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POUR ÉCHAPPER AUX POURSUITES JUDICIAIRES M^{ME}. ÇILLER PROVOQUE LA CHUTE DU CABINET TURC

EN voulant régler trop vite ses comptes avec sa rivale Tansu Çiller, le Premier ministre turc Mesut Yilmaz a provoqué la chute prématurée de sa coalition gouvernementale.

Aux abois après sa mise en cause dans

deux affaires de corruption dans l'attribution de marchés publics et un scandale de détournements de fonds secrets du gouvernement, Tansu Çiller craignant d'être déférée devant la Haute Cour de justice a décidé, le 3 juin, de retirer le soutien de son parti de la Juste

Voie (DYP) à la coalition gouvernementale en accusant son partenaire M. Yilmaz de «vilénie» et de «déloyauté». Le 8 juin, lors du vote de la motion de censure déposée par le Refah (parti de prospérité) islamiste, le DYP a joint ses voix à celles de l'opposition entraînant ainsi la chute de l'éphémère cabinet Yilmaz et en plongeant le pays dans une nouvelle crise gouvernementale. La veille de ce scrutin, ne se faisant guère d'illusions, Mesut Yilmaz avait présenté sa démission.

Les choses ont commencé à se gâter sérieusement début mai. Après l'affaire TEDAS, l'ancien Premier ministre turc a cette fois-ci été accusé d'avoir tiré des bénéfices, évalués à plusieurs millions de dollars, lors la vente des actions de TOFAS, société automotrice d'État. Une motion de création d'une commission parlementaire pour enquêter sur cette affaire a été votée le 9 mai par 376 députés sur 519. Les appels pathétiques de Mme. Çiller auprès de D. Baykal et de B. Ecevit, son discours devant le Parlement clamant son innocence et invoquant «*la Justice de Dieu*» n'ont pu convaincre que 144 députés, pour l'essentiel membres de son propre parti, qualifié ironiquement de «*Parti du Salut de Tansu*».

Objet de deux enquêtes parlementaires pour corruption et irrégularités dans l'attribution des marchés publics, l'ancien Premier ministre turc se trouve aussi impliqué dans une sombre affaire de fonds secrets. Peu de temps avant de quitter son poste, Mme. Çiller aurait retiré 500 milliards de livres turques (environ 6, 6 millions de dollars). Son successeur M. Yilmaz affirme qu'après enquête auprès des organismes d'État qui sont les récipiendaires habituels de ces fonds (police politique, état-major des armées, ministères de l'Intérieur et des Affaires étrangères) il s'avère qu'aucun d'entre eux n'a reçu la moindre part de cette somme assez considérable pour la Turquie. Le président Demirel dit ignorer tout de cette affaire. Mme. Çiller invoque le secret défense et affirme que sa révélation va «*entraîner la chute du*

régime et de la Turquie» traite Mesut Yilmaz d'«*homme de boue et d'individu peu fiable et irresponsable*», tandis que plupart des commentateurs de la presse l'accusent de détournements de ces fonds à des fins personnelles.

Au delà du caractère délétère de ce règlement de comptes à la turque, on découvre la croissance exponentielle de ces fonds secrets depuis l'accession au pouvoir de Mme. Çiller en juillet 1993. Selon le *Milliyet* du 14 mars, ces fonds sont passés de 5,2 milliards de livres en 1993 à 234, 1 milliards en 1994, 610

milliards en 1995 et à 6, 1 trillions de livres (80 millions de dollars) en 1996 ! Une croissance concomitante avec le développement de «*la guerre spéciale*» au Kurdistan. Outre les chefs de police et les commandants servant dans les provinces kurdes, les escadrons de la mort chargés de l'assassinat des civils kurdes suspects de «*séparatisme*» émargeraient à ces fonds. La «*sale guerre*» du Kurdistan a infesté les principaux rouages de l'administration militaire et civile turque après avoir corrompu le système de valeurs et la morale civique du pays.

