommen.

Die Umstimmung der Regierung in Ankara wird von der türkischen Presse hauptsächlich auf eine Konzessionsbereitschaft der kurdischen Lokalverwaltung im nordirakischen Erbil zurückgeführt. Laut einem Bericht der Tageszeitung «Hürriyet» haben die Kurden unter türkischem Druck auf ein in Paris geplantes internationales Treffen ihrer wichtigsten Repräsentanten verzichtet. Die Anfang September angekündigten Restriktionen für Habur seien eines der wichtigsten Druckmittel gewesen, um dieses Treffen zu verhindern. Die Zusammenkunft der zwei wichtigsten Kurdenführer des Nordiraks, *Masud Barzani* und *Jalal Talabani*, sollte unter der Schirmherrschaft des französischen Präsidenten Mitterrand Mitte Sep-

tember in Paris stattfinden und hatte die Unterzeichnung einer Friedensdeklaration für den noch immer unruhigen kurdischen Nordirak zum Ziel. Die Deklaration war von Delegationen der nordirakischen kurdischen Parteien bei einem Treffen in Paris bereits letzten Juli ausgearbeitet und von amerikanischen, französischen sowie britischen Beobachtern gutgeheissen worden. Diese sieht ein sofortiges Ende der innerkurdischen Kämpfe vor. Weiter ist vorgesehen, dass die bewaffneten Männer nach der Bildung einer einheitlichen kurdischen Armee und Polizei umgehend der Regierungskontrolle unterstellt werden. Beide Parteiführer würden sich schliesslich dazu verpflichten, noch in diesem Jahr eine Volkszählung durchzuführen und allgemeine Wahlen für nächsten Frühling vorzubereiten.

Die Türkei und Iran hatten bereits im Sommer schwere Bedenken über diese Deklaration geäussert, da sie langfristig auf eine Spaltung des Iraks abziele. Ankara war zusätzlich verstimmt, weil die Türkei zum ersten Treffen in Paris nicht eingeladen wurde. Laut «Hürriyet» hatten die türkische und die iranische Delegation bereits im August bei dem Aussenministertreffen der Türkei, Syriens und Irans in Damaskus gemeinsam einen Plan entwickelt, um das kurdische Gipfeltreffen zu verhindern. Die Pariser Deklaration käme der Verfassung eines unabhängigen Staates im Nordirak gleich, verlautete Anfang dieser Woche aus dem türkischen Aussenministerium. Weil das Treffen der Kurden auf unbestimmte Zeit vertagt worden sei, betrachte das türkische Aussenministerium dieses Dokument als nichtexistent, erklärte am Montag auch der Direktor im Aussenministerium, *Özden Sanberk*.

Ungewissheit in Erbil

Im administrativen Zentrum der nordirakischen Kurden, Erbil, herrscht derzeit Unklarheit über die Grenzregulierungen bei Habur. Noch bis Mitte letzter Woche warteten laut Augenzeugen Dutzende von nordirakischen Kurden auf der türkischen Seite des Grenzübergangs Habur tagelang, ohne die Grenze passieren zu dürfen. Zur Vertagung des Pariser Treffens wurde in Erbil bisher offiziell keine Stellung genommen. In den Medien hiess es nur vage, das Treffen sei vertagt worden, weil die Türkei Barzani und Talabani kein Transitvisum erteilt habe. Die Ungewissheit, die wegen des Hinauszögerns der Unterzeichnung der Friedensdeklaration wohl noch weiter gestärkt wird, könnte zu neuen Spannungen und zu einer weiteren Instabilität im Nordirak führen.

Le Monde — 22 septembre 1994

TURQUIE

Des députés kurdes emprisonnés pourraient retrouver leurs sièges lors d'élections partielles

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Le premier ministre turc, M^{me} Ciller, a proposé, mardi 20 septembre, la tenue d'élections législatives partielles pour pourvoir les vingt-deux sièges vacants à l'Assemblée nationale. Si celle-ci approuve cette demande, ce qui est probable, le scrutin devrait avoir lieu le 4 décembre. Le gouvernement l'organise contraint et forcé par des circonstances qu'il a lui-même créées : la disparition forcée, en juin, du Parti de la démocratie (DEP, kurde) avait privé l'Assemblée de treize de ses membres, portant à vingt-deux au total le nombre des sièges sans élu.

Malgré la fermeture du parti kurde, ses sept anciens députés, qui se trouvent actuellement en prison mais n'ont pas encore été condamnés, peuvent parfaitement se représenter avec une étiquette d'« indépendant ». S'ils retrouvaient leurs sièges, les autorités seraient contraintes de les libérer, compte tenu de leur immunité parlementaire reconquise. Cette situation paradoxale permettrait cependant au gouvernement de sortir de l'impasse dans laquelle il s'est engagé en emprisonnant ces députés, sans pour autant avoir l'air de céder aux pressions internationales. Leur candida-

ture pourrait également mettre un frein à la montée attendue du Parti de la prospérité (RP, islamiste), particulièrement populaire dans le Sud-Est anatolien.

Tansu Ciller, dont le parti détient 175 sièges au Parlement, n'attend pas de gains importants de ce scrutin, mais le risque encouru par son Parti de la juste voie (DYP) est mince puisqu'un seul de ses sièges, celui laissé vacant par l'accession de Suleyman Demirel à la présidence, est à pourvoir. Son rival direct, l'ANAP, a plus à perdre puisqu'il devra lutter pour préserver quatre de ses sièges. Le vice-premier ministre, Murat Karayalçin, qui n'est pas député, est dans une position moins enviable. Pour justifier sa position, très contestée, de chef du Parti populaire social-démocrate (SHP), il devrait être candidat. Mais la situation précaire de son parti rend son élection difficile.

En choisissant des législatives partielles, M^{me} Ciller a écarté la possibilité d'élections anticipées. La Constitution prévoit en effet qu'un an au moins s'écoule entre des partielles et un scrutin général. M^{me} Ciller, rejetant les rumeurs de rapprochement avec l'ANAP, a également déclaré qu'elle entendait poursuivre sa coalition avec le Parti populaire social-démocrate.

NICOLE POPE

Libération — 22 septembre 1994

Ankara offre une porte de sortie aux députés kurdes emprisonnés

Le Premier ministre turc Tansu Ciller a annoncé la tenue d'élections législatives partielles, probablement le 4 décembre, afin de pourvoir les 22 sièges vacants de l'Assemblée nationale, notamment après la dissolution pour « séparatisme » au printemps du DEP, le parti kurde, qui avait 13 députés. Son président et 7 parlementaires sont en prison, les autres ont réussi à fuir le pays. Le procès de six d'entre eux a commencé le 3 août et ils risquent, théoriquement, la peine de mort. Ce scrutin, où ils ont le droit de se présenter, représente pour le chef du gouvernement une solution honorable dans une affaire qui empoisonne les relations de la Turquie avec les pays occidentaux. Les Douze considèrent que les poursuites engagées contre ces parlementaires et l'interdiction de ce parti représentent une atteinte à la liberté d'expression. Quatre des députés emprisonnés, Hatip Dicle, ancien chef du DEP, Sirri Sakik, Ahmet Turk et Orhan Dogan, ont déjà annoncé qu'ils se présenteraient dans leur circonscription du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde. S'ils étaient réélus, ils sortiraient immédiatement de prison et les charges qui pèsent sur eux seraient suspendues. Mais ils risquent d'avoir beaucoup de difficultés à retrouver leur siège. Ils ne pourront aller en personne sur le terrain mener leur campagne électorale dans ces zones toujours placées sous état d'urgence. Les déplacements forcés de population de ces derniers mois et les probables pressions des autorités sur les électeurs risquent de fausser encore un peu plus le résultat des urnes.

M.A. (Istanbul)

La Liberté — 24 septembre 1994

TURQUIE

L'armée à l'assaut du bastion kurde

Les forces armées turques ont monté hier une vaste opération aéro-terrestre contre le réduit kurde.

Des hélicoptères de combat ont attaqué pour la deuxième journée consécutive les flancs de la chaîne du Munzur ainsi que la vallée de Kutuderesi, dans le Kurdistan. L'état-major a déployé dans la région quelque 5000 commandos de montagne. Objectif : anéantir le PKK dans son bastion,

pour pouvoir l'anéantir dans tout le pays.

Ankara a par ailleurs confirmé que les forces turques avaient mené un raid aérien la veille en territoire irakien. Ce raid était une opération aérienne ponctuelle contre le PKK, qui utilise le nord de l'Irak comme base arrière, a indiqué une source proche du Gouvernement turc, sans autre précision.

Quelque 750 maquisards kurdes ont été tués depuis fin juillet lors de raids aériens turcs en territoire irakien, selon les bilans fournis par les autorités.

Un groupe de rebelles du PKK a par ailleurs enlevé trois enseignants dans la province de Batman. Deux d'entre eux ont été ensuite fusillés, alors que le troisième était libéré.

Au total, neuf enseignants ont été tués par le PKK depuis la rentrée scolaire le 12 septembre en Turquie, selon une compilation effectuée à partir de bilans officiels.

ATS

Ausrufung von Nachwahlen in der Türkei

Unsichere Zukunft der Koalitionsregierung

Die türkische Regierungschefin Ciller hat am Dienstag abend zu Nachwahlen aufgerufen, um 22 vakante Sitze im Abgeordnetenhaus zu besetzen. Da die Mehrheit der freien Sitze früher von Abgeordneten der im Frühling verbotenen prokurdischen Demokratie-Partei besetzt war, sollen die auf den 4. Dezember angesetzten Nachwahlen vor allem im noch immer unruhigen kurdischen Südosten durchgeführt werden.

it. Istanbul, 21. September

Seit dem Verbot der prokurdischen Demokratie-Partei im letzten Frühling und dem Ausschluss ihrer Abgeordneten aus dem Parlament hat das Thema Neuwahlen in der Türkei an Aktualität nie nachgelassen. Als Folge des Parteiverbots wurden in der Nationalversammlung 14 Sitze frei, was die Gesamtzahl der unbesetzten Sitze plötzlich auf 22 steigen liess. Da die Verfassung Nachwahlen oder vorgezogene Allgemeinwahlen vorschreibt, falls im Parlament 23 Sitze unbesetzt bleiben, fühlte sich auch die Regierung zu wenig abgesichert. Als Anfang der Woche ein weiterer Parlamentarier mit Rücktritt drohte, beschloss die Regierungschefin kurzerhand, Nachwahlen für den 4. Dezember auszuschreiben. Sie habe nicht zu einem landesweiten Wahlgang aufgerufen, weil die Türkei sich in diesem Jahr dies nicht leisten könne, erklärte Frau Ciller am Dienstag gegenüber den Abgeordneten ihrer Partei des Rechten Weges (DYP). Dazu müsse die Koalitionsregierung bis zu den Wahlen 1996 noch den Prozess der Privatisierung und Demokratisierung in der Türkei vollenden.

Gemischte Reaktionen

Cillers Entscheidung für Nachwahlen wurde von den im Parlament vertretenen Parteien mit gemischten Gefühlen aufgenommen. Nachwahlen bedeuten vorerst eine Verschnaufpause für die Regierung. Das Verhältnis der regierenden Koalitionspartner, der konservativen DYP und der Sozialdemokratischen Populistischen Partei (SHP), ist von gegenseitigem Misstrauen und ideologischen Differenzen gekennzeichnet. So meldete die SHP schwere Bedenken gegenüber den Plänen für eine Privatisierung von Staatsbetrieben an, welche von der DYP als vorrangiges Ziel bezeichnet werden. Andererseits kümmert sich die DYP nicht sonderlich um die Demokratisierung, in deren Namen die SHP überhaupt ihre Teilnahme an dieser Regierung rechtfertigt. Solche Differenzen haben in den letzten Monaten die Koalition faktisch lahmgelegt. Die Nachwahlen könnten der Türkei allerdings eine noch schwächere Koalition beschern. Bereits jetzt gilt es als sicher, dass die SHP als grosse Verliererin dieser Wahlen dastehen wird. Die Sozialdemokraten haben im kurdischen Südostanatolien, wo sie

bei den letzten Wahlen 1991 dank einer Allianz mit der prokurdischen Demokratie-Partei 16 Sitze erhielten, heute kaum noch Chancen. In Zeitungskommentaren wurde am Mittwoch denn auch die Frage aufgeworfen, wie lange die gegenwärtige Regierungskoalition noch überlebensfähig sein werde.

Vormarsch der Islamisten?

Mehr als das Überleben der Koalition bereitet den wirtschaftlichen und militärischen Kreisen in Ankara aber die Situation in Südostanatolien nach den Wahlen Sorgen. Als Folge des Vorgehens gegen alle kurdisch-nationalistischen Kreise im Südosten bleiben in der Region als politische Kräfte lediglich die islamistische Wohlfahrtspartei (RP) und die weit rechtsstehende türkisch-nationalistische Partei der Nationalistischen Bewegung (MHP) übrig. Nach allgemeiner Schätzung wird die RP bei diesen Wahlen die meisten Stimmen erhalten. In den östlichen Regionen des Landes stösst sie dank einer vorsichtig gemässigten Haltung in der türkischen Kurdenfrage auf breite Unterstützung. Darüber hinaus hat der zweite Mann der RP, *Sevket Kazan*, im August die offene Sympathie der Einheimischen gewonnen, weil er als einziger türkischer Politiker öffentlich die Sicherheitskräfte anklagte, in Südostanatolien eng mit Exponenten der MHP gegen kurdische Zivilisten zusammenzuarbeiten. Die Möglichkeit eines Wahlsiegs der Islamisten in den kurdischen Provinzen löst in Ankara einige Ängste aus, da mit einer verstärkten Einflussnahme Irans in den Grenzregionen gerechnet wird.

Wohl auch aus diesem Grund hat die Regierung Ciller sechs Monate nach dem Verbot der kurdischen Demokratie-Partei sich plötzlich darauf besonnen, dass die DEP-Abgeordneten als Speer gegen den Vormarsch der Islamisten im Südosten einsetzbar wären. Laut Angaben des Parlamentssprechers *Cindoruk* dürfen die DEP-Mitglieder bei den kommenden Wahlen kandidieren. Sollten sie gewinnen, so würden sie aus dem Gefängnis entlassen und im Parlament, aus dem sie eben als «Banditen und Terroristen» vertrieben wurden, wiederaufgenommen werden. Noch ist nicht klar, ob die DEP-Parlamentarier an den Wahlen als Unabhängige tatsächlich teilnehmen wollen.

US Congress prepares to send letter of concern to Çiller

20 Congressmen and six senators sign letter expressing concern over DEP trial, questioning Turkey's commitment to free speech and democracy. Expected to be signed by over 50 people, letter calls for end to 'brutal cycle of violence,' and democratic solution to Kurdish problem. Sources in Germany say copy of U.S. letter being circulated in Bundestag to be sent on day of next DEP hearing

By Ismet G. Imset
Turkish Daily News

LONDON/WASHINGTON-A letter expressing American concern over Turkey's ongoing trial of six former pro-Kurdish members of Parliament and raising questions on this country's commitment to free speech "and other principles of democracy" is being circulated at the U.S. Congress and has already been signed by 20 congressmen and six members of the Senate.

The letter, due to be delivered to Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to coincide with the next hearing of the former deputies, who are still under arrest, aims also to disprove Turkish claims that U.S. "concern" over human rights in Turkey and the Turkish human rights and Kurdish situation is only an instrument of Armenian and Greek lobbies.

More than 50 congressmen are expected to sign the letter, dated Oct. 4, before it is forwarded.

"As members of the United States Congress," the letter to Çiller says, "we are disturbed that duly elected

parliamentarians face the death penalty for speaking out in the national assembly and other forums about problems facing Kurds in Turkey. As a fundamental political and civil rights, freedom of expression is a basic gauge of a nation's commitment to democracy."

The letter expresses the "firm belief" of U.S. congressmen that "elected officials

must be allowed to represent the views and needs of their electorate and speak openly — especially at the National Assembly."

It adds, "We believe there can be no justification for detaining and trying individuals for exercising their rights to free speech — however unpopular that speech might be." One of the highlights of the letter is the suggestion for Turkey to solve its Kurdish problem, which has claimed more than 12,500 lives in the past decade at the cost of an annual \$7 billion in military expenditures, through peaceful means. "The increasingly volatile Kurdish crisis facing your country, we believe, should be resolved through democratic means and through dialogue.

If Turkey's Kurdish citizens continue to be denied a voice in the political process, an important avenue for resolving the Kurdish issue will have been cut off and extremists on all sides strengthened — an outcome we know you seek to avoid," the letter says.

"We understand Turkey faces a difficult and complex security problem. However we believe the violence... will intensify if your government fails to distinguish between acts of terrorism and legitimate exercise by individuals of their rights of free speech."

The congressional letter, initially put together by Steny Hoyer, co-chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Benjamin



Prime Minister Tansu Çiller

Meanwhile, the Turkish Daily News has learned that a copy of the U.S. Congressional letter is now being circulated at the German Parliament as well and after collecting signatures there, will be forwarded to Çiller on the same day as the original. Sources refused to comment on how many German MPs had already signed the letter, although the IDN was told in Washington that the number of U.S. congressmen and senators expected to sign the original one by the end of the month could well exceed 50 and might even approach 100.

A. Gilman, ranking minority member of the U.S. Committee on Foreign Affairs, Benjamin Cardin, commissioner with the CSCE and Congressman Carlos Romero-Barolo, was circulated in Washington.

The covering note to congressmen described the aim of the letter as to express concern over the trial and to encourage Turkey to drop charges against the Kurdish MPs. It refers to the DEP trial as "a show-case trial" and claims "the charges are premised on restrictive laws which contravene Turkey's international human rights commitments."

The letter addressed to Çiller, meanwhile, notes that the third meeting of the CSCE assembly, held in Vienna last July, had overwhelmingly adopted a resolution noting the deteriorating human rights situation in Turkey with regard to freedom of speech, assembly and movement. It recalled that the assembly also called upon the government of Turkey to release the six parliamentarians on trial.

"We join our CSCE Parliamentary Assembly colleagues in these concerns. We also urge you, Madame Prime Minister, to seek an end to the brutal cycle of violence that threatens to undo all the significant progress that Turkey has made — and is committing to ensure — towards a democracy promised upon the rule of law and a society rooted in the protection of individual rights."

France says planned Kurdish summit will not be taking place

Saturday, September 24, 1994

turkish daily news

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A Kurdish summit, which was planned in order to seal an accord between the two Northern Iraqi Kurdish leaders, will never take place, reliable French sources told the Turkish Daily News.

A senior French Embassy source told the TDN: "It is unlikely that such a conference will take place. France is against the idea of such a conference, particularly given the draft prepared by an earlier meeting in Paris in July."

French sources said that the French government does not approve the draft — which Turkey claims gives the impression of being a "Kurdish constitution."

Ankara has launched a massive diplomatic campaign since the meeting in Paris, particularly when a press statement prepared by Northern Iraqi Kurds said a second conference was to be held, again in France, under the auspices of President Francois Mitterrand. The draft prepared in the July meeting further angered Ankara as it spoke of a "president" for Northern Iraq and the creation of military forces.

French denial of government involvement came on the same day that Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman declared the French government was not behind the meeting between the representatives of the Iraqi Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Iraqi Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in Paris in July.

Ataman said during his regular press briefing that Ankara had been given assurances to this effect by the French Foreign Ministry, which had indicated that the government of France was in no way involved in the arrangements for this meeting.

The July meeting was organized by the Kurdish Institute in Paris, closely linked with France's first lady Danielle Mitterrand's France Liberte organization. "We cannot control the initiatives of NGOs," a French official said.

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But the fact that officials from France, the United Kingdom and the United States had attended as "observers" created unease in Ankara.