ANKARA : ARRESTATION D'UNE QUARANTAINE DIRIGEANTS DU PARTI PRO-KURDE HADEP

LE président du Parti populaire de la démocratie (HADEP), Murat Bozlak, ainsi que 38 autres dirigeants de cette formation légale pro-kurde ont été arrêtés dans la nuit du 23 au 24 juin à Ankara. Ces dirigeants sont collectivement tenus responsables de «*la profanation du drapeau turc lors du 2ème Congrès du HADEP le 23 juin*». Ce jour-là un individu cagoulé avait décroché le drapeau turc accroché sur le mur de la salle du congrès et l'avait remplacé par un drapeau du PKK. Plusieurs dirigeants du HADEP avaient parlé de «*provocation policière*» et exprimé «*leur regrets et leurs excuses au peuple turc*». Cependant, les médias

nationalistes ont développé une vaste campagne demandant «*le châtement des traîtres et l'interdiction de leur parti*». Les principaux dirigeants nationaux et régionaux du Hadep ont été arrêtés à la sortie même de la salle du congrès par l'imposant dispositif policier déployé et placés en garde-à-vue dans les locaux de la Section anti-terroriste de la Sûreté d'Ankara. Parmi eux figure notamment l'ex-député DEP de Mus, Sirri Sakik, qui condamnant devant les caméras de la télévision l'offense au drapeau turc, avait déclaré qu'il fallait respecter les symboles et le drapeau de chaque peuple, les siens, comme ceux d'autrui. C'est cet «*autrui*» qui lui a valu d'être arrêté et poursuivi pour «*séparatisme*». S. Sakik

était déjà resté en prison de mars en décembre 1994 dans le cadre du procès intenté à Leyla Zana et à ses collègues députés du DEP.

Lors de ces événements une délégation de députés européens se trouvait à Ankara dans le cadre d'une réunion du groupe inter-parlementaire Parlement européen-Turquie, dont les réunions avaient été suspendues depuis 1994 en signe de protestation contre l'arrestation des députés kurdes du DEP. Mme. Claudia Roth, présidente des Verts européens qui se trouvait à Ankara à l'occasion de la rencontre du groupe inter-parlementaire, a déclaré: «*Jamais je n'ai été témoin de telles brutalités et violences contre les droits élémentaires de l'homme*», et a ajouté que «*ces derniers événements pèseront sur les discussions avec les Turcs*». Par ailleurs,

un groupe d'une dizaine d'assaillants «*inconnus*» a ouvert le feu sur les délégués du HADEP sur leur chemin de retour, aux environs de la ville de Kayseri, faisant trois morts parmi les délégués et une attaque à la bombe contre un local du parti à Izmir a eu lieu. D'autres scènes de frénésie nationaliste à travers les grandes métropoles turques ont eu lieu: des milliers de manifestants d'extrême droite, drapés du drapeau national turc, ont défilé dans les rues. Les chaînes de télévisions, au lieu d'apaiser cette situation extrêmement tendue, ont affiché sur leurs écrans le drapeau turc durant tout leur programme du lundi. Dans les provinces kurdes la police et les unités spéciales arrêtent régulièrement les autocars et les voitures, font descendre les passagers et leur font embrasser de force le drapeau turc pour les humilier.

nouvelle équipe au gouvernement en Israël. A la recherche des "coupables", les autorités syriennes ont procédé à l'arrestation de 600 personnes au sein de la minorité turkmène, une minorité jusqu'à présent paisible mais que désormais la Syrie semble considérer comme une 5ème colonne turque. Damas a porté son contentieux avec Ankara devant la Ligue arabe et devant le Sommet arabe qui s'est tenu les 22-23 juin au Caire. Les Etats arabes ont exprimé leur «grave préoccupation» face au récent accord de coopération militaire turco-israélien et «son danger pour la paix et l'équilibre régional» et mis en garde la Turquie contre toute incursion militaire en territoire syrien. De son côté, selon le *Turkish Daily News* du 22 juin, Washington «a prévenu la Syrie contre le risque d'une confrontation avec l'armée américaine si l'escalade de la tension le long de la frontière de la Turquie, qui est une alliée de l'OTAN, provoque une guerre».