A Turkish diplomat said that the French side had told them the French observer in this meeting was a retired ambassador, who, as he put it "did not have great influence in the French Foreign Ministry." The other embassies had sent second secretaries, the Turkish diplomat said.

Because of this, Ataman said, the document concerned (issued in June in Paris) "cannot be accepted by us in any way in terms of its contents."

Turkish military masses against terrorist stronghold in Tunceli

turkish daily news

Saturday, September 24, 1994

Reuters

TUNCELI- Turkish aircraft and troops mounted a massive operation on Friday to wrest the last remaining mountain stronghold from an estimated 3,000 separatist Kurdish militants in the eastern province of Tunceli.

Warplanes began the second day of the campaign by bombing the crags of the Munzur mountain chain and Kutuderesi ravine, a deeply-carved valley extending for nearly 40 km (25 miles) and made almost inaccessible by surrounding forests.

U.S.-made Sikorsky and Cobra helicopter gunships resumed sorties on Friday, hitting slopes and rock overhangs likely to conceal well-armed and hardy PKK guerrillas.

About 5,000 crack mountain commandos, ferried since the last few days on helicopters from nearby provinces and training camps, were deploying in the region, military officials said. "If we can finish the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) in Tunceli, we can finish them in all of Turkey," a senior government official in the province said. "Tunceli is now the prime target."

Tunceli, previously named Dersim, the name still used by the PKK and Kurdish militants, is the region where a 1936-1938 Kurdish revolt was suppressed.

Turkish 120mm mortars, firing from positions some 20 km away, pounded likely mountain guerrilla locations overnight. Officials believe up to 3,000 militants are concealed on the Munzur range and one said there were reports that senior PKK leader Şemdin Sakık was among the group in Kutuderesi. Sakık, a seasoned veteran of the 10-year-old separatist campaign in southeastern Turkey, was recently named PKK's commander of a "northern area" of five provinces including Tunceli, a region he did not operate in previously, officials said. He is roaming the region with a band of about 300 followers.

His presence in Tunceli coincided with heightened PKK action in the province, beginning with the killing of six village teachers on September 12, they said.

"Kutuderesi has been used by the PKK for about five years. They were so safe here, they used it as a training center and sent out men to mount operations in other places," said one official.

A military source in Ankara said the operation was comparable in size to earlier drives against PKK strongholds on Ağrı, Bingöl, Tëndürek and Cudi mountains since April. "The Tunceli operation is likely to be just as big as those in Ağrı and Bingöl and it may well last for several weeks," he said.

Officials say Turkish military supremacy was established only after weeks of costly saturation bombing and mop-up operations on the mountains.

Officials of the regional emergency rule said seven rebels including one woman died in a clash near Kutuderesi on Friday. One soldier was killed and four were wounded in a PKK attack on a Tunceli army post overnight.

Another group of PKK militants shot dead two of three teachers they abducted from a village in Batman province, south of Tunceli on Thursday night. Officials said they released the third man.

Southeast electoral lists incorrect due to migration

Deputy Chairman of RP: The mayor of Lice won the (March 27) local elections with the 160 votes he received

TDN Parliamentary Bureau

ANKARA- The deputy chairman of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP), Şevket Kazan, claimed on Friday that the electoral lists in the Southeast had to be updated because of the changes that have occurred due to the internal migration resulting from the spread of terrorism in the region.

Kazan, who is also the deputy chairman of RP's parliamentary group, alleged that nearly 35 percent of the region's population had not been able to vote in the March 27 local elections because the electoral lists were out of date.

Pointing out that most of the seats to be contested in the by-elections proposed for December 4 were in the Southeast Kazan, who was speaking to reporters in Parliament, said the electoral lists in the provinces of Diyarbakır, Şırnak, Mardin, Batman, Siirt, Van, Muş and Adıyaman were outdated because of the migration

that has taken place in these regions. Kazan said the population of the city of Diyarbakır alone, which was previously 450,000 had swollen to 1.5 million due to migration whereas the population of Lice, a county in the province of Diyarbakır, had fallen from 10,000 to 800 for the same reason.

"The mayor of Lice won the (March 27) local elections with the 160 votes he received," Kazan said.

Kazan added that the by-elections on their own would not be enough and called for early general elections to be announced as soon as possible.

Indicating that the current coalition government's seats in Parliament had fallen to 226, Kazan claimed that only 160 deputies in fact supported this government.

He said that the government, keeping this in mind, should immediately announce early general elections, instead of by-elections.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SEPTEMBER 24-25, 1994

Turkey Bombs Kurdish Stronghold

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Reuters

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Warplanes began the second day of the campaign by bombing the crags of the Munzur mountain chain and Kutuderesi ravine, a deeply-carved valley extending for nearly 40 km (25 miles) and made almost inaccessible by surrounding forests.

U.S.-made Sikorsky and Cobra helicopter gunships resumed sorties on Friday, hitting slopes and rock overhangs likely to conceal well-armed and hardy PKK guerrillas.

About 5,000 crack mountain commandos, ferried since the last few days on helicopters from nearby provinces and training camps, were deploying in the region, military officials said. "If we can finish the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) in Tunceli, we can finish them in all of Turkey," a senior government official in the province said. "Tunceli is now the prime target."

Tunceli, previously named Dersim, the name still used by the PKK and Kurdish militants, is the region where a 1936-1938 Kurdish revolt was suppressed.

Turkish 120mm mortars, firing from positions some 20 km away, pounded likely mountain guerrilla locations overnight. Officials believe up to 3,000 militants are concealed on the Munzur range and one said there were reports that senior PKK leader Şemdin Sakık was among the group in Kutuderesi. Sakık, a seasoned veteran of the 10-year-old separatist campaign in southeastern Turkey, was recently named PKK's commander of a "northern area" of five provinces including Tunceli, a region he did not operate in previously, officials said. He is roaming the region with a band of about 300 followers.

His presence in Tunceli coincided with heightened PKK action in the province, beginning with the killing of six village teachers on September 12, they said.

"Kutuderesi has been used by the PKK for about five years. They were so safe here, they used it as a training center and sent out men to mount operations in other places," said one official.

A military source in Ankara said the operation was comparable in size to earlier drives against PKK strongholds on Ağrı, Bingöl, Tendürek and Cudi mountains since April. "The Tunceli operation is likely to be just as big as those in Ağrı and Bingöl and it may well last for several weeks," he said.

Officials say Turkish military supremacy was established only after weeks of costly saturation bombing and mop-up operations on the mountains.

Officials of the regional emergency rule said seven rebels including one woman died in a clash near Kutuderesi on Friday. One soldier was killed and four were wounded in a PKK attack on a Tunceli army post overnight.

Another group of PKK militants shot dead two of three teachers they abducted from a village in Batman province, south of Tunceli on Thursday night. Officials said they released the third man.

Southeast electoral lists incorrect due to migration

Deputy Chairman of RP: The mayor of Lice won the (March 27) local elections with the 160 votes he received

TDN Parliamentary Bureau

ANKARA- The deputy chairman of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP), Şevket Kazan, claimed on Friday that the electoral lists in the Southeast had to be updated because of the changes that have occurred due to the internal migration resulting from the spread of terrorism in the region.

Kazan, who is also the deputy chairman of RP's parliamentary group, alleged that nearly 35 percent of the region's population had not been able to vote in the March 27 local elections because the electoral lists were out of date.

Pointing out that most of the seats to be contested in the by-elections proposed for December 4 were in the Southeast Kazan, who was speaking to reporters in Parliament, said the electoral lists in the provinces of Diyarbakır, Şırnak, Mardin, Batman, Siirt, Van, Muş and Adıyaman were outdated because of the migration

that has taken place in these regions. Kazan said the population of the city of Diyarbakır alone, which was previously 450,000 had swollen to 1.5 million due to migration whereas the population of Lice, a county in the province of Diyarbakır, had fallen from 10,000 to 800 for the same reason.

"The mayor of Lice won the (March 27) local elections with the 160 votes he received," Kazan said.

Kazan added that the by-elections on their own would not be enough and called for early general elections to be announced as soon as possible.

Indicating that the current coalition government's seats in Parliament had fallen to 226, Kazan claimed that only 160 deputies in fact supported this government.

He said that the government, keeping this in mind, should immediately announce early general elections, instead of by-elections.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SEPTEMBER 24-25, 1994

Turkey Bombs Kurdish Stronghold

TUNCELI, Turkey (Reuters) — Turkish aircraft and troops mounted a major operation Friday to wrest the last remaining mountain stronghold from an estimated 3,000 separatist Kurdish guerrillas in the eastern province of Tunceli.

Planes began the second day of the campaign by bombing the Munzur mountain chain and Kutuderesi ravine, a valley extending for nearly 40 kilometers (25 miles) and made almost inaccessible by surrounding forests. Helicopter gunships resumed sorties on Friday, hitting slopes and rock overhangs likely to conceal guerrillas.

About 5,000 mountain commandos have been arriving in recent days from nearby provinces and training camps, military officials said.

Monday, September 26, 1994

turkish daily news

Security forces kill 133 PKK militants during ongoing operations

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- In clashes between the militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Government Security Forces, anti-terror teams killed a total of 133 separatists during the ongoing operations in Turkey's southeastern provinces.

Eight government troops were wounded and five were killed in the same clashes and two elementary school teachers were kidnapped and later murdered by PKK militants in Batman's Besiri district.

Government security forces also arrested a total of 88 militants of the outlawed terrorist organization last week and five separatists turned themselves in to the local security forces.

Large amounts of food, technical and medical supplies were also confiscated during the operations in various parts of Turkey last week.

As a result of the security forces' operations in the Southeast, 10 suspects were taken into custody, and 12 long-range guns, 189 bombs, eight mines, nine rockets, five howitzers and 2 tons of food were confiscated in Mus. According to an announcement by the governor of Iğdir, Şemsetin Uzun, 28 PKK terrorists were arrested in the past two months and eight militants turned themselves in.

Meanwhile, five anti-plane missiles (1 "Docka" and 4 "SA-7's"), two RPG-7 type rocket-launchers, two Biksi and 17 Kalashnikov machine guns, 10 hand grenades and large quantities of ammunition were confiscated in the Agri mountain district. Eight terrorists were killed in Bingöl, Mardin, Hakkari and Van, while another 41 militants, who had provided logistical and other forms of sup-

port to the terrorist organization PKK, were arrested.

In land and highway controls conducted by the security forces in the Southeastern provinces of Bingöl, Bitlis, Muş, Mardin and Van, 17 long-range guns, two rocket launchers, 16 rockets, one howitzer, 30 hand grenades, five mines, explosives of various kinds, 4,500 rounds of ammunition, clothing, 10 tons of food and medical supplies, as well as 55 kilograms of hashish and 3 kilograms of heroin were confiscated. Fifteen people were taken into custody by the security forces as a result.

Large amounts of supplies and provisions were also confiscated during the operations in Elazığ's Altunkuşak village near the Keban Dam lake.

During these operations four terrorists, who had been trying to escape in a speed boat, were killed after opening fire on the security forces and disregarding their warnings.

During the searches conducted near the shore, 9,500 rounds of Kalashnikov ammunition, nine LAV machines, two rocket launchers, 14 rockets, 11 Kalashnikovs and four anti-tank mines were confiscated. The boat is reported to have sunk after being hit by bullets during the clashes.

During the ongoing operations by the security forces in the Seytan Mountains, between Bingöl's Yedisu and Adaklı districts, 30 militants were killed.

During the operations, Skorsky and Cobra helicopters were used to provide support to the security forces. According to officials, during Operation Comfort, the radio exchanges between the terrorists were monitored.

The militants were reported as saying

that they had suffered huge losses as a result of the operations and that they needed help. According to military officials, they were also heard saying that they lacked ammunition and that a state of panic had broken out among the separatists.

During a raid on a military convoy, one government soldier was killed and three others were wounded, while traveling from Hakkari to the Çukurca district.

Meanwhile, 17 PKK militants who were planning a series of terrorist activities aimed at the touristic resorts in Antalya were arrested. According to their statements, the group was also planning to start a new series of forest fires in the same region.

Orhan Çobanoz, ERNK (the political/propaganda wing of the PKK) Mediterranean spokesman, was also among those arrested in Antalya.

On the other hand, 12 of the PKK militants that had been arrested were caught in the Ankara-Keçiören district by police officials who had received a tip. The separatists were said to have planned a number of attacks in the large Turkish cities of Ankara, Adana and Izmir.

During the searches conducted in the terrorist base, plans and documents regarding the attacks were confiscated by police officers from the Ankara Police Department.

One police officer was shot dead by a woman in Istanbul-Bahçeievler at a police road block. The woman shot Yakup Çelen after he asked for her I.D.

Meanwhile, one member of the terrorist organization was caught with a fake passport at customs in Kapikule while

attempting to escape abroad. "Siyar" codenamed Şefik Yıldız had been involved in a series of illegal PKK activities, according to police statements. The police continues to investigate the matter. In the meantime, the terrorist organization has continued its nationwide bombing campaign.

In Adana, there was an explosion in one of the markets belonging to the "Blue Market," when a homemade bomb was planted on one of the shelves of the store. Fortunately no one was harmed, but investigations into the incident continue. Another two bombs exploded in the early morning hours in a bank and automobile gallery in Adana, causing a great deal of damage but, luckily, no injuries.

In Bingöl's Genç district, six children died after pulling the pin of a hand grenade which had been left on the street. The children, who had been playing in the garden, died instantly. They were all between eight and 11 years of age.

Meanwhile, during an attack on a military convoy travelling from Tunceli to the district of Ovacık, four PKK militants were killed and two government soldiers were killed.

A minibus traveling in front of the convoy was also hit by a rocket and burned. No news has been heard from the bus carrying 20 civilian passengers. According to authorities, rescue operations are underway.

On the other hand, clashes between the separatists and the security forces continued in the Tunceli region, killing one officer and one soldier.

The clashes have been continuing for three days.

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Allemagne-Kurdes

180 femmes kurdes interpellées après une manifestation interdite

MANNHEIM (Allemagne), 26 sept (AFP) - Quelque 180 femmes kurdes ont été interpellées lundi par la police de Mannheim (Allemagne) à l'issue d'une manifestation -interdite- organisée pour protester contre "la sale guerre" menée, selon elles, par la Turquie contre la minorité kurde, a annoncé la police locale.

La manifestation a dégénéré lorsque les forces de l'ordre ont chargé les manifestants pour les disperser. Des engins incendiaires ont alors été lancés par des manifestants en direction des policiers.

Plusieurs manifestants ont été blessés. Environ 300 femmes, membres du Mouvement libre des femmes du Kurdistan (TAJK), ont participé à la manifestation, selon la police.

Par ailleurs, le parquet fédéral, compétent pour les affaires de terrorisme, a annoncé lundi qu'un ressortissant turc, Mahmut E., membre présumé du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), avait été inculpé samedi de séquestration et de participation à une association de malfaiteurs.

L'homme, 31 ans, est soupçonné d'avoir été chargé au sein du PKK, interdit en Allemagne comme en Turquie, de poursuivre les opposants politiques et les dissidents du parti. L'inculpé est en particulier soupçonné d'avoir participé à la séquestration pendant neuf jours d'un dissident du PKK à Cologne en février 1988.

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AFP /JO0245/261913

SEP 94

turkish daily news

Tuesday, September 27, 1994

Ambassador Kandemir: Turkey makes no apologies for safeguarding democracy

'New package of democratic reforms will eliminate human rights abuses'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Turkey's Ambassador to Washington Nuzhet Kandemir has appealed to the U.S. leadership regarding recent issues that have been troubling Turkish-U.S. relations. In an opinion essay published Sept. 25 in The Washington Times, Kandemir touched upon human rights, the PKK, the cut in aid, and the Iraqi pipeline and gave assurances that "there are no fundamental differences in our perspective foreign policies on the key issues of peacekeeping, human rights, economic stabilization and humanitarian assistance."

"First, on the controversial issue of human rights, the Turkish government introduced an additional package of democratic reforms in 1994 that will further ensure there are no possible abuses of the rights of Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin," he said.

Kandemir made sure that Americans understood the difference between the PKK and "the Kurds." "Turkey is engaged

in a conflict with the PKK, not "the Kurds," and makes no apologies for attempting to safeguard democracy for all elements of Turkish society," he said.

Concerning the rejection of the 10 percent of the U.S. foreign aid by Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, he said "my government, though puzzled and dismayed (by the conditions put upon the U.S. aid), wants to get past the misinformation and emotion of the debate and focus on Turkey's future." It is important for the Americans to realize that "foreign assistance advances the causes of regional peace, economic stability and growth," he said.

He recalled that Turkey's domestic economic reforms have gained the confidence of the International Monetary Fund, and "enabled Turkey to reestablish itself as an emerging market."

If Turkey has economic problems, it is partly due to "its unwavering support for sanctions against Iraq since 1991," he said. For Turkey not to trade with Iraq is

"an action comparable to the United States ending trade with Canada," the ambassador noted.

In this regard, he called for the U.N. Security Council to pass the resolution that would allow the flushing of the Turkish-Iraqi pipeline. "The passage of a new resolution would also illustrate the ability of Turkey and the international community to negotiate a solution to the delicate diplomatic and economic problem."

Kandemir ended his appeal by recalling that Turkey is struggling "with difficult tasks of defining its diplomatic, security and economic roles in the new world order, as well as combating terrorism and the expansion of violent Islamic fundamentalism." Within that context, "Turkey welcomes its friendship with the United States... (as well as) a balanced examination of the facts, Kandemir added.

He concluded by noting that the alternatives to "a stable, friendly Turkey" could be "unpalatable" indeed.

New developments in the Şerif Avşar case

'The statements of this informer do not have anything to do with the incident. Therefore it is meaningless to put him into a cell together with other informers.'

By Sinan Yılmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Şenal Sarihan, lawyer for the Şerif Avşar family, claimed that he had been threatened by someone unknown to him at Diyarbakır airport on Sept. 21 after attending a hearing of the Avşar court case at Diyarbakır Criminal Court No 3. Şerif Avşar's body was recovered from the Euphrates river after he had been taken away from his home in Diyarbakır on April 22 of this year by several men who had identified themselves as "police officers."

Sarihan indicated that person who had approached him at the airport had said, "The situation will be different if you come to Diyarbakır again." The Bar Association has been informed in writing of the threat.

In his statement, Sarihan claimed that he had been followed by armed men from the time he arrived at Diyarbakır airport until he reached the home of Mehmet Avşar —Şerif's brother.

He also claimed that the taxi he had used had been "arranged." New developments have occurred in the case of Şerif Avşar, who was kidnapped by five village guards, one former member of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) who later turned government informer and a seventh, unidentified, person. The relatives of the murdered man have identified the six.

The six suspects were put on trial in Diyarbakır No 3 Criminal Court with Şenal Sarihan acting on behalf of the family. During the trial Sarihan alleged that the seventh person involved in the kidnapping and killing of Şerif Avşar was a government security officer and indicated that this was the reason he had been tailed since his arrival in the southeastern province.

During the session, Sarihan requested identification of the seventh person and claimed that three eye witnesses to the incident

left Diyarbakır after they had been threatened.

Sarihan also objected to putting Mehmet Mesutoğlu, a former member of the PKK in the same cell as informers and said:

"The statements of this informer do not have anything to do with the incident. Therefore it is meaningless to put him into a cell together with other informers."

The lawyer furthermore complained that although he had nothing to do with the incident, Mehmetoğlu is not brought to court sessions and stated that the Gendermerie commander Mithat Gül also had not appeared in the sessions although he had been invited by Sarihan.

Sarihan said that he had requested the transfer of the case to Ankara for security reasons and had reported the situation to the Justice Ministry but had not received a reply.

Şenal Sarihan added that the Diyarbakır Chief prosecutor said that the people who had followed him might be the relatives of the village guards.

He also indicated that a man in his late forties, with the appearance of a civil servant had witnessed the threats at the airport but had refused to give his name to Sarihan.

The court postponed the case to Oct. 19.

Tuesday, September 27, 1994

turkish daily news

Törüner: Turkey's foreign debt drops from \$67 to \$60 billion

By Metin Demirsar
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Turkey's foreign debt has fallen from \$67 to \$60 billion in the past six months because of a rigorous application of the economic stability program, the governor of the Central Bank of Turkey said on Monday.

Central Bank Governor Yaman Törüner cited a nosedive in imports, an increase in exports and a slight rise in tourism earnings as the reasons for the improvement in Turkey's foreign debt.

Törüner told a news conference in Istanbul that the debt had also fallen because both state and private borrowers were paying their overseas debts without resorting to new borrowing. "Turkey has not borrowed any money from foreign markets this year. Exports have risen and imports have plunged," Törüner said.

Törüner said the government would

resume talks with the International Monetary Fund next week on the continuation of the austerity program, announced on April 5 to revive the economy. "The IMF is pleased with the results of the stability package. But it would like to see the government make certain structural changes and bring the unregistered economy under control," he said.

He said the Central Bank's foreign exchange reserves had reached \$6.4 billion on Sept. 22 after skydiving to \$3.3 billion at the end of April. National foreign exchange reserves, including foreign currency deposits in private banks, stood at \$15 billion, he said.

The Central Bank's foreign exchange and gold reserves, he said, had reached an all time high of \$7.8 billion as of last Friday and were sufficient to meet all foreign debt

payments through next year.

In the next 12 months, Turkey will have to repay \$6.4 billion in foreign debts, he said.

Turkey announced the stability program to cool down an overheated economy after turmoil resulted in three bank failures, the collapse of several investment houses and a sharp devaluation of the lira against the U.S. dollar and other foreign currencies.

The measures included price increases on state-produced goods and services, one-time taxes, a dampening of demand and a plan to privatize or close money-losing state economic enterprises. The 45-year-old Central Bank governor said Turkey could begin borrowing from international markets as early as the beginning of next year if the National Assembly can pass the new privatization law.

"If the privatization legislation comes into effect, Turkey will be able to shop for loans in international money markets," Törüner said.

Earlier this summer, the Constitutional Court struck down previous legislation and cabinet decrees on privatization, saying that some of their amendments were unconstitu-

tional, forcing the government to prepare a new privatization law. Turkey has shunned borrowing from international currency and bond markets since two U.S. agencies downgraded the country's credit rating in January, in face of the country's worsening finances.

Törüner also said the eastern European countries had gone far ahead of Turkey in their privatization program.

"In former East Germany, even grocery

stores are being privatized. Privatization is necessary for global integration. We must not be afraid of it," he said.

He also urged private and public banks to relax consumer credits to revive the economy.

"If consumer loans are not restored, industrial production and exports won't increase," he said.

Törüner also said that the three failed banks — TYT Bank, Impexbank and Marmarabank — could resume operations

only if the Treasury gives them the green light and they reimburse the Central Bank the amount it guaranteed the banks' investors from its savings and deposit fund.

"If the Treasury does not want the banks to continue, we will have no choice but to ask for their bankruptcies," Törüner said. He also said a gold exchange would go into operation as soon as regulations involving its members is put out and a chairman is chosen.

turkish daily news

Tuesday, September 27, 1994

Prospects dim for quick lifting of Iraqi sanctions

Baghdad blames embargo for its devastated economy and rising crime

The Associated Press

NICOSIA- A tougher U.S. line on Iraq and Baghdad's refusal to recognize Kuwait's present borders means crippling U.N. sanctions on Iraq won't be lifted soon, a respected newsletter predicted Monday.

The Middle East Economic Survey, based in Greek Cyprus, said the previous expectation that the 4-year-old oil and trade embargo could be removed by mid-1995 is unlikely.

Iraq has been lobbying intensively for an end to the embargo, imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990 for what was to become a brutal seven-month occupation.

The Baghdad regime blames the sanctions for its devastated economy, rising crime, widespread malnutrition and skyrocketing infant mortality even though the sanctions exempt food and medicine.

On Sunday, the Iraqi News Agency, monitored in Greek Cyprus, said the government was reducing food rations because of money problems. The agency did not give any figures, but Radio Monte Carlo, an Arabic-language station based in France, said some rations were being halved.

On Monday, the news agency quoted the ruling Baath Party newspaper, Al-Thawra, accusing Washington and its allies of wanting to "annihilate the life (of the people) by blocking food and medicine for the past four years."

U.N. Security Council resolutions say that the sanctions must remain in place until Iraq meets demands related to the elimination of its weapons of mass destruction, which Baghdad claims it has done.

But the Middle East Economic Survey said it had detected a tougher stance in Washington since Iraq policy became the domain of the National Security Council rather than the State Department several months ago.

"It is now becoming more apparent than ever that the U.S. administration is determined, without saying so publicly, to retain the sanctions as long as the present regime in Baghdad remains in power," the newsletter said.

Allowing Saddam Hussein to rule on after the embargo is lifted would be construed as "a victory for Baghdad" and "too much of a humiliation for U.S. global strategy after the end of the Cold War," the newsletter said.

The United States, backed by Britain and Iraq's foes in the Gulf, wants Iraq to stop persecuting dissidents and pursue humane policies at home and with its neighbors.

Some Security Council members, including Russia and France, think they can lift sanctions after a six-month test run of a U.N. weapons monitoring system to prevent Iraq from acquiring prohibited military technology and hardware.

But the newsletter said there is now a consensus among all Security Council members that Iraq must first recognize Kuwaiti sovereignty within its present borders.

Iraq cuts back some food rations

Meanwhile, Iraq, squeezed by four years of Gulf crisis trade sanctions, said that rations of cut-price flour, rice and cooking oil had been reduced by as much as half.

The government newspaper al-Jumhuriya announced the Cabinet-decreed cut on its front page and blamed the trade blockade, which has stopped Iraq's lifeblood oil exports, and insufficient supplies of cereals from farmers.

But it said groups such as police, civil servants and members of the armed forces would be paid extra from Oct. 1. Iraq provides its citizens with rationed amounts of basic supplies at giveaway prices at government shops.

It increased some rations, which also include sugar and tea and provide almost half a person's food needs, in January.

Saddam Hussein and his Cabinet decreed the cut to "organize economic conditions because of the unjust sanctions and the short supply of cereals received from farmers," the newspaper said.

The amount of cut-price flour that can be bought at government shops drops from nine kg (20 lb.) to six kg (13 lb.), rice from 2.5 kg (5.5 lb.) to 1.250 kg (2.7 lb.) and cooking oil from 750 grams (26 ounces) to 625 grams (22 ounces).

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ONU-France-Irak

Sanctions contre l'Irak : M. Juppé met en garde contre les dangers du statu quo

NEW YORK (Nations Unies), 27 sept (AFP) - Le ministre français des Affaires étrangères Alain Juppé a mis en garde lundi contre le "statu quo" dans la gestion du dossier des sanctions internationales contre l'Irak.

M. Juppé a fait cette déclaration à l'AFP, à la veille d'une rencontre mardi soir à New York avec le vice-Premier ministre irakien Tarek Aziz, en marge de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies.

Il a indiqué que si l'Irak continuait à coopérer, l'ONU devait en tenir compte et envisager une levée partielle de l'embargo pétrolier en vigueur depuis l'invasion irakienne du Koweït en 1990, à condition que Bagdad accepte d'appliquer toutes les résolutions du Conseil de sécurité (reconnaissance du Koweït, droits des minorités en Irak).

"Le schéma d'immobilisme et de statu quo est dangereux, car il pousse à l'intransigeance", a dit le ministre. La France a une "diplomatie d'influence" et "nous n'avons pas les moyens d'imposer un retournement", a-t-il ajouté, dans une allusion à l'opposition catégorique des Etats-Unis à tout assouplissement à l'égard de l'Irak.

Evoquant les annonces répétées de M. Rolf Ekeus, chef de la Commission spéciale chargée du désarmement irakien (UNSCOM) concernant la mise en place prochaine d'un système de contrôle permanent des programmes d'armement irakiens, M. Juppé a noté: "M. Ekeus se déclare à chaque fois 'presque prêt' à constater que le plan de contrôle à moyen terme fonctionne".

M. Ekeus "m'a dit cela il y a un an, il y a six mois, il y a quinze jours. Cela pose problème : est-il prêt ou n'est-il pas prêt? S'il est prêt, il doit le dire au Conseil de sécurité".

"Il y a un fait clair et avéré, c'est que l'on sait maintenant quels sont les systèmes d'armes irakiens. On a démantelé les sites bactériologiques, chimiques, nucléaires et on me dit que le système d'observation est pratiquement opérationnel", a noté M. Juppé.

"Si c'est le cas, il faut engager une période probatoire. Au terme de cette période probatoire, on verra si cela marche. Il faudra voir si l'on peut procéder à une levée partielle des exportations pétrolières de l'Irak", a-t-il encore dit.

"Il faut exiger simultanément de l'Irak le respect des résolutions sur le Koweït (notamment la reconnaissance de la frontière) et le respect des minorités, chiite au sud, kurde au nord", a conclu le ministre français.

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Allemagne-Kurdes lead

Manifestation kurde: un blessé par balle et 170 interpellations

MANNHEIM (Allemagne), 27 sept (AFP) - Un manifestant kurde a été grièvement blessé par balle et 170 militants, qui entendaient protester contre la politique du gouvernement turc envers la minorité kurde, ont été interpellés, mardi à Mannheim (ouest), a indiqué la police.

Le manifestant blessé par balle a été atteint par un autre qui s'était emparé de l'arme d'un policier et voulait tirer contre ce dernier. L'auteur du coup de feu a été immédiatement arrêté.

Une centaine de militants qui s'étaient regroupés devant la mairie et 70 femmes qui avaient occupé le bâtiment ont été interpellés.

Lors de l'évacuation de la mairie, l'une d'entre elles s'est aspergée d'un liquide inflammable mais a pu être empêchée de s'immoler.

Lundi, 330 Kurdes, dont environ 200 femmes, avaient déjà été interpellés par la police de Mannheim à l'issue d'une manifestation similaire interdite par la municipalité. La plupart d'entre eux ont été relâchés depuis.

Cette première manifestation avait dégénéré au moment où les forces de l'ordre avaient chargé les manifestants pour les disperser. Des engins incendiaires avaient été lancés en direction des policiers et des manifestants avaient aspergé d'essence l'un d'eux, tentant sans y parvenir de l'immoler par le feu. Neuf manifestants avaient été blessés.

Les autorités soupçonnent les activistes kurdes d'avoir tenté d'incendier, dans la nuit de lundi à mardi, plusieurs bâtiments de la police dans le sud-ouest, notamment à Stuttgart. A Offenburg, un bureau de poste a subi plusieurs millions de Deutschemark de dégâts après un incendie criminel également attribué aux militants kurdes.

Selon la police, ces attentats sont vraisemblablement liés aux affrontements qui ont suivi la manifestation de Mannheim.

Un Kurde de 19 ans, qui a reconnu être l'un des auteurs de l'incendie criminel de deux voitures de police, lundi soir à Ludwigshafen, a déclaré avoir agi pour réagir contre l'intervention des forces de l'ordre à Mannheim, selon la police. Les policiers ont découvert à son domicile du matériel de propagande du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), interdit en Allemagne comme en Turquie.

ha/jh/cc

AFP /J00245/271819

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Le Nouveau Quotidien - 26 septembre 1994

Offensive turque dans le Kurdistan

Les forces armées turques ont monté vendredi une vaste opération aéro-terrestre pour reprendre le dernier réduit montagneux défendu par les maquisards du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) dans la province orientale de Tunceli. Quelque 5000 commandos de montagne ont été déployés au moyen d'hélicoptères pour y combattre 3000 séparatistes. Tunceli, qui s'appelait autrefois Dersim, avait abrité une grande révolte kurde en 1936-1938.

HADEP officials in Southeast inclined to participate in by-elections

By Sinan Yılmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The executives of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) in the southeastern provinces, where by-elections will be held in December, feel the party should participate in the polls.

Only the provincial chairmen representing the southeastern cities of Şırnak and Muş oppose the party's participation in the elections, citing mass migration of their supporters from these areas which has reduced the popular strength of HADEP. The Turkish Daily News learnt that HADEP officials in Ankara are also inclined to go along with the wishes of the provincial officials and participate in the by-elections while calling on the state to "create the conditions in the region for democratic elections."

HADEP is the successor of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) whose deputies lost their parliamentary seats when the Constitutional Court decided to close the party for supporting separatism in Turkey. Currently seven former DEP deputies are in jail and six others are abroad, living in exile. The 13 seats vacated by the DEP deputies will be contested in the southeastern provinces of Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şırnak and Van.

The DEP deputies had been elected on the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) ticket in the 1991 elections. HADEP officials were hopeful that the fact that the SHP had won the seats for the pro-Kurdish deputies with large margins would also mean they too would make a good showing in the by-elections tentatively scheduled for Dec. 4.

The DEP boycotted the municipal elections in March and the pro-Islamic Welfare Party won most of the mayoral seats in the southeastern provinces.

On Sunday, HADEP officials convened a meeting of the provincial chairmen of the cities where by-elections will be held to discuss the party's stand on participation in the polls. Most of the provincial officials said their supporters had migrated from the villages but they had gone to the major settlements in their provinces and had not left the area and thus they would still vote for the party.

They said, however, voter registration lists should be updated, especially in the cities, to allow the migrants to vote.

The HADEP provincial chairmen in Muş and Şırnak insisted that their supporters had migrated from the province thus seriously undermining the popularity of the party in these areas.

The ex-DEP deputies

The former deputies of DEP, who are either in prison or who are in exile abroad, are still debating whether or not to run as can-

didates in the by-elections. The TDN has learnt there are still differences of opinion among the deputies.

Ex-DEP deputy Remzi Kartal, who is now in Brussels, says he and his colleagues are awaiting the third round of the DEP trial scheduled for Oct. 7. He said if the court decided to release some of the DEP deputies it could influence their decision to participate in the elections. Kartal claimed there was an anti-democratic environment in Turkey and under these circumstances it would be hard for the DEP deputies to participate in elections. Former Siirt DEP deputy Naif Gunes said the DEP members in exile would decide soon on a joint action and stressed the current mood was for the deputies not to participate in the polls.

The former DEP deputies currently in prison in Turkey are also reportedly debating what to do in the elections. Ahmet Turk, Sırrı Sakık, Sedat Yurttaş and Selim Sadak want to take part in the elections. Sakık and Yurttaş say they could even cooperate with the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP). Others say they feel they should either run as independent candidates or contest the elections on the HADEP ticket.

Observers say former DEP deputies like Türk and Sakık, who have strong backing among tribes in the Southeast, could well be re-elected.

Orhan Doğan, meanwhile, says he too feels that the DEP deputies should participate in the elections but also cautions that if they are defeated at the polls they could lose face. Hatip Dicle and Leyla Zana, on the other hand, strongly oppose participating in the by-elections. They say they still feel they are deputies and that the votes cast for them by the people in 1991 are still valid. By participating in the elections they feel they will contradict their own position.

The jailed ex-deputies, just like their counterparts in exile, also seem to be waiting for a move by the judge to release some of the defendants at the DEP trial on Oct. 7 and thus create a more favorable atmosphere.

HADEP circles say the latest statements by Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk, who supports the participation of the former DEP deputies in by-elections, are aimed at creating an atmosphere of reconciliation.

If former DEP deputies are re-elected in the by-elections, the authorities have to release them from prison. If this happens the court cases will be postponed until after the term of office of the deputies is completed. In this case, the State Security Court prosecutor may again ask for the lifting of the immunities of the deputies to open the way for their trial.

Demonstrator shot in Kurdish demonstration scuffles in Mannheim

Reuters

MANNHEIM- A demonstrator was shot and injured by a fellow protester during a rally staged by Kurds in the city of Mannheim on Tuesday, police said.

A spokesman said scuffles broke out after police tried to disperse about 100 Kurds who had gathered outside the town hall in Mannheim, in Baden Württemberg state.

About 70 Kurdish women had occupied the building after failing to obtain permission to march to the European Parliament in Strasbourg to complain about what they see as Turkey's poor treatment of Kurdish women.

One demonstrator managed to get hold of a policeman's gun and shot into the crowd before the gun was taken away, the spokesman said.

The injured Kurd was being treated in hospital but there was no immediate news on his condition.

Police ejected the women from the town hall after some clashes, the spokesman said.

Protest organizers accused the police of attacking the women and setting dogs on them.

Some 315 people were detained by police in Mannheim on Monday when another Kurdish demonstration turned violent.

turkish daily news

Wednesday, September 28, 1994 /

Demirel: Turkey is being treated unfairly

Çulhaoğlu: Tourism started out well at the beginning of 1994 but the adverse propaganda against the country hurt it later on in the year

By Niki Gamm
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- That Turkey is viewed as a staunch supporter of peace by some quarters while being treated as an evil country by others is unjust, said President Süleyman Demirel in an address to the members of the Turkish Travel Agencies Association (TÜRSAB) on Tuesday at the Conrad Istanbul Hotel. He pointed out that Turkey is a cradle of civilization so the best answer which could be given to these people is to invite them to see for themselves the ways which are being explored to counter the negative publicity.

The occasion was an award ceremony for TÜRSAB members who earned in excess of \$1 million in foreign exchange in 1993. Noting that the infrastructure which was currently in place to support tourism would not be sufficient in the future, Demirel stressed that this would be solved as would the water shortage problem in tourist areas. He cautioned however about the need to vary the types of touristic facilities which were available so as to attract the most people.

Demirel said that transportation, which was a responsibility of the government, will be greatly improved when Bodrum Airport is finished and when the projects for airports at Kas and Silifke are actually com-

pleted. The president pointed out that he had laid the foundation stone for Bodrum Airport. Demirel reminded the audience that he himself had been responsible for encouraging many international congresses to come to Turkey and gave special importance to the "Habitat Congress," to be held in 1996. This is expected to be attended by between 25-30,000 delegates, the same as now attend all the congresses held in Istanbul in one year.

The President called for more emphasis on promotion and marketing so that the Turkish travel agencies would be spared the monopoly affect of the large European companies. He predicted that in six to seven years Turkey could be earning as much as \$10 billion from tourism. He praised the agencies for both promoting the country and securing resources in terms of foreign exchange and then urged them to make even more effort in those regards.

Tourism Minister Halil Çulhaoğlu also spoke at the ceremony and insisted that the laws which would provide the legal underpinning of the tourism sector had to be passed by Parliament as soon as possible. These concern the Hoteliers Association, travel agencies and guides. He noted that tourism had started out well in 1994 but had suffered because of adverse propaganda.

Referring to the importance which President Demirel was giving to the 1996 Habitat Congress, Çulhaoğlu pointed out that the Lütfi Kırdar Salon in Istanbul was far from being enough. He also proposed that the VAT applied to tourism services should be reduced because it was posing a problem in terms of competing with other countries.

TÜRSAB Chairman Talha Camas spoke of how tourism had to be accepted as a priority sector because it provided the quickest entry of foreign exchange to the country's economy. Camas also emphasized that Turkey had reached the level of being able to handle 15 million tourists a year but only half that number were arriving. He also blamed terrorism and adverse publicity for having a negative effect on the number of tourists as well as worldwide economic problems.

A total of 113 travel agencies were given prizes. The following won the top awards:

Company Name	Forex(\$)
1. Tentour Tourism	80,644,799
2. Airtour Tourism	38,762,841
3. Diana Tourism	33,126,635
4. Paşatur Tourism	31,946,371
5. Tantur Tourism	29,700,606

In addition TÜRSAB's deputy chairman and Dutilh Turizm Seyahat Acentesi owner Karel Dutilh was presented an award by President Demirel to recognise his having broken Turkish tax records for the third year in a row. In addition former Tourism Minister Abdülkadir Ateş was presented with an award by TÜRSAB for his contributions to the sector.