TENSION À LA FRONTIÈRE TURCO-SYRIENNE

LA tension monte dangereusement entre la Syrie et la Turquie qu'opposent de nombreux litiges: le partage des eaux du Tigre et de l'Euphrate, le soutien de la Syrie au PKK, la revendication par la Syrie du Sandjak d'Alexandrette aujourd'hui en territoire turc (Cette province a été cédée en 1939 par la France alors puissance mandataire en Syrie). Le 15 juin, la Syrie a massé des

troupes en plusieurs secteurs de sa frontière avec la Turquie en y déployant 40 000 soldats. Du côté turc de cette frontière longue de 877 km, l'armée turque est omniprésente dans le cadre de son interminable guerre contre le PKK. Dans ce climat de plus en plus tendu, de nombreuses explosions ont eu lieu en Syrie depuis début juin, dont la dernière visait le frère du président syrien. Les Syriens attribuent ces attentats aux services secrets turcs et à l'arrivée de la

Le 27 juin, le ministre des Affaires étrangères égyptien a indiqué que son pays était «prêt à jouer un rôle pour la résolution des problèmes turco-syriens». «*Tout pacte engendre d'autres pactes semblables*» a dit M. Amr Moussa à propos de l'accord turco-israélien qui a également suscité une vive réaction de l'Irak et de l'Iran.

À la suite de ces diverses interventions la guerre turco-syrienne n'a pas eu lieu cette fois, mais les problèmes multiples qui opposent les deux pays s'accumulent et s'aggravant le risque d'une confrontation ultérieure subsiste toujours.

STRASBOURG: LE PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN EXIGE À NOUVEAU UN RÈGLEMENT POLITIQUE ET PACIFIQUE DE LA QUESTION KURDE EN TURQUIE

DANS une résolution votée, le jeudi 19 juin, le Parlement européen, qui rappelle à la Turquie ses engagements vis à vis de la Déclaration de Barcelone et de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme, dont la Turquie est un des signataires, exige la libération de Mme. Zana, Prix Sakharov de la liberté de l'esprit et de ses trois autres collègues parlementaires. Par ailleurs, les législateurs européens se disent «*préoccupés*» par la poursuite des opérations militaires turques dans les régions kurdes et le refus de la Turquie de rechercher des voies d'un règlement pacifique de la question kurde et «*invite le gouvernement turc à mettre fin à ses opérations militaires dans le Sud-Est du pays et à entamer des négociations avec l'ensemble des organisations kurdes en vue de débloquer la situation*». Les euro-députés dans cette résolution font un examen critique global de la situation des droits de l'homme alarmante dans laquelle se trouve aujourd'hui la Turquie. Ils se disent vivement préoccupés par la

condamnation du Dr. Seyfettin Kizilkan, président de l'ordre des médecins de Diyarbakir, par la Cour de sûreté de l'État à plus de trois ans de prison ainsi que les persécutions à l'encontre de l'écrivain Yachar Kemal, du sociologue Ismail Besikci, et le traitement réservé aux prisonniers politiques, qui sont en grève de la faim contre les mesures liberticides récemment adoptées par le ministre de la justice, ancien chef de la sécurité d'Istanbul et surnommé «*le super-tortionnaire*». Le PE demande, en outre, aux autorités turques de reconnaître les droits de tous les Kurdes vivant dans le pays et de faciliter le rapatriement de tous les Kurdes déplacés et de permettre à la Croix-Rouge internationale de visiter les prisons et les prisonniers politiques. Il presse le Conseil des ministres européen «*à inscrire la question kurde à l'ordre du jour de l'OSCE et à rechercher tous les moyens qui permettront d'encourager les initiatives visant à régler les questions des droits de l'homme et des Kurdes en Turquie*».

Depuis 1994, les résolutions des

institutions européennes se suivent et se ressemblent sans impact notable sur les dirigeants turcs. Rappelons, à titre d'exemple récent, la résolution adoptée le jeudi 25 avril, à Strasbourg, où les parlementaires des 39 pays que compte le Conseil de l'Europe, affirment notamment qu'«*à la suite de la décision de la Cour suprême turque du 26 octobre 1995, deux des six parlementaires du DEP, qui ont été condamnés à une peine de 15 ans de prison en 1994, ont été libérés. Cependant, le maintien en détention des quatre autres demeure une grave violation des droits de l'homme, et constitue la négation même de la démocratie parlementaire. Une grâce présidentielle ou une nouvelle loi d'amnistie confirmerait l'engagement de la Turquie vis-à-vis de la démocratie*». L'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, dont la Turquie fait partie, attend en outre «*des autorités turques qu'elles déclarent la recherche d'une solution pacifique au problème kurde comme l'une de leurs plus grandes priorités politiques*». Tout en se félicitant des quelques réformes adoptées par la Turquie, l'Assemblée parlementaire estime «*cependant, l'article 8 révisé de la loi de 1991 contre le terrorisme continue de poser de graves questions sous l'angle des droits de l'homme. En conséquence, l'Assemblée demande à nouveau la suppression de l'article 8 ainsi que de dispositions analogues figurant dans d'autres textes de loi*».