Minister says 200 villages vacated in southeast

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Azimet Köylüoğlu, state minister responsible for human rights, said Tuesday that regional governors have told him that about 200 villages had been vacated in Turkey's southeast Anatolian region.

Köylüoğlu said that since being appointed minister, he had received many allegations regarding village evacuations and torture. He said that there was no systematic torture in Turkey and that he planned to make public the human rights complaints filed with his office.

Köylüoğlu announced that a Human Rights High Consultative Commission

had been set up that would be affiliated to the Prime Ministry's Human Rights Chief Advisory. He said the body of academicians would study the human rights issues in Turkey.

Asked why no officials of human rights organizations were on the commission, Köylüoğlu said his office would invite the representatives of all democratic organizations to the Human Rights High Council, which will convene in the coming months. Comparing the efforts carried out by his office to a candle light, Köylüoğlu said he and his colleagues would increase that light to 220 volts. He said

they awaited the contributions of the parliamentarians for the passage of draft bills on human rights issues.

Members of the new consultative commission are: Toktamış Ateş, Ekrem Aksoy, Tekin Akıllıoğlu, Hasan Okan Korkmaz, Korkmaz Alemdar, Füsün Arşala, Mehmet Aydın, Aysel Aziz, Süheyl Batur, Aysel Çelikel, Lütfi Doğan, Hüsnü Göksel, Tahir Hatipoğlu, Nevzat Helvacı, Yakup Kepenek, İonna Kucuradi, Maksut Mumcuoğlu, Rifat Önsay, Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, Cahit Talas, İlhan Tekeli and Kamil Turan.

turkish daily news

Wednesday, September 28, 1994.

US points at Syria and Iran as master counterfeiters

Sen. Leahy notes the 'chilling potential' for terrorism 'Counterfeiting has become a national cottage industry in Russia'

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Senator Patrick Leahy (D) of Vermont, Chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, has denounced Syria and Iran's role in producing \$1 billion worth of "extremely high-quality reproductions of the U.S. \$100 bill." Leahy made his comments at a "Global Organized Crime" conference hosted by Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a well-known think-tank in Washington. He said "overseas counterfeiting of U.S. currency has increased dramatically. For example, from 1992 to 1993, counterfeit currency detected abroad increased 300 percent."

Made in Bekaa valley

"There have been reports from credible sources that intelligence experts in the U.S. and Israel are aware of a highly skilled group of counterfeiters operating out of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. These counterfeiters, controlled by Syria and Iran, have turned out as much as \$1 billion of extremely high-quality reproductions of

Easy to do

The Senator from Vermont noted with dismay that the U.S. currency "is among the most easy to counterfeit in the world."

Although updated with a deterrent polyester strip, our bills do not use the watermarks or sophisticated dyeing and engraving techniques that other countries employ to make it difficult to reproduce."

New law

Leahy proposed a new bill that would change the design of \$100 currency and make it counterfeit-resistant. It requires "all existing \$100 denomination U.S. currency to be exchanged within a 6-month period. This would make drug traffickers who hoard large amount of hard currency hard-pressed to convert their existing cash into the new money." If they can't convert, then their riches become worthless paper instantly.

Two versions of \$100 bill

Secondly, "the bill established two new versions of the \$100 bill: one for use at home and one for use abroad. The only business that relies on exporting large amounts of hard currency is drug trafficking. This provision would make money smuggled out of the United States worthless."

the U.S. \$100 bill." "We must be very concerned with what nations like Iran or Syria can do with \$1 billion in bogus U.S. currency so convincing that it can be passed onto the international market," Leahy said. "The potential for a terrorist organization — using billions in homemade, bogus U.S. currency — to purchase weapons grade plutonium, or chemical or biological weaponry is chilling indeed."

Russia joins the club

What's worse, Russia and other former Eastern bloc republics also seemed to be joining in the fray. The amount of fake dollars confiscated by the Russian Interior Ministry increased tenfold from 1992 to 1993, Leahy said.

With organized crime prospering in the republics, counterfeiting has become "a national cottage industry," according to Moscow news reports. Because of mounting inflation of the ruble, foreign currency such as the U.S. \$100 bill has a special place in that country's economic system, making it particularly attractive to counterfeiting," he said.

Bassenge : un nouveau Solingen

La communauté kurde victime de la terreur fasciste

La nuit du 11 au 12 juin, Bassenge, petit village dans la vallée du Geer, a vécu un cauchemar. Une bande d'une cinquantaine de jeunes, menée par les fascistes d'Agir, ont fait une descente contre une maison occupée par des familles kurdes. La solidarité des voisins belges a pu éviter de justesse que leur maison soit incendiée. Solingen... l'horreur est chez nous!

Lieve Dehaes

Bassenge est un petit village de la vallée du Geer, près de Liège. Paisible, dans la verdure : un décor de dépliant touristique... jusqu'au 11 juin, quand l'horreur fasciste a frappé de plein fouet. Ce dimanche, le bal traditionnel a lieu au village. Vers minuit, une horde d'une cinquantaine de jeunes dirigée par les fascistes vient hurler devant la maison des familles kurdes : «On va vous crever la panse», «Si vous n'êtes pas partis pour 3 heures, on met le feu à votre sale baraque y compris les hommes, les femmes et les enfants», «Heil Hitler», «Quittez le village». La xénophobie est à son comble : Bassenge compte huit mille habitants, dont vingt réfugiés seulement. Et c'est sur eux qui sont visés.

Deux filles, ivres, ont mis le feu aux poudres en prétendant qu'elles avaient été violées par des hommes kurdes. En un quart d'heure, 50 personnes sont rassemblées, munies de bouteilles, de bâtons, de couteaux, d'outils de voiture... Parmi eux des jeunes, mais également des moins jeunes, 35 à 40 ans, venant de plusieurs communes avoisinantes : Wonck, Eben Emael, Glons, Boirs, Wandre, Herstal, Oupeye (où Agir a un local depuis le début de l'année)... Ceci n'est plus une bagarre d'ivrognes. Les vrais fascistes sont à l'oeuvre. La horde se défoule sur la maison, essayant de forcer la porte. A l'intérieur, les familles se terrent, terrorisées.

Solidarité des Bassengeois

Pendant près de deux heures et demi, les familles sont laissées à leur sort. Seules quatre familles voisines belges sont restées avec eux jusqu'au petit matin pour empêcher les fascistes d'exécuter leur menace. La population est indignée. Rosalia, une activiste de nationalité italienne, que nous avons déjà rencontrée lors de la grève de la faim des Kurdes dans l'église Ste Foy l'année passée, nous dit : «Je peux aller sonner à toutes les portes dans le village : personne ne refusera de les aider». Une enseignante conduit les enfants terrorisés à la maison pour que les fascistes n'aient pas l'occasion «de les écraser s'ils se pointent à l'école».

Le curé de Bassenge publie un communiqué de presse : «Au nom de la grande majorité des Bassengeois, nous redisons aux amis Kurdes qu'ils sont les bienvenus à Bassenge et que nous les apprécions et les estimons. Nous sommes comme eux, stupéfaits de ce que la bêtise, l'intolérance, la méchanceté sont capables de faire. Mais nous leur redisons aussi que nous continuerons de nous battre, avec eux, pour qu'ils puissent vivre parmi nous libres et heureux.» Il a menacé de démissionner si la situation continue.

Apaiser les excités

Quant à l'autorité communale, elle est visiblement très embarrassée par les événements. On tente d'apaiser les esprits.

Les parents et les filles qui prétendaient avoir été violées — plainte qu'elles ont d'ailleurs retirée par la suite — sont venus s'excuser auprès des Kurdes. Un responsable communal est venu apaiser les Kurdes : la commune les protégera, s'il le faut on mettra un fil autour de la maison. Quels fauves faut-il mettre en cage ici ? Il faut que le bourgmestre PSC se rende à l'évidence : ce n'est pas en isolant les réfugiés que le fascisme sera battu, c'est aux racines du mal qu'il faut s'en prendre. C'est en inscrivant les réfugiés dans les communes et en leur accordant une aide qu'on montre le chemin à suivre.

Les Kurdes n'en sont pas à leur première expérience

Pour les Kurdes de Bassenge, ce n'est pas la première fois qu'ils assistent à ce genre de spectacle : en 1978 et en 1980, ils ont été témoins des ravages perpétrés par l'armée fasciste turque dans leurs villages. Ils y ont perdu 10 membres de leur famille. Mais ils ne s'attendaient pas à connaître les mêmes expériences en Belgique. Ils ont blindé leur fenêtres. Et en effet, la nuit après les faits, quelques fascistes ont lancé des pavés à partir du cimetière voisin dans la chambre à coucher des enfants.

Bataille d'ivrognes ? Les Kurdes s'attendent à tout et se préparent à répondre au cas où la commune ne prend pas ses responsabilités. Depuis quatre ans qu'ils habitent Bassenge, ils ont déjà eu des problèmes.

On leur a craché dessus, on les a insultés, on les a tabassés.

Et pour compléter le tableau, on leur fait subir des tracasseries relatives à la prolongation de leur permis de séjour.

Nous soutenons la population bassengeoise et le curé qui veulent que la paix revienne dans leur village. Nous les félicitons de leur position courageuse et nous exigeons l'interdiction pure et simple des fascistes.

GAMK

MERCREDI, 28 SEPTEMBRE 1994

Turquie-Kurdes**Ankara et Koweït contre la création d'un État kurde dans le nord de l'Irak**

La Turquie ne permettra pas la création d'un État kurde indépendant dans le nord de l'Irak frontalier avec la Turquie, a déclaré jeudi dernier à Ankara le président du Parlement turc, M. Husamettin Cindoruk, en recevant son homologue koweïtien Ahmad Abdulaziz Al Sadoon.

"Nous sommes contre la création d'un nouvel État qui pourrait menacer la sécurité de la région et de la Turquie et prêts à déployer des efforts communs pour la prévention d'une telle formation", a répondu M. Al Sadoon.

L'occupation du Koweït par l'Irak a "bouleversé les équilibres"

dans la région concernant la sécurité et la Turquie souhaite "un retour aux conditions normales", a ajouté M. Cindoruk, en présence de la presse.

"Ce retour ne doit pas se faire au détriment de l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak. La Turquie ne permettra jamais la création d'un État kurde dans le nord de l'Irak", a-t-il précisé. "La protection de l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak est importante pour tous les pays de la région", a-t-il poursuivi.

La Turquie et l'Irak viennent par ailleurs de signer des accords bilatéraux en vue de la lutte contre leurs opposants res-

pectifs, avec possibilité d'extradition à la clé. Une garantie de plus pour Ankara, qui soupçonnait il n'y a pas si longtemps encore l'Iran de soutenir le PKK.

La Turquie compte 8 à 12 millions de Kurdes sur 60 millions d'habitants, dont une bonne moitié vit dans le sud-est anatolien. Elle lutte dans cette région, frontalière de la Syrie, de l'Irak et de l'Iran, contre la rébellion armée du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), qui vise à créer un État indépendant, et ne veut à aucun prix d'un État kurde à ses frontières.

Le gouvernement turc a apporté depuis deux semaines des restrictions aux entrées des étrangers dans le nord de l'Irak via la Turquie.

Conférence internationale sur la question kurde à Sofia

Une conférence internationale réunissant des chercheurs et des personnalités de huit pays européens a lancé la semaine dernière à Sofia un appel aux institutions européennes pour qu'elles encouragent un dialogue entre les autorités turques et les responsables kurdes.

Les participants, invités par deux partis nationalistes bulgares, le Parti national du Travail et Nouvelle Bulgarie, venaient pour la plupart de Turquie, de Grèce, de Chypre et de Bulgarie. Ils se sont adressés notamment au Parlement européen, à l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe et à la CSCE, leur demandant d'intervenir auprès du gouvernement turc pour

établir "un dialogue entre Ankara et le peuple kurde".

Les participants à la conférence ont également demandé à l'ONU d'envoyer des observateurs et des Casques bleus dans les régions turques comptant une population kurde, au cas où "le gouvernement turc ne se conforme pas aux demandes de l'opinion publique internationale d'arrêter la violence".

Les participants à la conférence ont par ailleurs soutenu une initiative lancée en mars dernier par l'épouse du Président français, Mme Danielle Mitterrand, pour une solution politique du problème kurde.

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Ira.-Kurdes

Découverte d'un charnier de Kurdes dans le nord de l'Irak

SOULEYMANIYA (Irak), 28 sept (AFP) - Un charnier contenant quarante-quatre corps de Kurdes irakiens exécutés il y a plus de trois ans par des officiers de Bagdad a été découvert près de Souleymaniya, dans le nord-est de l'Irak sous contrôle des combattants kurdes, a-t-on appris mercredi de source kurde.

Le charnier a été découvert dans un faubourg de Souleimaniya, la plus importante ville de la région. D'autres pourraient être mis au jour, selon les mêmes sources.

"Nous avons trouvé quarante-quatre corps, dont ceux de trois femmes et un enfant", a affirmé un responsable de la municipalité de Souleymaniya, Khafour Amine. Selon lui, ces personnes ont été exécutées le 4 avril 1991, à l'époque du soulèvement kurde contre le régime de Bagdad, à la suite de la guerre du Golfe (janvier-février 1991). "Plusieurs de ces corps montrent des signes de torture", a-t-il ajouté.

Le responsable local d'une organisation des droits de l'homme, Mohammad Salah, a indiqué que la découverte du charnier a été rendue possible grâce aux renseignements donnés par l'homme qui avait creusé la tombe peu après les meurtres. Selon lui, trois corps seulement ont été jusqu'ici identifiés.

"Il y a beaucoup d'autres charniers autour de Souleymaniya, mais sans témoignage, nous ne pouvons pas les localiser", a-t-il dit.

ta-elf/mfo

AFP /JO0245/281742

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Turquie-Kurdes

Onze membres des forces de sécurité turques tués dans une attaque rebelle

ANKARA, 29 sept (AFP) - Sept soldats turcs et quatre "protecteurs de village" (miliciens pro-gouvernementaux) ont été tués dans la nuit de mercredi à jeudi dans une attaque rebelle contre un village dans la région de Siirt (sud-est de la Turquie), a rapporté l'agence turque Anatolie.

Un groupe de "terroristes séparatistes" (dénomination officielle des militants armés du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, PKK, séparatiste) ont attaqué le village de Gokbudak dans la région de Pervari (Siirt), tuant dans un premier temps deux soldats turcs, selon la même source.

Cinq autres soldats et quatre protecteurs de village, qui avaient été dépêchés en renfort, ont trouvé la mort lorsque le véhicule militaire les transportant a sauté sur une mine posée par les rebelles, a indiqué l'agence.

Les forces de l'ordre turque ont déclenché une opération qui se poursuivait jeudi matin dans la région, a ajouté Anatolie.

Les protecteurs de village sont des miliciens à majorité kurde armés par le gouvernement. Outre plus de 150.000 soldats de l'armée turque, près de 50.000 de ces miliciens sont déployés pour lutter contre la rébellion du PKK dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran.

CE/bd

AFP /JO0245/291152

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Projections based on local elections put RP up front

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- If the election results of the March 27 local elections were used as a base to project the outcome of the Dec. 4 by-elections, the Welfare Party (RP) would win 11, the senior coalition partner True

Path Party (DYP) would win six and the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) would win five of the 22 vacant parliamentary seats.

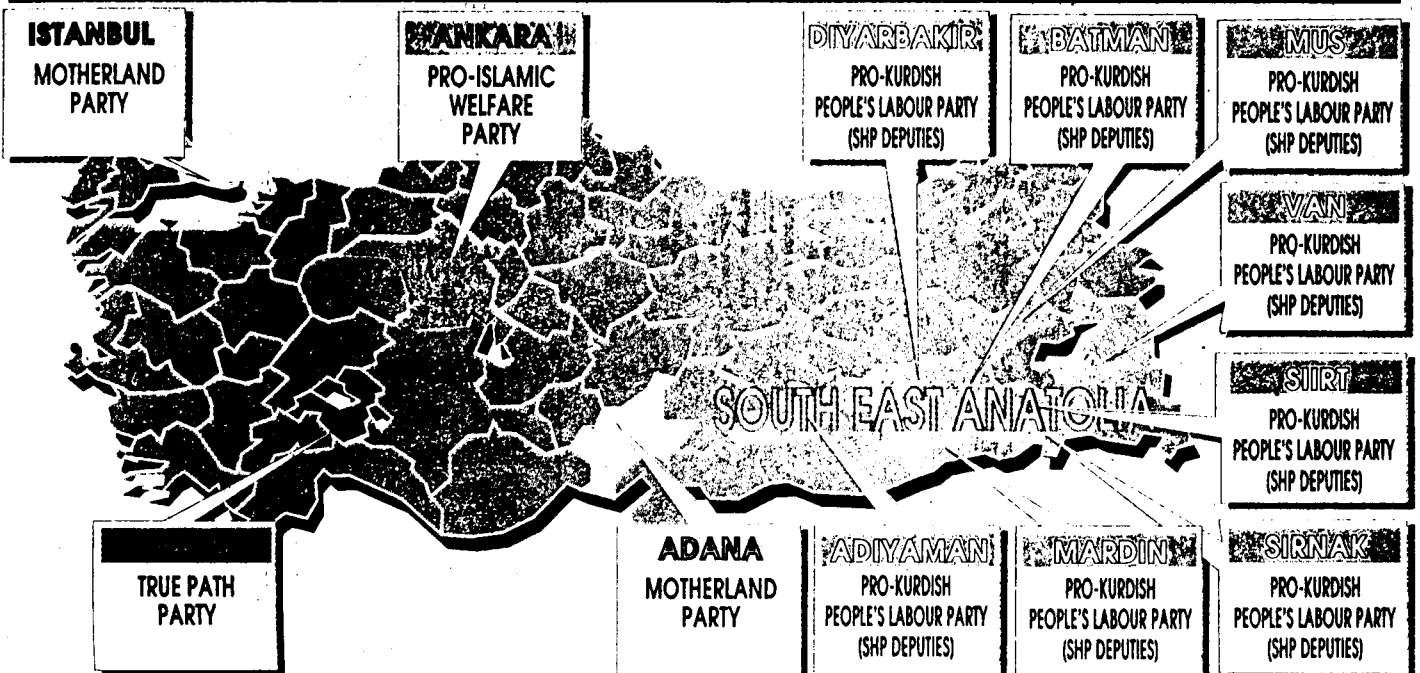
According to the calculations based on the results of the March 27 local elections, the RP would profit the most from the by-elections. The DYP, which has lost one seat, would win six seats, and ANAP, which has lost four seats, would win five seats.

At present, 14 of the seats have been

vacated due to the closure of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), one seat due to the killing of a DEP deputy, and of the remaining eight seats, ANAP lost four seats, DYP one seat, RP one seat, the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) one seat and the Republican People's Party (CHP) one seat.

The number of seats each party would win in the provinces concerned according to such calculations are as follows: Adana- ANAP; Adiyaman- One RP and One DYP; Ankara- RP; Batman-RP; Bursa-ANAP; Diyarbakir-Two RP, one ANAP and one DYP; Isparta- DYP; Istanbul-One RP and one ANAP; Mardin- One DYP, One RP and One ANAP; Muş- RP; Siirt- One RP and One DYP; Sırnak- One DYP and One RP; Van- RP. Although 16 of these 22 vacant seats had been won by the SHP, four by ANAP, one by DYP and one by RP during the 1991 general elections, the SHP would not be able to win even one of the seats if the March 27 vote were used as a projection.

PARTIES FROM WHICH PARLIAMENTARY SEATS WERE VACATED



Turkish Daily News / Graphic by: Eitan Aydin

BBC to air series on Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The BBC World Service will broadcast a series of radio programs about Turkey during the months of October and November called "Turkish Seasons," the Anatolia news agency reported from London on Wednesday.

The BBC series will focus on Turkey's past and contemporary traditions and values and will also present samples of Turkish music, films, and theater.

BBC World Service broadcasting manager, Sam Younger, reported that "Turkish Seasons" will be broadcast

from Singapore to South Africa and all over the world. He said that Turkey was a fascinating country with a unique culture and rich heritage. Younger added that those who are interested in Turkey's past and present should definitely listen to this series.

The 17 new programs exploring Turkey, will begin with the Ottoman Empire and end with current day Turks living abroad. Some of the programs include:

Turkey Today: Roger Hardy will examine topics such as economics,

urban-rural separation, and Turkey's role in the world after the Cold War.

Turkey: An Ethnic Mosaic: This program will focus on the many diverse ethnic groups in Turkey, such as Arabs, Syrians, Kurds, Laz, Georgians, and Balkan Turks; as well as the Greeks, Armenians and Jews in Istanbul. Atatürk: The Man and the Myth: This program will portray modern Turkey's founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

A Tapestry of Sounds: Conductor Cem Mansur will present Turkish music, such as the Whirling Dervishes, as well as a wide range of classical and modern European music.

LE SOIR DE BRUXELLES — 29 septembre 1994

La « sale guerre » se poursuit

Des avocats kurdes de Turquie témoignent

Ils sont venus à Bruxelles quelques jours, ont vu le bâtonnier du barreau de Bruxelles, M^e Georges-Albert Dal, et discuté de la finalisation du « jumelage » avec leur propre barreau. Ils ? M^{es} Gümüs, Özer et Geylani, bâtonnier et avocats à Diyarbakir et à Van, témoignent des conditions difficiles dans lesquelles ils exercent leur métier dans ce Kurdistan turc en proie à une « sale guerre » qui ne dit pas son nom.

La situation est telle, explique Hamit Geylani, que tous les Kurdes de Turquie sont maintenant considérés comme des terroristes du PKK (mouvement de guérilla armée). Surtout nous, avocats, qui défendons des personnes accusées d'appartenir au PKK. De fait, seize avocats kurdes sont toujours poursuivis par la justice turque — après avoir passé plusieurs semaines en prison, certains y subissant des tortures — bien que leur procès soit en état de léthargie. L'ac-

tion d'Avocats sans frontières, dont des membres ont fait plusieurs déplacements à Diyarbakir, a sans doute eu son influence. Il n'empêche que la méthode turque a eu un effet dissuasif puisque la moitié des avocats harcelés par la justice a abandonné la profession.

Globalement du reste, rien ne porte à l'optimisme, selon nos juristes. La guerre s'intensifie, ce qui détériore en permanence le statut social, économique, politique et culturel des Kurdes, dit Mustafa Özer. Et les velléités réformatrices du Premier ministre Tansu Ciller ne se reflètent pas dans la réalité, ajoute son confrère de Van. Tout simplement parce que c'est l'armée qui dispose du vrai pouvoir en Turquie. Et les avocats kurdes d'illustrer leur propos : En Espagne, récemment, M^{me} Ciller a évoqué le modèle basque pour le Kurdistan, puis, en France, elle a envisagé l'octroi de droits culturels aux Kurdes. Dès son

retour en Turquie, elle fut contrainte de se rétracter. Même le président Demirel a dû faire machine arrière après des déclarations apaisantes qui sortaient du dogme de la pensée officielle. De toute manière, les partis au pouvoir cautionnent les violations des droits de l'homme.

Même l'annonce de la tenue d'élections partielles dans le Kurdistan ne convainc pas les avocats d'une quelconque volonté officielle de conciliation. Alors que la Turquie fait de plus en plus figure de mauvais élève de l'Europe en matière de droits de l'homme, cette mesure permettrait au gouvernement de sauver les apparences dans le procès actuellement intenté à six députés kurdes pour « séparatisme » puisque la Constitution turque autorise les détenus en préventive à se présenter au scrutin (où les députés concernés pourraient donc retrouver leur immunité en cas de réélection). Mais, selon M^e Geylani, ces élections étaient constitutionnellement inévitables en raison du nombre de sièges devenus vacants au Parlement (22). Et il n'est d'ailleurs pas encore

acquis que les députés emprisonnés voudront participer à un processus électoral dans les conditions actuelles.

Les revendications des Kurdes ? Voilà où gît le malentendu, pour le bâtonnier Fathi Gümüs. On perçoit les Kurdes des quatre pays (Turquie, Irak, Iran et Syrie) comme demandeurs d'un État indépendant, alors que rien n'est plus faux. Dans chacun de ces pays, nous désirons seulement vivre sur pied d'égalité avec les populations locales et à la condition que notre identité soit reconnue : que nos droits politiques, économiques et culturels soient similaires à ceux des autres nationaux.

Les avocats ne rentrent pas au pays sans craintes. Mais ils sont aussi porteurs d'espoirs : ceux qu'inspire la solidarité des confrères belges, qui prendra la forme, grâce au jumelage des barreaux, de stages locaux de formation aux textes et à la pratique des droits de l'homme. Ce projet, toutefois, dépend encore de l'aval de l'Union européenne dont le soutien financier vient d'être sollicité.

BAUDOUIN LOOS

Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsaces - 30 septembre 1994

Des femmes kurdes occupent le consulat d'Allemagne

Une douzaine de femmes kurdes de Turquie ont occupé symboliquement hier, en fin de matinée, les locaux du consulat d'Allemagne à Strasbourg. Elles étaient venues déposer une lettre de protestation contre « l'agression des femmes et enfants Kurdes à Mannheim, le 26 septembre, par les forces de l'ordre ».

Cette lettre a été adressée au ministère des Affaires étrangères de Bonn, indiquait hier le consul d'Allemagne à Strasbourg.

Lundi, 300 Kurdes, dont environ 200 femmes, avaient été interpellés par la police de Mannheim à l'issue d'une manifestation interdite, qui avait dégénéré. Les femmes kurdes entamaient une semaine de protestation contre la politique menée par le gouvernement d'Ankara contre la minorité kurde. Elles envisagent de se rendre jusqu'au palais de l'Europe de Strasbourg, via Kehl.

Que se passera-t-il lorsque

ces manifestants se présenteront à proximité du pont de l'Europe, probablement dimanche ou lundi ? « Tout dépendra s'il s'agit d'une délégation, qui demande à être reçue en audience par le parlement européen, ou d'une manifestation avec des femmes et des enfants, ce qui ne serait pas sans poser un risque de trouble à l'ordre public. Nous ne pouvons pas exclure que celle-ci soit alors interdite... », indiquait hier Dominique Blais, directeur de cabinet du préfet de région.

200 à 300 personnes sont attendues, auxquelles pourraient s'ajouter une centaine de Kurdes de Strasbourg.

P. M.

Un entretien avec le Premier ministre turc

« Si l'Europe nous rejette... »

PAR TANSU CILLER

La Turquie est-elle économiquement prête à entrer dans l'Europe ? Faut-il s'attendre à une montée de l'islamisme ? Qu'en est-il du respect des droits de l'homme ? Où en est le conflit avec les Kurdes ? Le chef du gouvernement d'Ankara répond aux questions de notre envoyée spéciale, Josette Alia

La Turquie n'a pas de chance. Placée entre l'Orient et l'Occident, entre l'Europe et l'Asie, au carrefour crucial des détroits et des mers, elle a été aux avant-postes du monde occidental, face au communisme, pendant cinquante ans de guerre froide. Le rideau de fer à peine levé, elle se retrouve encore aujourd'hui aux marches de l'Occident, mais face cette fois à l'islamisme et à l'Iran tout proche. Position stratégique, certes, mais être situé entre deux plaques tectoniques n'est pas de tout repos. Or en ce moment les plaques bougent. La Turquie, grand pays musulman qui se veut laïque et démocratique, est doublement menacée.

D'abord par la montée du fondamentalisme islamique. Là comme ailleurs, ce sont surtout les femmes qui mènent le combat de la laïcité (1). Le gagneront-elles ? Enfin, le problème kurde, loin de se régler, s'exaspère et tourne à une véritable guerre dont on ne voit pas l'issue. Le pire, désormais prévisible, étant que les islamistes et les Kurdes ne finissent par faire, au moins tactiquement, cause commune.

Dans cette perspective, les uns et les autres en appellent à l'Europe. Pour Tansu Ciller, Premier ministre de choc et de charme, il est temps que l'Union européenne s'ouvre enfin, si l'Occident veut éviter une redoutable dérive de la Turquie vers l'Orient islamiste. Pour Kendal Nezan, président de l'Institut kurde de Paris, « si les Occidentaux ne prennent pas enfin toute la mesure de ce problème [kurde] hautement politique et stratégique, s'ils continuent, par leur silence et leur soutien multiforme à Ankara, à cautionner la persécution des Kurdes en Turquie, 30 millions de Kurdes de la région pourraient bien se laisser entraîner par d'autres sirènes



Agettey-Gamma

A 48 ans, Tansu Ciller est la première femme à occuper le poste de Premier ministre en Turquie. Mariée et mère de deux enfants, elle a enseigné l'économie aux Etats-Unis et en Turquie, et fut conseiller de la Banque mondiale. Elle dirige un gouvernement de coalition droite modérée (DYP)-gauche sociale-démocrate (SHP).



Combattants kurdes dans l'Est anatolien qui est en proie à une guerre civile impitoyable dans laquelle l'armée turque soumet la population locale à une répression sanglante.

et basculer dans le camp des extrémistes ». Mais l'Europe ne semble pas pressée de s'engager, sauf pour rappeler qu'un pays candidat doit donner des gages d'esprit démocratique et en tout cas cesser ce qu'elle considère comme de graves atteintes aux droits de l'homme. Une exigence que le gouvernement turc repousse, y voyant à la fois une méconnaissance de la nature réelle du terrorisme kurde et une inconvenante ingérence dans ses affaires intérieures.

Il faudrait pourtant sortir de l'impasse. Faire partie de l'Europe est pour la Turquie le seul moyen de sortir de la crise, de conforter son statut démocratique et d'échapper au fanatisme islamique. Mais pour entrer dans l'Europe, la Turquie doit régler son problème kurde autrement que par la répression et la force, Mme Tansu Ciller elle-même en convient ici. Si un règlement honorable – auquel l'Europe pourrait apporter son concours – n'est pas trouvé rapidement, la paix et la stabilité de l'Asie occidentale risquent d'être, à très court terme, menacées.

Le Nouvel Observateur. – *Comment expliquez-vous le succès du parti islamiste aux élections municipales en mars dernier ? 20 % des voix, c'est beaucoup. Craignez-vous une montée de l'intégrisme en Turquie ?*

Tansu Ciller. – Plus maintenant. Si je n'avais pas pris des mesures radicales pour corriger les déséquilibres de l'économie, les fondamentalistes auraient peut-être progressé. Mais j'ai pris les mesures qui s'imposaient et j'ai réussi à calmer le jeu. Car les votes en faveur des fondamen-

talistes n'étaient pas des votes religieux. C'était des votes politiques, des votes de protestation contre une économie défaillante et un système en train de s'écrouler. Il fallait redresser la barre, j'avais un plan – je suis économiste de formation –, je savais ce qu'il fallait faire, c'est d'ailleurs pour appliquer ce plan que je suis entrée en politique. Certes, les circonstances n'étaient guère favorables : au moment des élections, je n'étais Premier ministre que depuis quelques mois et la crise économique battait son plein. Malgré cela, nous avons gagné. Le peuple a pensé qu'il fallait me donner une chance. Il me l'a donnée. Maintenant, le pire est derrière nous.

N. O. – *Diriez-vous que votre plan d'ajustement a réussi ?*

T. Ciller. – Je le crois. L'inflation est passée de 32 % par mois à 1 ou 2 %. Les exportations augmentent. Le déficit commercial était de 14 milliards de dollars ; il est maintenant de 7 milliards. Tout cela en quatre mois seulement. L'amélioration est spectaculaire. Bien sûr, tout n'est pas terminé : le plan s'étale sur deux ans. Il nous reste beaucoup à faire, mais, à mon avis, nous avons passé les caps les plus difficiles.

N. O. – *Serez-vous prêts pour intégrer l'Union douanière européenne à la date prévue, c'est-à-dire 1995 ?*

T. Ciller. – Oui, absolument. Nous nous joindrons à l'Union douanière à la fin de 1995, j'y suis déterminée. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous avons adopté des mesures économiques aussi drastiques. Nous faisons tout notre possible pour être prêts. Ensuite ce sera à nos amis de l'Union européenne de décider s'ils ont besoin de la Turquie. La Turquie n'est pas un pays économiquement sous-développé, elle a une économie dynamique, au potentiel considérable. Avec toutes les républiques turcophones proches, nous repré-

sentons un apport appréciable pour l'Europe. L'Union européenne a besoin du dynamisme de la Turquie. C'est pour cela que j'ai voulu remettre en ordre mon pays.

N. O. - *Pourtant l'Union européenne ne semble pas pressée d'accueillir la Turquie. Qu'est-ce qui freine, à votre avis ? Où sont les blocages ?*

T. Ciller. - Ce qui bloque nos relations avec l'Europe ? Nous avons corrigé notre balance des paiements, notre économie mérite maintenant d'être reconnue comme satisfaisant aux normes européennes... Alors on ne voit pas pourquoi l'Europe nous rejeterait. Peut-être parce que nous sommes un pays musulman ? En ce cas, cela voudrait dire que l'Europe n'est pas vraiment laïque. Cela signifierait que l'Union européenne n'est qu'un club chrétien.

N. O. - *La vraie raison se situe peut-être ailleurs : l'Europe aurait peur, en intégrant la Turquie, de voir déferler chez elle, au nom de la libre circulation des personnes, des millions de travailleurs turcs...*

T. Ciller. - Je ne pense pas qu'il y aura un grand mouvement migratoire à partir de la Turquie. Mais, évidemment, nous pouvons négocier cela, ce n'est pas un problème, nous trouverons une solution. D'ailleurs, cela ne se fera pas du jour au lendemain, et nos amis européens prendront certainement ce problème en compte avant d'autoriser la libre circulation des travailleurs. L'entrée dans l'Union douanière, l'entrée dans l'Union européenne et la libre circulation des personnes peuvent ne pas intervenir simultanément. Nous pouvons étudier ce point particulier dans le cadre d'un programme, avec un calendrier.

N. O. - *Il existe un autre obstacle à l'entrée de la Turquie dans l'Union européenne, c'est le problème des droits de l'homme, qui, selon le Conseil de l'Europe, dont la Turquie est membre, ne sont pas respectés dans votre pays.*

T. Ciller. - Tout le monde a les yeux braqués sur nos faiblesses. Je crois que beaucoup de pays ont leurs propres défaillances en matière de droits de l'homme. Il faut pourtant reconnaître la vitesse à laquelle nous avons progressé. Nous sommes le seul pays musulman laïque et démocratique de la région. Le seul, avec les Etats-Unis, à avoir un processus d'enquête judiciaire vraiment transparent. Si une personne est arrêtée, elle peut demander l'assistance de son avocat au moment de son arrestation, ainsi que pendant toute la durée de l'investigation policière et judiciaire.

N. O. - *La garde à vue, quand il s'agit de mise en observation pour terrorisme, dure dix jours. Bien des choses peuvent se passer en dix jours...*

T. Ciller. - Il y a environ un an, nous avons introduit des modifications du Code de Procédure pénale. Cela fait partie d'un train de réformes qui est en cours et doit se poursuivre. Mais vous devez comprendre que nous sommes aussi un pays en lutte contre le terrorisme, ce qui nous empêche de faire tout ce que nous voudrions faire. Le PKK (2)

tue nos enfants, qu'ils soient turcs ou kurdes. Il y a beaucoup de cruauté et de violence. Certains changements que nous souhaitons ne peuvent être effectués dans les circonstances actuelles.

N. O. - *Pensez-vous que le problème kurde ne puisse être réglé que par la force et la répression ?*

T. Ciller. - Bien sûr que non. On nous parle toujours du « problème kurde ». Mais les Kurdes ne vivent pas dans une région particulière, ils sont répartis dans tout le pays. Ils ont les mêmes droits que tous les autres Turcs. Le PKK veut diviser le pays, isoler le Sud-Est. Les Kurdes qui vivent dans cette région ne sont pas d'accord, et c'est pourquoi le PKK tue surtout des Kurdes. Ils arrêtent des bus, massacrent les occupants, ils font des descentes dans les cafés, dans les maisons, ils tuent des femmes et des enfants. Devant une telle situa-

tion, que voulez-vous faire ? Nous sommes contraints d'employer la force, puisqu'ils en usent eux aussi. Vous ne feriez pas autre chose dans votre pays si des individus arrêtaient des autobus pour tuer les voyageurs.

N. O. - *Il faut pourtant trouver une solution. Etes-vous prête à accorder aux Kurdes des droits spécifiques ?*

T. Ciller. - Le PKK doit reconnaître qu'il ne peut pas continuer comme cela. Là-dessus nous n'avons pas cédé et nous ne céderons pas. Je suis prête à accorder plus de droits à tous les citoyens turcs, mais pas des droits spécifiques aux Kurdes. La Turquie est une mosaïque. Nous avons 24 groupes ethniques différents. Des Grecs se sont mêlés à nous. Nous ne savons même pas exactement qui sont nos ancêtres. Je ne peux pas dire à certains de nos concitoyens : vous avez plus de liberté ou plus de droits que les autres, vous êtes des citoyens de première classe. Tout le monde doit avoir les mêmes droits. Nous voulons être un pays aussi démocratique que n'importe quel autre pays en Europe.

**Propos recueillis par
JOSETTE ALIA**

(1) Voir « le Nouvel Observateur » du 22 septembre 1994.

(2) Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan.

TURQUIE M^{me} Tansu Çiller, le Premier ministre, avait promis une rentrée scolaire pacifiée dans le "Sud-Est". Las... ! La situation reste la même depuis quatre ans. 4 000 écoles sont restées fermées ; 10 000 enseignants ont refusé de rejoindre leur poste. Et le PKK kurde, le jour même de la rentrée, a assassiné six instituteurs.

“Pas d’hymne turc à l’école !”

Sanglante rentrée scolaire au Kurdistan

Yalçın Doğan
MILLİYET - ISTANBUL

Une fois de plus, elles n’ont pas pu toutes ouvrir. Et, qui plus est, celles qui n’ont pas ouvert sont ensanglantées. Partout, en Turquie, la rentrée des classes a eu lieu, à l’exception du Sud-Est [Kurdistan]. Le jour même de la rentrée, le PKK y a assassiné six enseignants.

Le ministre de l’Education nationale, Nevzat Ayaz, a commis l’erreur de parler trop vite. “*Nous en avons désormais fini avec le problème de la terreur dans le Sud-Est. Cette année, nous pourrons ouvrir toutes les écoles dans toutes les régions de la Turquie*”, avait-il déclaré avant le début de l’année scolaire. Le discours du ministre a aussitôt été démenti par le PKK. Non seulement les écoles sont restées fermées dans le Sud-Est, mais, avec l’assassinat des six enseignants [le 12 septembre], les quelques signes de témérité qui commençaient à se manifester volent en éclats.