LE COMITÉ EUROPÉEN POUR LA PRÉVENTION DE LA TORTURE INSPECTE LES PRISONS TURQUES

UNE mission de 5 membres de cet organisme du Conseil de l'Europe chargé de faire respecter la Convention européenne par la prévention de la torture, dont la Turquie est signataire, a effectué à partir du 6 mai une visite d'inspection de 3 jours en Turquie. Cette mission dirigée par M. Claude Nicoloy a enquêté sur les conditions de garde-à-vue dans les commissariats turcs, sur les méthodes d'interrogatoire de la police turque ainsi que sur les conditions de détention pénitentiaire. La mission a également eu des entretiens avec le Premier ministre, avec les ministres de l'intérieur et de la Justice ainsi qu'avec le Directeur général de la Sûreté et le commandant en chef de la gendarmerie.

Au cours de son entrevue du 7 mai avec la mission, le Premier ministre turc a notamment affirmé : *« malgré tous nos soins, en raison des conditions créées par la lutte contre le terrorisme des cas de torture peuvent malheureusement avoir lieu. Cependant, avec la levée de l'état d'urgence dans la région les cas de torture vont diminuer »*. M. Yilmaz a également ajouté que le nouveau cabinet n'avait pas de poste de ministre chargé des droits de l'homme car *« chaque ministre est désormais en charge des droits de l'homme »*.

Le rapport élaboré au terme de cette visite reste en principe confidentiel, mais en 1992, le Comité européen, consterné par l'ampleur et le caractère de routine de l'usage de la torture en Turquie avait décidé de rompre cette règle de confidentialité et de rendre public son rapport. Le Comité européen est un organisme officiel formé de représentants nommés par les États cosignataires de la Convention.

Quelques jours après cette visite, le 22 mai, la branche anglaise d'Amnesty International a lancé une campagne pour dénoncer la pratique de la torture dans le monde par la publication d'un rapport intitulé *« Un clin d'oeil sur l'enfer »*. Le rapport dénonce la torture dans 40 pays et se focalise sur 5 pays, dont la Turquie, présentés comme *« des cas d'exemple »*.

Alors que les diplomates occidentaux déclarent que la situation des droits de l'homme est en amélioration croissante depuis les années 80, les organisations de défense des droits de l'homme turques sont d'un avis différent. Akin Birdal, président de l'Association turque des droits de l'homme *« ne voit pas de lumière au bout du tunnel »*. Et ajoute *« Il n'y a rien qui porte à croire que les choses ont changé. En réalité, cela devient pire. Des gens qui doivent être punis pour des crimes atroces, ils*

deviennent parlementaires et même ministres ». Par ailleurs, les Centres de Soins mis en place par la Fondation turque des droits de l'homme pour venir en aide aux victimes de la torture sont déclarés illégaux par les autorités et leurs responsables sont poursuivis par la justice turque.

Parallèlement à la torture, qui est donc une pratique routinière en Turquie, les exécutions sommaires et les disparitions continuent également de sévir. Quelques exemples signalés par la presse au cours des dernières semaines :

Un jeune Kurde âgé de 19 ans, Mehmet Senyigit, arrêté le 21 avril par 4 policiers en civil, alors que, rentrant de son travail, il se rendait de à son domicile situé dans un faubourg de Diyarbakir a été trouvé mort le lendemain dans la morgue de l'Hôpital d'État de cette ville. Selon la version officielle, il aurait été abattu lors d'un raid du PKK contre un poste de police. Les témoins oculaires de son arrestation et la famille de la victime contestent avec véhémence cette version officielle. Son père affirme que son fils n'a jamais touché une arme dans sa vie, qu'il avait un travail régulier dans une manufacture de la ville et qu'il rejetait la violence. *« Comment en l'espace d'une nuit a-t-il pu, sans entraînement ni formation militaire devenir un guérillero du PKK et attaquer en plein centre-ville un poste de police ? »* demande-t-il au parquet, en soulignant que *« de nombreux témoins avaient vu son arrestation par des policiers en civil, le 21 avril, au soir »*. Il a demandé à l'Association turque des droits de

l'homme de porter cette affaire devant la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme.