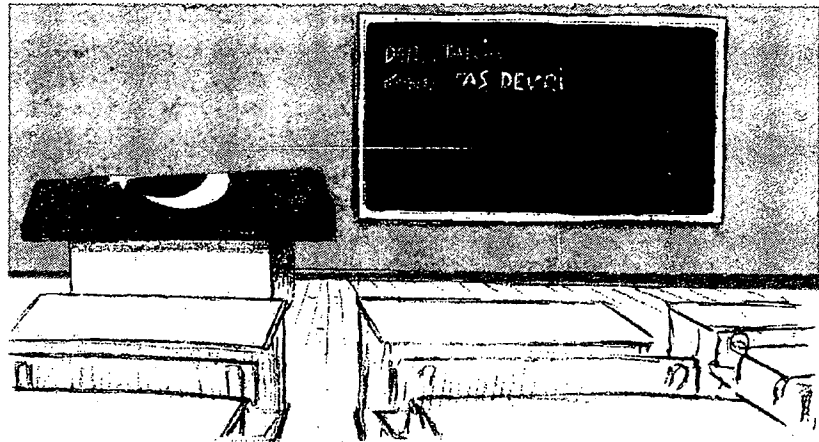
Le PKK a distribué dans le Sud-Est un tract signé “Les éducateurs révolutionnaires nationaux”, qui proclame :

“*On ne chantera pas dans les écoles l’hymne national turc, on ne hissera pas le drapeau !*”

– *Les élèves n’auront pas de cours sur l’histoire turque, ni sur Atatürk !*

– *Les enfants kurdes ne seront pas soumis à une éducation colonialiste ; on leur fera comprendre leur identité kurde !*

– *Dans les écoles primaires des villages, les instituteurs dispenseront*



Cours d’histoire. Sujet : l’âge de pierre.
Dessin de Haslet Soyöz paru dans Milliyet - ISTANBUL

un enseignement dans le sens exigé par l’organisation ; et, dans les villes, on préparera les conditions pour réaliser cet objectif !

– *Les enseignants verseront une part de leur salaire comme impôt à l’organisation !”*

Cette déclaration, diffusée dans plusieurs centres du Sud-Est, menace aussi bien les enseignants que les familles qui envoient leurs enfants à l’école.

Le nombre d’enseignants qui ont perdu leur vie sous les balles du PKK depuis 1987 s’élève à quatre-vingt-dix. En 1993, 10 000 enseignants ont été affectés à des postes dans le Sud-Est. Aucun d’entre eux ne s’est rendu sur son lieu de travail. Au début de cette année scolaire, 20 000 nouveaux enseignants ont été nommés dans diverses régions de Turquie, avec moult discours et cérémonies. Et qu’apprend-on ? Qu’aucun de ceux affectés au Sud-Est n’a pris ses fonctions. Et que le jour même où commence l’année scolaire, six enseignants qui avaient accepté d’y

aller les années précédentes sont sauvagement assassinés par le PKK.

A l’heure actuelle, plus de 4 000 établissements scolaires du Sud-Est sont fermés. Cela dure depuis quatre ans : 1 839 écoles restent fermées parce qu’on ne peut plus assurer leur sécurité ; 2 202 n’ont pas d’instituteurs ; 9 200 se trouvent dans les villages évacués et 71 ont été complètement incendiées par le PKK...

Afin de protéger les écoles contre les actes de terreur, on essaie de réunir plusieurs d’entre elles pour les centraliser, mais en vain. Les écoles et le système d’éducation sont parmi les cibles les plus importantes du PKK, car il prétend qu’à travers l’éducation on détruit la conscience ethnique des enfants kurdes. Il y attache une telle importance qu’il forme des unités spéciales en son sein pour s’occuper exclusivement des actions dirigées contre les écoles, les enseignants et les élèves. Objectif : tuer les instituteurs, séquestrer les élèves, incendier les écoles ou, à défaut, empê-

cher leur ouverture...

L'assassinat des six enseignants bouleverse encore la Turquie. Tout au cours de l'été [en particulier durant la visite effectuée au Kurdistan par le Premier ministre, Tansu Çiller, en août - voir CI du 8 septembre], on avait pourtant entendu dire que "l'Etat a finalement vaincu la terreur ; il est désormais possible de sortir la nuit dans cette région ; on peut circuler en toute sécurité sur les routes, de jour comme de nuit".

Et voilà qu'on paie de façon brutale les conséquences d'une mauvaise appréciation de la situation. Il est certes vrai que, ces derniers mois, quelques succès ont été obtenus dans la lutte contre le PKK. Mais on comprend maintenant, d'une manière très douloureuse, qu'il n'y a pas d'aboutissement. La vérité nous revient comme une giflette.

Lorsque débute l'année scolaire, chacun se souvient de son instituteur. Mais, avec les assassinats du

PKK, les souvenirs s'interrompent et le mot "instituteur" s'assimile à une scène sanglante et à une douleur irrépressible. Ce sont nos instituteurs à nous tous qui ont été les cibles des balles terroristes. Vadat Inan, A. Ihsan Cetinkaya, Matin Kaynar, Büminhan Temizkan, Rüstem Sen, Mustafa Kaynarca... Oui, ces maîtres d'école étaient nos instituteurs, à nous tous. Maître, tu ne pardonneras jamais à cet Etat, je le sais !... ●

● Echangerait affectation, forte récompense...

Sur les six enseignants assassinés le 12 septembre, trois étaient eux-mêmes kurdes. Plus récemment, un convoi militaire qui escortait quatre autres enseignants, mutés dans le village de Tunceli, a été attaqué. Bilan : un instituteur et trois militaires tués, plusieurs

blessés. L'enseignant tué avait été affecté à Batman, un autre village, mais avait réussi à "échanger" son poste pour aller à Tunceli, qu'il croyait plus sûr. Le ministère de l'Éducation a déterminé les affectations par tirage au sort, en août dernier. "Aussitôt, rapporte Mil-

liyet, s'est mise en place une 'bourse d'échange' des enseignants." Ceux qui se voyaient affectés au Kurdistan sont sortis dans les rues avec des pancartes affichant leur lieu d'affectation et la somme d'argent qu'ils offraient à leurs collègues qui accepteraient de permuter avec eux.

La presse les a souvent qualifiés de "lâches et égoïstes". L'un des instituteurs blessés sur la route de Tunceli, un jeune de 22 ans, s'y rendait sans avoir rechigné. Il avait déclaré auparavant être "prêt à servir dans n'importe quel coin de la patrie".

LIBÉRATION - 28 SEPTEMBRE 1994

Juppé veut récompenser le régime irakien

LE MINISTRE français des Affaires étrangères appelle la communauté internationale à tenir compte des progrès accomplis par l'Irak. Dans une interview accordée lundi à l'AFP, il estime que le «schéma d'immobilisme» actuel ne peut que pousser Saddam Hussein à «l'intransigeance».

A la veille de sa rencontre à New York avec le vice-Premier ministre ira-

kien Tarek Aziz, Alain Juppé minimise cependant l'action de la France dans ce domaine. «Nous n'avons pas les moyens d'imposer un retournement», explique-t-il. Les Etats-Unis opposent un refus catégorique à tout changement d'attitude à l'égard du régime de Bagdad.

Le chef de la diplomatie française juge le moment venu pour mettre en place un système de contrô-

le à long terme de l'armement irakien, préalable à un assouplissement des sanctions.

A l'issue de la période probatoire, «il faudra voir si l'on peut procéder à une levée partielle des exportations pétrolières de l'Irak». Pour pouvoir reprendre leurs livraisons de brut, les Irakiens devront également s'engager à respecter les «résolutions sur le Koweït (notamment la reconnaissance de la frontière)» et les «minorités, chiite au Sud, kurde au Nord».

Ch.B.

HADEP Executives Back Polls, Apo Against Öcalan Cancels Press Conference Amid Diplomatic War

Ilnur Çevik and Sinan Yılmaz

The local executives of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) in the troubled southeastern provinces are supporting the party's participation in the Dec. 4 by-elections, while separatist leader Abdullah Öcalan, alias Apo, has declared he and his militants are against the polls.

The by-elections will be mainly contested in the southeastern provinces where the closure of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) has resulted in 13 deputies losing their parliamentary seats.

Öcalan, the leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), who was forced to cancel a press conference in Lebanon earlier last week after diplomatic pressure from Turkey on Damascus and Beirut, says HADEP is free to do "whatever it likes" but stressed that he is against the by-elections. HADEP officials held a meeting in Ankara on Sept. 25 to determine the stance of the party in the by-elections.

The provincial chairmen of HADEP in southeastern Turkey also attended the meeting and a majority said they are in favor of the participation of the party in the polls.

Only the provincial chairmen representing the southeastern cities of Şırnak and Muş opposed the party's participation in the elections, citing mass migration of their supporters from these areas which has reduced the popular strength of HADEP. The Turkish Probe learnt that HADEP officials in Ankara were also inclined to go along with the wishes of the provincial officials and participate in the by-elections while calling on the state to "create the conditions in the region for democratic elections."

HADEP is the successor of DEP which was closed down by the Constitutional Court for supporting separatism. The DEP deputies lost their parliamentary seats because of the court decision. According to Turkish law if a party is closed down by the supreme court its deputies also lose their seats in Parliament. Currently seven former DEP deputies are in jail and six others are abroad, living in exile. The 13 seats vacated by the DEP deputies will be contested in the southeastern provinces of Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şırnak and Van.

The DEP deputies had been elected on the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) ticket in the 1991 elections. HADEP officials are hopeful that the fact that the SHP had won the seats for the pro-Kurdish deputies with large margins will also mean they too will make a good showing in the by-elections. The DEP boycotted the municipal elections in March and the pro-Islamic Welfare Party won most of the may-

oral seats in the southeastern provinces.

The HADEP meeting in Ankara concentrated on by-elections and the popularity of the party in the southeastern provinces. Most of the provincial officials representing the southeastern provinces said their supporters had migrated from the villages but had gone to the major settlements in their provinces, and had not left the area, and thus they would still vote for the party. They said, however, voter registration lists should be updated, especially in the cities, to allow the migrants to vote.

The HADEP provincial chairmen in Muş and Şırnak insisted that their supporters had migrated from the province, thus seriously undermining the popularity of the party in these areas.

THE EX-DEP DEPUTIES- The former deputies of DEP, who are either in prison or who are in exile abroad, are still debating whether or not to run as candidates in the by-elections. The Turkish Probe has learnt there are still differences of opinion among the deputies.

Ex-DEP deputy Remzi Kartal, who is now in Brussels, says he and his colleagues are awaiting the third round of the DEP trial scheduled for Oct. 7. He said if the court decided to release some of the DEP deputies, it could influence their decision to participate in the elections.

Kartal claimed there was an anti-democratic environment in Turkey and under these circumstances it would be hard for the DEP deputies to participate in elections. Former Siirt DEP deputy Naif Gunes said the DEP members in exile would decide soon on a joint action and stressed the current mood was for the deputies not to participate in the polls.

The former DEP deputies currently in prison in Turkey are also reportedly debating what to do in the elections. Ahmet Türk, Sırrı Sakık, Sedat Yurttaş and Selim Sadak want to take part in the elections. Sakık and Yurttaş say they could even cooperate with the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP). Others say they feel they should either run as independent candidates or contest the elections on the HADEP ticket.

Observers say former DEP deputies like Türk and Sakık, who have strong backing among tribes in the Southeast, could well be re-elected.

Orhan Doğan, meanwhile, says he too feels that the DEP deputies should participate in the elections but also cautions that if they are defeated at the polls they could lose face. Hatip Dicle and Leyla Zana, on the other hand, strongly oppose participating in the by-elections.

They say they still feel they are deputies and that

the votes cast for them by the people in 1991 are still valid. By participating in the elections they feel they will contradict their own position.

The jailed ex-deputies, just like their counterparts in exile, also seem to be waiting for a move by the judge to release some of the defendants at the DEP trial on Oct. 7 and thus create a more favorable atmosphere.

HADEP circles say the latest statements by Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk, who supports the participation of the former DEP deputies in by-elections, are aimed at creating an atmosphere of reconciliation.

If former DEP deputies are re-elected in the by-elections, the authorities have to release them from prison. If this happens the court cases will be postponed until after the term of office of the deputies is completed. In this case, the State Security Court prosecutor may again ask for the lifting of the immunities of the deputies to open the way for their trial.

PKK AGAINST BY-ELECTIONS- Öcalan's written statement circulated to the press on Sept. 28 shows that the PKK is strongly against the by-elections in southeastern Turkey and the participation of HADEP in the polls.

While Öcalan says it is up to HADEP to decide whether to enter the elections, he still shows the stick when he declared "if a party enters such elections it will simply mean the bankruptcy of that party and we do not support that."

Kurdish sources say HADEP cannot move on its own in the by-elections issue and with the PKK objection it may not participate in the polls. Thus, Öcalan's veto is regarded as "meaningful."

Despite denials that HADEP is not linked to the PKK and Öcalan insiders say the party cannot act against the wishes of the two. Former DEP deputies are currently on trial for their alleged links with the PKK, which are regarded as treasonable. Öcalan in his statement says state officials are contradicting themselves by saying the DEP deputies should be allowed to participate in the by-elections. "DEP deputies were elected members of the Parliament. There should be no problem of having to have them re-elected to Parliament.

If this was the case then why were they thrown out of the Parliament and put into prison? These are the same personalities. Their views have not changed. So why open the way for their re-election? This is a clear contradiction."

Insiders say the PKK does not want the participation of its supporters in the elections because it fears a fiasco. "If the pro-Kurdish candidates participate in the elections and fail to be elected then the PKK as well as its supporters will lose face. So they prefer to stay away in the polls and even declare their support for the Welfare Party, and if the pro-Islamic party wins in the elections they can boast that they too had a hand in this success."

THE DIPLOMATIC WAR- While the PKK is waging its terrorist war in southeastern Turkey, another war is shaping up on the diplomatic front.

After a long lull, Öcalan tentatively scheduled a

"press conference" in Lebanon at Bar Elias in the Bekaa Valley. Öcalan had organized such press conferences in the past in Lebanon with little or no hindrance and PKK officials felt this time would be no exception.

They were wrong. First many prominent Turkish journalists who attended the previous press conferences disappointed the PKK officials when they displayed a lack of enthusiasm to attend the press conference. The PKK approached several prominent journalists but did not get too far.

But when leading Turkish newspapers like Hürriyet and Sabah who are hungry for "news" decided to follow the press conference, all other papers also decided to send their reporters.

When this became apparent, Turkey started approaching Syrian and Lebanese officials. Ankara sent messages to Damascus and Beirut reminding the officials about their previous statements that they would not allow their soil to be used for anti-Turkish activity.

So in the end both Syrian and Lebanese officials told Öcalan not to hold such a press conference in their territory. This was regarded as a serious setback for Öcalan and served him a warning about his future ties with these two governments. "When the time comes the Syrians and the Lebanese may well deliver him (Öcalan) to the wolves just as Sudan did to Carlos the Jackal and Öcalan is aware of this," a foreign diplomat told the Turkish Probe. He asked not to be named.

This was the second blow to the Kurdish militants in less than a month. The first blow came when Turkey exerted diplomatic pressure on its Western allies as well as on the Iraqi Kurds and cancelled a summit meeting in Paris between Iraqi Kurdish leaders and French President Francois Mitterrand. The meeting was seen here as the final step in the establishment of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq with Western approval. The meeting was supported by the Paris-based Kurdish Institute which is regarded as a close ally of Öcalan and the PKK. The first meeting in Paris organized by the Institute with the backing of the French authorities produced a blueprint of an agreement between the Iraqi Kurds which was regarded here as a draft of the "Kurdish Constitution."

Later the French government denied any involvement in the meetings but no one could explain why the Paris talks were held in the halls of an official building owned by the French presidency and why officials from the French government, as well as from the British and American embassies, also attended them. What became clear was that Ankara is now prepared to expand its struggle against the PKK to the international arena and counter it on the diplomatic front.

The PKK in return hit back by staging a political show in Maastricht, in the Netherlands, to the anger of the Turkish government. "The Dutch government should never have allowed the Kurdish militants to stage such a meeting," a Turkish government source told the Turkish Probe. ■

Whatever Happened to the Paris Conference?

"We strongly believe that an intended Paris conference where rival Northern Iraqi Kurdish groups are expected to meet will not be realized," Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman declared last week. An hour after Ataman's declaration, a senior diplomat in the French Embassy in Ankara made a similar statement: "We think it is highly unlikely that such a conference will take place."

"Such a conference" refers to a "summit" between the leaders of two leading northern Iraqi Kurdish parties and French President Francois Mitterrand. Kurdish sources say the meeting, had it taken place, would "seal off" earlier agreements made in July in a Paris meeting among delegations sent by Barzani and Talabani.

The draft, formulated during a six day meeting in Paris made Turkish officials' eyebrows rise in outrage when they heard about it. In the words of Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal, the draft was "almost the constitution of a Kurdish state."

To prevent the second round in Paris, Ankara started an all-out diplomatic initiative. First of all, it held talks with the regional powers — Iran and Syria — and published a very strongly-worded declaration on the territorial integrity of Iraq. Soysal, returning from Damascus, signalled his condemnation of "extra-regional" attempts at establishing "an independent Kurdish state" — clearly pointing an accusing finger at France, the host of the meeting.

With the severe condemnation of the regional powers, Ankara turned its attention westward. Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman said Turkey's position toward the conference and its results had been spelled out to the United Kingdom, the United States and France.

"A look at the final statement made after the meeting of these three countries in March shows that they (the countries which participate in the Operation Provide Comfort) are also committed to the territorial integrity of Iraq. So what is this change, we asked them," a senior Turkish diplomat told the Probe. "They assured us there was no change in their policy."

Then started Ankara's rather tough bargaining with the Kurdish leaders, which ranged from persuasion ("It is not Mitterrand who invited you") to threats ("We consider this a very hostile action with grave consequences if you go to Paris.") Kurdish sources have indicated that Turkey, the essential stopover if they want to travel west, has refused to provide helicopters for the transport. Turkish officials have said that such a refusal never took place.

"The Kurdish leaders have told us that they would be obliged to go to Paris, since they cannot refuse an invitation from President Mitterrand. But all our findings indicate that there was no invitation from the French president," the senior diplomat said.

Finally, Foreign Ministry spokesman Ataman

declared that Ankara was convinced that France did not arrange a meeting of the northern Iraqi Kurdish leaders. He added that Ankara had been given assurances to this effect by the French foreign ministry, which had indicated that the government of France was in no way involved in the arrangements for this meeting.

However, despite claims that Ankara had spoilt the "plot of the Northern Iraqi Kurds," there appears to be gross exaggerations and points still left in the dark. Turkish diplomats, eager to claim the victory, have said that they had advised their Western allies of the "unacceptable points" in the draft formulated during the July conference. What appears to be neglected in the Turkish media is that the Western allies, namely France, the U.K. and the United States, had

"nonparticipant" observers in the six-day meeting, who, one assumes, must be very much aware of what is going on and reporting regularly to their capitals. Neither were those observers pulled back in the course of those six days.

The second point still to be clarified is exactly how much France was involved in the organization of the meeting. French official circles are quick to note that the organizers of the conference was the Kurdish Institute in Paris and France Liberte of first lady Danielle Mitterrand and that Paris cannot control NGOs. However, the fact that the meeting took place at Chateau Rambouillet, a hunting residence that belonged to the French Presidency, proves to be a "curious point."

Diplomatic observers believe that the Northern Iraqi Kurds have "overestimated" the support of French President Francois Mitterrand. "We believe that Mitterrand never made such an invitation. Rather, the president, who had been in hospital during the duration of the conference, was presented with a fait accompli," a Turkish diplomat said.

While Mitterrand has made strong statements of his support of territorial integrity of Iraq, neither the Presidency nor the French Foreign Ministry denied the existence of an invitation from Mitterrand to the Northern Iraqi Kurds right away.

Soysal has signalled that he for one is not "too convinced" with the explanations of the three Western allies regarding the Paris conference. "The Western nations are involved in an initiative at Northern Iraq... What surprised us in the extreme is that the countries we know as our allies, were represented at their meeting and did not inform us as to what was going on," he said in a television interview.

The Paris conference may be stalled, but the debate on Iraqi territorial integrity certainly is not. Turkish officials indicate that Iraqi territorial integrity and "potential extraregional initiatives" will be very much on the agenda when powers which participate in Operation Provide Comfort will come together for a meeting no later than end of November. ■

Diplomatic Briefcase

'Kurdish Conference' in Sofia criticized

A "Kurdish Conference," said to have been organized in Sofia by Bulgarian ultranationalist groups, has elicited strong criticism from political circles and the press in that country, the Anatolia news agency reported last week. Twenty-four deputies from the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), which is currently the main opposition party, called for a closed session of Parliament so that the interior and foreign ministers can explain how this conference could be held, Anatolia said. This proposal was later withdrawn by the UDF, Anatolia reported, without giving any explanation. UDF Deputy Dragia Dragiev was quoted by the agency as referring to the conference as a "scandal" and as saying that such a meeting would negatively affect Turkish-Bulgarian relations when this was the last thing that was needed. Another UDF deputy, Sasho Stoyanov, was quoted as claiming that the organizers of the conference included supporters of the assimilation campaign carried on against Bulgaria's Turkish minority during the time of former Communist dictator Todor Zhivkov. "For those who denied the ethnic identity of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria to organize a Kurdish conference is a tragicomic development," Stoyanov was quoted as saying.

Grossman says Turkey vital for US interests

Ambassador-designate to Turkey, Marc Grossman, has said that Turkey is a vitally important country for the United States. "We are NATO allies. Turkey is a democratic and secular nation in an unstable region with few democratic traditions. Turkey was a pillar of the coalition against Saddam Hussein and, by participating in Operation Provide Comfort, is crucial to the effort to aid the peoples of northern Iraq," Grossman said at confirmation hearing last week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Pointing out that Turkey had played a role in Somalia under the U.N. umbrella and was continuing to do so in Bosnia, Grossman indicated that American business also has a substantial interest in Turkey. "The Department of Commerce has identified Turkey as one of the 10 global 'Big Emerging Markets' where there is a great opportunity for us," Grossman said. He added that the task of U.S. diplomacy in Turkey in the years ahead would be to build on this solid foundation. "If confirmed by the Senate, I will pursue with our Turkish allies a security relationship connected to NATO and relevant to the world after communism. Promoting human rights and democracy and supporting U.N. and U.S. efforts to bring a resolu-

tion to the Cyprus problem will be the top priorities. We need also to do everything we can to reduce tension between our allies Greece and Turkey. Turkey offers the United States outstanding potential for political cooperation in the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia," Grossman said.

France unlikely to extradite Karataş

France, worried about the existence of capital punishment in Turkey, is unlikely to extradite fugitive Turkish terrorist, Dursun Karataş, French Embassy sources told the Turkish Daily News last week. They said that Karataş, the leader of the outlawed Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left) organization, would first be tried in France and serve his sentence there if convicted. Karataş was arrested two weeks ago on the Italian French border with a false passport. "We think this is the best solution for all parties," a French source wishing to remain anonymous said. Turkish government officials, however, said France's excuse is not valid. "Capital punishment has not been executed for years," Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal said last week when commenting on the subject "None of the crimes for which we demanded his extradition calls for capital punishment," a Turkish diplomat, familiar with the Karataş' file which was handed over to French authorities, said.

FM sets up human rights committee

Mounting international concern on the state of human rights in Turkey has pushed the Turkish Foreign Ministry to establishing a human rights committee comprising officials from the Foreign Ministry as well as the Ministry for the Interior, various local officials and other related organizations. The committee, chaired by Foreign Ministry Deputy Undersecretary Unal Unsal, aims to increase the coordination between various organs of state with regard to developments concerning human rights. Commenting to the Turkish Daily News about the new committee, one senior diplomat explained the need for such a committee by saying: "When an international organization or a foreign government asks a question, it is the Foreign Ministry which gives the reply. It is imperative that we are properly informed on individual cases." He added that the committee had now been in operation for more than a month, although there was no regular meeting period. Military officials, particularly those who coordinate security activities in the Southeast, will also take part in the committee's meetings.

Human Rights Diary

Police raid law firm: According to a press statement from the Human Rights Association (IHD) General Secretary Hüsnü Öndül, police officers from the Ankara police department raided the People's Law Bureau on Tuesday. According to the Istanbul-based organization, police officers took Murat Demir and lawyer Ahmet Düzgün Yüksel into custody. Gülcan Yavuz, Yasin Çetin and Fatma Yaman, who were in the office at the time of the raid, were also taken into custody. (IHD, Sept. 28)

Police detain IHD official in Tunceli: The head of the Human Rights Association's (IHD) Tunceli office, Ekber Kaya, was detained by police on Sept. 22, with no reason being given why, IHD officials said on Friday. In a statement, Secretary General of the IHD Hüsnü Öndül said they feared for Kaya's life and added that the pressure on their organization had been mounting in recent times. "The fear in Turkey of the spreading winds of democracy has led in the past week to the closing down of our offices in Adana and Izmir and the increase in the threats against our principle office (in Ankara)," Öndül said. He indicated that they were demanding the immediate release of Ekber Kaya and added that the threats and pressure would not deter them from supporting the basic tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (TDN, Sept. 23)

Freedom of thought parameters defined: The subcommittee of the commission set up by the National Security Council (MGK) to define the parameters of "freedom of thought," in line with the planned amendment of the Anti-Terrorism Law, presented its final report to the commission's higher committee on Sunday. The commission was set up at the suggestion of the Justice Ministry, several Bar Associations and ministry officials. The report recommends that the broadcasting and reporting of information on outlawed parties or terrorist organizations on television, radio or on similar communications systems should no longer be allowed. New regulations are proposed under which those sponsoring, writing, producing, distributing, selling and presenting such programs or films will be liable to punishment. According to the report, the wording of Article 1 of the Anti-Terrorism Law should be changed to read: "terrorism is... the use of violence and threats to change the existing structure of the republic as defined by the Constitution or the attempt to destroy the unity of the state." The report also proposes the addition of the concept of "religion-based terrorism" to Article 4 of the Anti-Terrorism Law. Anyone tried under Article 4 will be subject to a prison sentence of five to 10 years. Under the proposed revisions to the Anti-Terrorism Law, anyone who makes public the name, title or rank of civil servants active in the struggle against terrorism will be subject to fines varying from between TL 100 and TL 20 million. It is also proposed that a prison sentence be increased by one third if the crime in question is committed in the name of any illegally formed organization. People who praise or provoke terrorist crimes or provide help to terrorist organizations will face a prison sentence of between three and five years and will be fined from TL 500 million to TL 1 billion under the report's recommendations. Individuals who provide terrorist organizations with guns and ammunition will have to reckon with a prison sentence of between four and eight years and an additional fine of between TL 1 billion and TL 5 billion. If certain foundations, associations, political parties, workers' unions and syndicates have played a part in any of the above-listed crimes, those involved will face having their sentence increased by a third. According to the proposed revisions, crimes committed by TV channels and the press will be punished with fines not prison terms, but writers and journalists already in prison will not be able to benefit from this change in the law. However, if prison sentences are no longer imposed on journalists and writers, but the latter have to pay fines instead, these fines may in certain cases be so high that the defendants will be unable to pay them and might still end up in prison since unpaid fines can be converted back into prison terms. As it stands at the moment, the Anti-Terrorism Law punishes the responsible writer, editor-in-chief and owner of the publishing organ. Under the new proposals, the list of people subject to punishment has been extended. According to the report's proposals, the owners of private TV channels and presenters will also be subject to punishment. Meanwhile, the opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) said that the current Anti-Terrorism Law had been drawn up by the government's coalition partners and did not limit "freedom of thought" but only targeted propaganda aimed at harming the indivisible integrity of the country. Speaking at a press conference held at the Parliament, the former justice minister and deputy spokesman of the ANAP parliamentary group, Oltan Sungurlu, claimed that "obscenities, insults and threats" against the unity of the state were not considered as "crimes of thought" under international law. Evaluating Anti-Terrorism Law developments, Sungurlu noted that the law had been passed during his term in office. "If the current coalition government does not consider the propaganda conducted against the indivisible integrity of the country as a danger, then they can change it (the Anti-Terrorism Law) but as far as I am aware, True Path Party (DYP) deputies have, in previous attempts, prevented changes," he said. (TDN, Sept. 26)

Martinez urges European Council's support for Turkey

But adds that democracy in Turkey is not on a par with European norms

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Miguel Angel Martinez, the head of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, said Thursday that any threat to Turkish territorial integrity would have adverse effects on "the Europe we are trying to build."

Martinez, who gave an interview to the Anatolia news agency in Madrid, said he believed Turkish officials were "aware of certain problems and wanted improvement."

Martinez, accompanied by a group of seven deputies, arrived in Ankara last month for a fact-finding mission on Turkish human rights. He has held extensive talks with the Turkish prime minister, deputy prime minister, Parliament

speaker and justice minister, as well as representatives of several political parties.

"Reform is not easy... I realize the difficulties... What we should do, as the Council of Europe, is to adopt a serious, determined and careful attitude and ask Turkey to abide by the European norms (on human rights)," he told Anatolia. As for constitutional barriers to democratization, the Turks are acutely aware of them all, Martinez said.

"The problem is the absence of a stable atmosphere that would accelerate reform. It is essential that there should be a consensus for political reform," he claimed.

The Spanish deputy said that the key to overcome the deadlock might be Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk, whom he praised lavishly.

"He knows there is no time to lose and we support him thoroughly. We think he can play an important role in achieving a consensus among political parties. He can gather the leaders of the political parties and tell them it is time to overcome the stalemate."

He also praised the government decision to hold interim elections. "I will meet with the former deputies of the Democracy Party in Strasbourg," he said. "I will ask them to participate in the elections. The Turkish govern-

ment should also enable that to happen."

PKK is cancer

Repeating his earlier statements while in Turkey, Martinez condemned the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in strong language. "Any threat to Turkish territorial integrity will also pose a very serious threat for the architecture of the Europe that we are trying to build," Martinez said. "PKK terrorism is a cancer. The PKK is a terrorist group and each and every one of its activities is a violation of human rights."

But he also criticized some Turkish moves while combatting terrorism. "Sometimes Ankara acts in a way to cut the domestic and foreign support to the PKK. But some mistakes lead to PKK being shown as the sole spokesman and representative of the millions of Kurdish people."

Report will be severe

Responding to questions on how he will word his report to the Council's Parliamentary Assembly, Martinez admitted that "the tone of the report would be severe."

"Our room for maneuver is quite limited. We do not want to act in a way that hampers improvements in Turkey or reverse the tendency to reform," he said.

"I will tell the assembly that democracy in Turkey is not on a par with the European norms. But I will add that certain circles in Turkey are determined to make improvements and those circles should be supported," he said. Martinez said that unlike the European Parliament — whose external affairs commission has decided to freeze its links with Turkey, the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly in which Turkey participates directly, could not ignore developments in Turkey.

"A storm in Turkey would make the Council of Europe sick," he said.

Soysal has a difficult job

Martinez said that he was told by deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın that there would be no changes in Turkey's foreign policy and expressed concern about the future of the Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal, with whom he worked together in the Council's Parliamentary Assembly.

"Soysal's success will be applauded, but if he makes any mistakes there will be little tolerance. I hope we will be able to cooperate with him in terms of human rights."

He added that he saw no immediate solution for the Cyprus question. "But this situation damages both Turkish Cypriots and Turkey," he said.

Turkish tourism bounces back from PKK violence

By Clelia Oziel

Reuter

ISTANBUL- Turkey's lucrative tourist trade is bouncing back from a campaign of violence by Kurdish separatist militants who attacked resorts early in the season to scare away foreign visitors.

Local tour operators say revenue from tourism, Turkey's second biggest money earner after textile exports, were still likely to rival 1993's \$4 billion, despite a spate of cancellations in the early summer mainly by Western visitors. "The gloomy outlook of the beginning of summer has largely been reversed in July. It looks like we will be able to reach last year's (total of) 6.5 million tourists," Turkish Tourism Operators Agency (TURSAB) chairman Talha Camas told Reuters. He predicted earnings from tourism — \$2.5 billion at end-July — would continue to rise to the end of the year as a large number of tourists were expected around Christmas. Officials say resorts were now 70 percent full compared to 30 percent at the end of

May. It is all good news for Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, who is grappling to contain last year's \$6.4 billion current account deficit. The deficit was \$190 million in the first five months. Bomb attacks blamed on the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants, who are fighting for independence in the southeast, killed at least two tourists in Turkish resorts. Last year, attacks by the PKK, which says tourism revenues help pay to keep the armed forces' in the southeast, cost the government \$1 billion in lost revenue.

Turkey has since stepped up security in tourist centres. After the bombings this year, many European countries advised their citizens to avoid the mainly Kurdish-populated east and southeast of Turkey and remain vigilant elsewhere. But a surprise flood of tourists from Russia, the rest of the former Soviet Union, from eastern European states and the Middle East has revived the market.

"We could not predict how big the Eastern mar-

ket was going to be, because it was totally new to us," said Camas. Tourism sources say Russians, like Germans, are big spenders. Three million Russians are expected next year. Another bright spot was a rise in the number of Israeli tourists, who favour Turkey as a nearby destination where they can shop and gamble. Israeli visitors, mainly flocking to the southern Antalya, are expected to total 400,000 this year. Price cuts have brought in a flurry of late bookings with the result that revenue from Western visitors has dropped by only by 10 percent.

Camas said the revival could continue into 1995, with the government promising to subsidize promotions. "I don't think we'll make a huge leap, although there could be a 10-percent rise in revenues." But problems remain. Turkish plans to demand visas for citizens of countries that demand similar documents from Turks, are likely to undercut the industry.

Liberazione**11**Venerdì
30 settembre 1994*Turchia. Il governo Ciller contro i kurdi e i lavoratori*

Sotto processo ad Ankara i deputati del Dep

L.S.

E' ripreso questo mese ad Ankara il processo, iniziato il 3 agosto, contro sei parlamentari kurdi del Partito della "democrazia (Dep). Mahmut Alinak, Hatip Dicle, Orhan Dogan, Sirri Sakik, Ahmet Turk, Leyla Zana rischiano la pena di morte per reati di opinione. Sono imputati di separatismo, ai sensi dell'articolo 125 del codice penale, per aver chiesto, in comizi, interventi parlamentari, interviste, il riconoscimento del diritto all'esistenza del popolo kurdo e per un appello alla pace, contro la guerra che infuria tra l'esercito turco e i guerriglieri del Partito dei lavoratori del Kurdistan (Pkk).

I sei parlamentari sono stati privati dell'immunità e incarcerati ai primi di marzo. In giugno il loro partito è stato sciolto dalla Corte costituzionale turca. Il motivo, due discorsi tenuti l'anno precedente dal presidente di allora, Yazar Kaya, e un appello alla pace del comitato esecutivo.

L'incriminazione dei sei deputati sovverte i principi fondamentali delle libertà di associazione, di opinione e personale (date le modalità arbitrarie di arresti e detenzione) e il diritto alla rappresentanza parlamentare di milioni di cittadini che quei deputati avevano eletto. Poi

ché la Turchia fa parte del Consiglio d'Europa, della Nato, della Csce e sta per entrare nell'Unione europea, il caso del Dep è imbarazzante per le forze politiche europee più conservatrici e insostenibile per le forze progressiste, che operano in campo politico, sindacale, umanitario. Gli imputati sono difesi da un collegio internazionale, capeggiato dagli ex ministri francesi Roland Dumas e Segolene Royal.

Alcuni di essi hanno già conosciuto il carcere e la tortura, mentre Leyla Zana, unica donna kurda eletta al parlamento turco (con 50 mila voti, a Diyarbakir) è stata minacciata apertamente di morte sia da alti funzionari governativi sia dagli islamici, ed è sfuggita a due attentati, diventando uno dei "casi" di Amnesty international. Nella breve vita del Dep, si contano 74 esponenti e quadri assassinati dagli squadroni della morte turchi (tra le vittime, anche un deputato di Mardin, Mehmet Sincar, mentre un altro giovane parlamentare, Nizamettin Ioguc, è rimasto ferito), decine di sedi devastate e incendiate, migliaia di simpatizzanti o sospetti tali incarcerati e torturati.

In Turchia non sono ammessi partiti su base regionale. Il Dep era un partito turco, che però aveva eletto i suoi 22 deputati soltanto nel-

le circoscrizioni del Kurdistan. Chiedeva la fine della guerra di genocidio condotta dal governo turco in Kurdistan e il riconoscimento dell'esistenza, in Turchia, di 15 milioni di kurdi, un quarto della popolazione totale. La Turchia infatti non riconosce l'esistenza dei kurdi, anche se alla fine del '91 l'allora primo ministro, Sulliman Demirel, aveva ammesso, per la prima volta, l'esistenza della "realtà kurda" ed era stata abrogata la legge che vietava di parlare anche in privato la lingua kurda (rimangono il divieto di usarla in pubblico e di apprendere, anche se in scuole private). Tra i crimini imputati a Leyla Zana, per esempio, c'è l'aver detto «sono kurda» e l'aver pronunciato in parlamento qualche parola in «una lingua incomprensibile che ella definisce kurda».

Tutti i deputati sono inoltre accusati di favoreggiamento nei confronti del Pkk, sulla base di analogie tra le opinioni da loro espresse con le rivendicazioni del Pkk. Il Pkk, organizzazione marxista-leninista, combatte da 10 anni per il riconoscimento dei diritti del popolo kurdo, e il suo leader, Abdullah Ocalan, ha più volte offerto ad Ankara di negoziare, rispettando anche, nel '93, alcuni mesi di tregua unilaterale, per arrivare a uno stato turco-kurdo

federalista, binazionale. Ma nella pseudo-democrazia turca, in cui il governo è ostaggio dei militari, non c'è posto per la pace.

I militari hanno più volte dichiarato ufficialmente di voler far terra bruciata del Kurdistan (da 70 anni in stato d'assedio) e non nascondono la volontà di risolvere definitivamente la questione kurda con il genocidio, come quello perpetrato a suo tempo per risolvere il problema armeno.

Il Kurdistan si trova nelle condizioni di una colonia sottomessa ad un esercito di occupazione e a forze paramilitari che hanno licenza di uccidere, torturare, stuprare, distruggere, incendiare. Negli ultimi due anni sono stati così cancellati circa mille villaggi, distrutti campi, pascoli e foreste. Circa un milione di profughi è rifugiato oltre confine nei pressi di Zakho, nel Kurdistan iracheno, altri si ammassano alle periferie delle città o vengono reclusi in campi di concentramento. Ma il Pkk, sostenuto dalla popolazione, appare invincibile, mentre la Turchia è nel pieno di una drammatica crisi economica a causa del vortice delle spese militari. Per farvi fronte, la premier Tansu Ciller ha varato un fondo di guerra, alimentato con tasse speciali su ogni attività e licenza.

Recentemente, il governo ha decretato una brusca impennata dei prezzi, poi ha congelato prezzi e salari e ha svalutato la lira turca del 50 per cento. La manovra ha scatenato manifestazioni di milioni di lavoratori in tutto il paese, domate duramente.

Ora, il processo ai deputati del Dep smaschera la finta democrazia dei militari turchi e dei suoi alleati - gli Usa in primo luogo, e poi i governi europei, Germania in testa, che continuano ad armare la Turchia - e potrebbe aprire la strada a pressioni internazionali per risolvere in via negoziale una guerra che sta diventando sempre più tragica, e pericolosa per tutta l'area.

l'homme

Entre les images TV, de populations en guenilles fuyant la répression irakienne, des touristes otages du PKK en Turquie, et des procès d'immigrés kurdes qui ont dérayé la presse, y avait-il encore place dans les médias pour un autre aspect du problème kurde ? C'est cette autre image du Kurdistan que vous propose Robert Riskalla, équipier bénévole au Service Droits de l'Homme, après sa rencontre avec la mission universitaire* qui s'y est rendue en avril dernier.

Kurdistan une autre image...

**pour un projet de coordination
avec les universités kurdes d'Irak**

Création d'un Centre de Coopération

Depuis le début de 1994, la Cimade participe aux réunions, à l'Institut Kurde de Paris, d'un collectif comprenant des universitaires et chercheurs, ayant pour but la réalisation d'un projet d'aide-parrainage aux trois universités du Kurdistan irakien.

Ce projet a pris corps par la création d'une association nommée «Centre de Coopération avec les Universités Kurdes» et par une mission qui a eu lieu du 17 avril au 1er mai dernier et dont l'initiative a été soutenue par le CCFD et par les représentants en France du gouvernement de la région autonome du Kurdistan d'Irak, ainsi que par M. Kendal Nezan, président de l'Institut Kurde de Paris.

La délégation académique avait pour mission d'étudier avec les universitaires kurdes, les possibilités d'une aide concrète répondant à leurs besoins et de développement des relations scientifiques et culturelles.

Un peuple éclaté

Depuis la fin de la première guerre mondiale, où la vaste zone du Kurdistan a été partagée principalement entre la Turquie, l'Irak et l'Irak, le problème kurde revient régulièrement sur la scène internationale; mais ce n'est qu'à la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale que l'opinion internationale en a pris conscience.

Les communautés kurdes dispersées dans cinq pays (environ 30 millions de personnes au total) ont chacune leurs problèmes particuliers.

Les Kurdes d'Irak, vivant dans les régions montagneuses du Nord et du Nord-est du territoire irakien actuel, ont été intégrés en 1924 dans un Etat irakien arabe unifié. Opprimés par le pouvoir central, ils se soulèvent régulièrement; dirigés par Mustapha Barzani, chef charismatique, avec l'aide matérielle de l'Irak jusqu'en 1975, ils mènent de rudes combats, souvent victorieux; des accords de paix reconnaissent leur droit à l'autonomie, bientôt violés par le gouvernement de Bagdad. Malgré les raids sanglants lancés par le

régime de Saddam Hussein, la lutte armée des Kurdes pour leur autonomie se poursuit jusqu'à l'insurrection de mars 1991, à la fin de la guerre du Golfe. Craignant l'éclatement de l'Etat irakien, les alliés vainqueurs n'empêchèrent pas les troupes de Bagdad de réprimer le soulèvement kurde.

L'exode massif et tragique des populations fuyant les exactions de l'armée de Saddam Hussein provoqua une émotion énorme dans le monde. Les puissances occidentales, sous la pression de leurs opinions publiques et sur la base de la résolution 668 de l'ONU** obtinrent la création d'une zone protégée englobant la plupart des zones kurdes, à l'exception de la ville de Kirkouk, important centre pétrolier.

Dans cette région qui compte environ 4 millions d'habitants, s'est installé un pouvoir kurde quasi-indépendant.

Premières élections libres

En 1992, conformément à la volonté des responsables kurdes de mettre en place des structures démocratiques, les

premières élections libres dotèrent la « Région Kurde autonome » d'un Parlement et d'un Gouvernement.

Deux grands partis gouvernent ensemble : le Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), dont le chef est Massoud Barzaï, et l'Union Patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), dirigée par Jabal Talabani.

Les autorités kurdes doivent gérer un pays déstructuré, saccagé, dont l'économie a subi destructions et sabotages par l'armée irakienne avant son retrait. En outre, la Région Kurde d'Irak est soumise, à l'heure actuelle, à un double embargo : celui décrété par la communauté internationale à l'encontre de l'Irak dans son ensemble, et celui qui lui est imposé par le régime de Bagdad. A cela s'ajoute l'attitude hostile des pays limitrophes, notamment des gouvernements de Turquie et d'Iran. Sur ce problème du double embargo, les politiques des deux grands partis kurdes au pouvoir, divergent. Cependant on peut espérer qu'ils ne perdront pas de vue la construction d'un avenir démocratique pour tous les Irakiens.

des universités kurdes sont implantées dans trois villes d'Irak

L'Université Salah-ad-Din

Elle s'est installée à Erbil, dans cette ville d'un million d'habitants, capitale administrative de la Région kurde autonome. Initialement établie dans la ville de Sulaymaniya entre 1968 et 1981, où elle connut alors une période faste, elle en fut déplacée en 1981, et purement saccagée en 1991 par les troupes irakiennes.

Rétablie après l'instauration de l'autonomie kurde, elle reçoit à nouveau environ 7000 étudiants et comprend sept Facultés : Sciences, Agriculture, Ingénierie, Lettres, Médecine, Droit et, depuis 1993, un département Sciences politiques. Les Sciences sont enseignées en anglais; les Lettres et les Sciences humaines principalement en arabe et en kurde.

Erbil possède aussi un petit Institut Technique de 1000 étudiants. Malheureusement, l'Université manque de

bâtiments, de laboratoires et de professeurs ; il faut dire que les salaires ne sont pas très élevés.

L'Université de Sulaymaniya

Rouverte à l'automne 1992 par le Parlement du Kurdistan est décrétée « à vocation académique », elle a bénéficié d'une forte mobilisation de la population pour remettre en état les anciens locaux dévastés par l'armée irakienne. Un millier d'étudiants y sont inscrits dans trois Facultés : Médecine, Agriculture et Langues.

Plus encore qu'Erbil, l'Université de Sulaymaniya manque d'équipements, de livres et de tous produits indispensables au fonctionnement des laboratoires que le double embargo, international et irakien, rend impossible à acquérir.



Laboratoire de T.P. biochimiques de l'université d'Erbil

Là aussi, un Institut Technique forme environ 1700 auxiliaires techniciens.

L'Université de Dohuk

Créée en 1992, c'est la plus jeune des Universités kurdes d'Irak. Chef-lieu de la région Nord-Ouest, proche de la frontière turque, Dohuk n'était qu'une bourgade avant que l'afflux de paysans dépossédés par la destruction systématique de leurs villages ne la transforme en une ville de 600 000 habitants.

Là aussi, la générosité des habitants de la région, avec l'aide d'associations internationales, a permis sa réalisation. En médecine, biochimie et chimie, on y compte environ 250 étudiants.

C'est la faculté d'Agriculture, avec 160 étudiants, qui tient le haut du pavé grâce à une impressionnante station de recherches agricoles, offerte par des associations suédoises.

Une attente à l'égard de «l'extérieur»

Les visiteurs français qui ont eu la chance de se rendre dans ces Universités, ont été impressionnés par l'attente qu'ils ont sentie à l'égard des amis de l'extérieur. Impressionnés aussi par la solidarité qu'ils ont constatée au sein de l'Université mais aussi entre celle-ci et la population de la ville.

Mais ce qui les a marqués, c'est ce profond besoin qu'ont manifesté étudiants et professeurs d'établir les relations avec la communauté académique internationale. Ils souhaitent des échanges, des bourses, mais aussi un «encadrement à distance» des étudiants qui préparent une thèse, des programmes conjoints de recherches, des conférences, etc.. A Erbil, les responsables veulent créer un centre d'apprentissage de la langue et de la culture française.

une organisation des droits de l'homme au Kurdistan

Créée au printemps 1991, après la guerre du Golfe et la libération du Kurdistan irakien, avec la participation de nombreux universitaires, enseignants, avocats, écrivains, et représentants d'autres professions, cette organisation bien structurée, avec quatre branches régionales, est ouverte aux citoyens de plus de vingt-cinq ans et compte environ 500 adhérents.

En cas d'irrégularité constatée, l'organisation intervient auprès du ministre de la Justice, ainsi que du Premier Ministre.

Des enquêtes sont en cours sur les exactions commises par le régime de Bagdad (déportation de la ville de Barzan en 1976, disparition de 8000 hommes détenus dans un camp en 1983, destruction de villages en 1988, pillages, exécutions massives, etc.).

Enfin, cette organisation entreprend une action internationale en faveur de la levée de l'embargo qui paralyse autant le Kurdistan que le reste de l'Irak.

Elle lance un appel pour recevoir des livres traitant des droits de l'Homme; une bourse pour un stage dont le bénéficiaire pourrait à son tour, créer un centre d'études sur la défense des droits de l'Homme.

Il va sans dire que toutes les invitations à des colloques ou conférences internationales sur ce sujet seraient les bienvenues.

Robert Riskalla

** composée de Mme Joyce Blau, professeur de langue et civilisation kurdes à l'Institut des Langues Orientales
Mr Paul Kessler, physicien, professeur au Collège de France, ancien directeur de recherches au CNRS
Mr. Jean-Paul Lainé, professeur de chimie, vice-président de l'Université de Rouen.*

Mensch+Recht

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«Bern» billigt Folterungen von Kurden!

Die Berichte, die uns aus der Türkei erreichen, werden immer schlimmer: Die grausamen Folter- und Kriegführungsmethoden der türkischen Polizei und Militärs gegen die Angehörigen des kurdischen Volkes haben nicht etwa aufgehört, sondern nehmen unausgesetzt zu.

In zwei Gebieten im Südosten der Türkei, bei Damlatepe bei Hani in der Provinz Diyarbakir und bei Beytüşebap in der Provinz Hakkari, hat die Türkei Konzentrationslager errichtet. Dorthin werden die nach brutalen Militäreinsätzen übrig gebliebenen Einwohner von Dörfern, die rücksichtslos zerstört werden, verschleppt und eingesperrt. Tausende von Menschen, darunter viele Kinder, werden gefoltert, misshandelt, sexuell missbraucht oder grausam getötet.

Amnesty International sah sich deshalb vor einiger Zeit veranlasst, einen dringenden Appell an die türkische Regierung zu richten.

Doch derartige Appelle prallen an den Betonköpfen der türkischen Politik ab wie weiche Bleikugeln an harten Granitfelsen. Kein Wunder, dass viele Kurden in einer solchen Situation nur zwei Alternativen sehen: Ins Ausland flüchten und um Asyl betteln, oder aber sich den kurdischen Kampfverbänden der PKK anschliessen und gegen die grausamen Unterdrücker ebenso grausam zurückschlagen.

1 550 Morde, 1360 zerstörte Dörfer

Der türkische Menschenrechtsverein hat vor kurzem berichtet, die türkische Armee oder von ihr abhängige paramilitärische Formationen hätten allein in den letzten zwei Jahren 1 360 kurdische Dörfer in Brand gesetzt und zerstört. Von den Militärs und der Polizei offensichtlich geduldete Todesschwadronen haben in derselben Zeit mehr als 1 550 Zivilpersonen umgebracht; von diesen Mordbrennern ist bislang kein einziger gefasst und vor Gericht gestellt worden. Etwa zwei Millionen Kurden haben ihre Heimat westwärts verlassen, um Schutz zu suchen. Ein Teil davon gelangt dann in unser Land und bittet hier um Asyl. Solche Asylgesuche werden dann von Beamten «geprüft», die eng mit den türkischen Polizeistellen zusammenarbeiten...

Was macht das offizielle Bern?

Das offizielle Bern kennt diese türkischen Greuel. Wenn es davon nicht aus Berichten der in Ankara akkreditierten schweizerischen Diplomaten erfahren haben sollte - was immer möglich ist, beschränken sich doch gewisse Angehörige unserer Diplomatie noch immer auf das stilvolle Leeren von Cocktailgläsern -, so weiss es dies wenigstens aus der Lektüre der Presse, insbesondere der in dieser Hinsicht stets gut informierten «Neuen Zürcher Zeitung». Das ist mit ein Grund dafür, dass die türkischen Sicherheitskräfte Schweizer Journalisten in der Türkei, welche für die wahrheitsgemässen Berichterstattung über diese Vorgänge in der Schweiz besorgt sind, vor einiger Zeit vorübergehend verhaftet haben und mit Ausweisung bedrohen. Immer stärker wird auch die Bewegungs- und Berichterstattungsfreiheit für ausländische Presseleute in der Türkei generell eingeschränkt.

Das Mörderregime von Ankara, heute angeführt von der stets freundlich lächelnden Premierministerin Tansu Ciller, hat zwar in den letzten Jahren jede internationale Konvention gegen die Folter und für die Menschenrechte unterschrieben und ratifiziert. Aber Papier ist in Ankara und auch in Europa geduldig. Ausser freundlichen Ermahnungen und besorgten Vorsprachen auf dem diplomatischen Parkett haben die Machthaber in Kleinasien offenbar von der freien Staatengemeinschaft nichts zu befürchten.

Dabei gäbe es durchaus ein Mittel, das allgemeine Verhalten der Türkei gegenüber den Kurden vor ein internationales Forum zu bringen: Die Staatenklage gemäss Artikel 24 der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention wäre das geeignete Instrument.

Es sei deutlich gesagt: Jeder Staat und jede Regierung, also auch die Schweiz und der Bundesrat, machen sich an den Folterungen der türkischen Militärs und Polizei mitschuldig, ja billigen sie offensichtlich, solange sie auf die Einreichung einer Staatenklage verzichten. Es kann und darf angesichts der türkischen Greuel in Kurdistan keine eigenen Interessen geben, die uns näher liegen und die uns hin-

dern könnten, das schreiende Unrecht in Strassburg zur Anklage zu bringen.

Wo bleibt das Parlament?

Erschreckend ist auch, dass National- und Ständerat sich kaum um solche Fragen kümmern. Längst hätte doch der Bundesrat durch das Parlament, welches die Oberaufsicht ausüben sollte, verpflichtet werden müssen, die Berichte der Schweizer Botschaft in Ankara zu veröffentlichen; einerseits um zu erfahren, ob unsere Diplomaten dort ihre Aufgabe tatsächlich erfüllen, andererseits um zu prüfen, über welches offizielle Wissen der Bundesrat verfügt, auf das er sein Nichtstun offenbar abstützt.

Solange der Bundesrat nicht gegen die Türkei aktiv wird, solange seine Bundespolizei ungeniert und eng mit den türkischen Polizeischergen zusammenarbeitet, solange muss er sich den Vorwurf gefallen lassen, dass er trotz seiner gelegentlichen verbalen Unmutsäusserungen über die Menschenrechtslage in der Türkei die dortigen Folterungen offensichtlich billigt.

Zum Geleit

Unfreundlicher Akt

«Die geringe Zahl der Staatenbeschwerden lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass deren Erhebung in der heutigen homogenen europäischen Staatengemeinschaft an sich schon als unfreundlicher Akt gilt». Das steht im «Handbuch der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention», verfasst von einem der besten Kenner dieses Staatsvertrages, nämlich von Prof. Dr. Mark E. Villiger (Strassburg/Zürich). Diesen Satz bekommt derjenige gelegentlich zu hören, der die westlichen europäischen Staaten wegen ihrer Duldung der türkischen Folter- und Konzentrationslagermethoden kritisiert.

Staaten, die untereinander leidliche Beziehungen pflegen, haben Hemmungen, «unfreundliche Akte» zu begehen. Von daher ist die Zurückhaltung durchaus verständlich. Allein, sie beruht auf einem Missverständnis.

Einmal deshalb, weil in dem Werk von Prof. Villiger ausdrücklich dazu ermuntert wird, die Staatenbeschwerde als Einrichtung beizubehalten, damit es den Staaten möglich ist, den europäischen Minimalstandard an Menschenrechten auch dort zu durchzusetzen, wo er in einem Vertragsstaat allgemein und nicht nur in Einzelfällen verletzt wird. Zum anderen aber sollte sich gelegentlich auch die Auffassung durchsetzen, dass die Unterzeichnung

und Ratifizierung der EMRK durch einen europäischen Staat diesem Staat die Pflicht auferlegt, diesen hehren Grundsätzen in seinem Staatsgebiet allgemein Nachachtung zu verschaffen.

Wenn ein Staat dies nicht tut, ja, duldet seine Regierung gar, dass Militär, Polizei und Todesschwadronen die EMRK wahllos verletzen, stellt dies einen ungewöhnlich viel schwerwiegenderen «unfreundlichen Akt» gegenüber den grundsätzlich vertragstreuen

Staaten dar: Er setzt die Mitglieder der Regierungen der übrigen Vertragsstaaten der Gefahr aus, der Mitwisserschaft und damit der Mitschuld an den menschenrechtswidrigen Zuständen im treulos handelnden Vertragsstaat geziehen zu werden.

Für Verletzungen der Menschenrechte muss ein Prinzip gelten, das im gewöhnlichen Recht schon lange gilt: «Der Fehler ist so schlimm wie der Stehler», sagt der Volksmund.

Insofern besteht somit kein Unterschied zwischen der das Foltern zulassenden türkischen Ministerpräsidentin Ciller und den das Foltern infolge Untätigkeit offensichtlich billigenden Bundesräten Flavio Cotti und Arnold Koller: Wer dem Foltern wirksam Einhalt gebieten könnte und es nicht mit aller Kraft tut, ist seinerseits als Folterknecht zu bezeichnen und gesellschaftlich zu ächten.

Le Nouveau Quotidien — 10 août 1994

La Turquie dicte sa loi à la justice bernoise

Les six diplomates qui, en janvier, ont tiré sur des manifestants kurdes et tué l'un d'eux resteront impunis.

La fusillade survenue le 24 juin 1993 devant l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne et le meurtre d'un manifestant kurde resteront impunis. La Chambre d'accusation de la Cour suprême du canton de Berne a mis un terme à l'enquête sur six membres du personnel de l'ambassade pour «des raisons de procédure». Le juge d'instruction et le procureur ont classé l'affaire le 4 août dernier.

Il est impossible de juger les coupables présumés en Suisse, puisqu'il s'agit exclusivement d'employés de l'ambassade bénéficiant de l'immunité diplomatique et que la Turquie refuse de lever celle-ci, indique le juge d'instruction bernois Peter Kunz.

La Chambre d'accusation estime par ailleurs qu'il serait inopportun de transmettre le dossier à la Turquie et de lui demander de reprendre la procédure, car le comportement des autorités turques donne à penser qu'elles ne feraient rien. La Chambre craint aussi que la remise du

dossier à la Turquie n'ait des conséquences désagréables pour des proches des manifestants kurdes.

Lors de la manifestation qui s'est déroulée le 24 juin 1993 devant l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne, un jeune Kurde avait été tué et neuf autres personnes blessées par balles. Au moins quatre employés de l'ambassade avaient utilisé deux mitraillettes et un pistolet pour tirer sur les manifestants kurdes qui n'étaient probablement pas armés. Dans l'acte de clôture de la procédure, les autorités judiciaires bernoises établissent que la plupart des coups de feu tirés depuis l'ambassade turque l'ont été dans le dos des manifestants.

La justice bernoise a plusieurs fois demandé à la Turquie de lui remettre ces armes et de lever l'immunité diplomatique de six personnes, mais en vain. Istanbul a rappelé ces six diplomates, parmi lesquels se trouvait l'ambassadeur de Turquie en Suisse, Kaya Toperi. Quatre autres membres du personnel de

l'ambassade ont encore regagné leur pays par la suite.

En janvier dernier, 64 manifestants kurdes (sur un total d'environ 300) se sont vu infliger des amendes allant jusqu'à 400 francs pour émeute, dommage à la propriété ou violation de domicile; 35 d'entre eux ont déposé un recours.

La fusillade avait provoqué de vives tensions diplomatiques entre la Suisse et la Turquie. En août 1993, la Suisse et la Turquie avaient rappelé leurs ambassadeurs. Depuis lors, un chargé d'affaires gère l'ambassade de Suisse à Ankara. Les deux pays aspirent à une normalisation de leurs échanges car elle est dans leur intérêt, commente Franz Egle, du Département fédéral des affaires étrangères (DFAE). Sur le plan opérationnel, il n'y a d'ailleurs jamais eu de problèmes entre la Turquie et la Suisse, constate le porte-parole. Ainsi, la collaboration avait été bonne lors de la prise en otage de deux Tessinois en Turquie il y a un an. AP/ATS