Quelques jours plus tard, une jeune fille kurde, Hazal Sevim, âgée de 17 ans, a été exécutée par les forces de sécurité dans le village de Sirya, dans la province de Siirt. Présentée comme une militante du PKK alors qu'elle n'est qu'une simple bergère nomade qui venait de garder son troupeau et rentrait dans son village, elle a été surprise par une patrouille de commandos qui a tiré sur elle à bout portant.

De même, un homme âgé de 45 ans, Nazim Balik, marié et père de 10 enfants, a été abattu dans la soirée du 17 mai vers 21h dans le quartier Xaçort de Van par des policiers. Son cadavre criblé de balles a été retrouvé le lendemain dans le sous-sol de son immeuble. Selon le quotidien *Özgür Politika* du 21 mai qui cite les témoignages des voisins, N. Balik rentrait d'une visite chez l'une de ses filles et pour se protéger des tirs d'une patrouille de police il s'est réfugié dans le sous-sol de l'immeuble. Les policiers l'ont poursuivi et abattu sur place. La victime n'avait pas de casier judiciaire ni activité politique. Pour sa défense, la police de Van a affirmé qu'il n'avait pas répondu aux sommations de la patrouille et que celle-ci avait trouvé son comportement «suspect».

Le 14 mai un lycéen, İrfan Agdas, 17 ans, vendeur de l'hebdomadaire Kurtulus a été abattu à bout portant par des policiers en civil dans la banlieue Alibeyköy d'Istanbul. D'après les témoins cités par

le quotidien *Politika* du 16 mai, vers 20h deux policiers en civil munis d'armes automatiques ont d'abord pourchassé le jeune vendeur de cette publication turque légale sur environ 150 m, puis ils lui ont tiré dans le dos. Alors que des passants tentaient de venir en aide à ce jeune gisant dans son sang au milieu de ses journaux éparpillés, les policiers les ont dispersés sous la menace de leurs armes puis jeté le blessé dans leur véhicule pour le conduire à l'hôpital. İ. Agdas n'a pas survécu à ses blessures. Après ce meurtre perpétré devant tant de gens plusieurs centaines d'habitants du

quartier sont descendus dans la rue aux cris de "police assassine !" Mais les panzers de la police ont encerclé tout le secteur et imposé le couvre-feu.

Le 5 juillet, rentrant à son village de Besevler dans la province de Dersim (Tunceli), Hüseyin Saltik, 60 ans, a été passé par les armes par une patrouille de soldats, vers 21h30, qui ont apparemment tiré à vue sans se donner la peine d'arrêter et d'interroger ce «suspect» surpris sur une route de campagne. Les autorités locales n'ont donné aucune explication pour ce meurtre.

MOSCOU :

LES RUSSES TENTÉS PAR LA CARTE KURDE ?

AU cours d'une table ronde organisée, le 21 mai, par le Comité des questions géopolitiques de la Douma russe, plusieurs intervenants officiels ont plaidé en faveur d'un soutien russe à la cause kurde. L'un d'eux, Alexandre Nevzorov, du ministère des Affaires étrangères, a déclaré: «Nous devons, dans nos relations avec la Turquie, être capables de bien nous servir de la cause kurde et empêcher, grâce à cette carte, toute ingérence turque dans nos affaires intérieures». Le général russe Yuri Efrémof a été plus précis: «Quand à l'état-major de l'URSS nous travaillons sur les plans d'un conflit éventuel avec la Turquie, membre de l'OTAN, nous considérons déjà les Kurdes comme un allié possible en

raison de la forte oppression de ce peuple par le régime turc. Il doit également en être de même maintenant. Le Kurdistan tel qu'on en voit les frontières naturelles sur les cartes doit devenir un État indépendant. Les Kurdes ne disposent pas actuellement d'armes efficaces mais ils ont en abondance de forces humaines. Bien qu'ils mènent une guerre de guérilla, ils doivent également recevoir des armes lourdes. Nous devons régler la dispute opposant l'Arménie à l'Azerbaïdjan et tirer à nos côtés ces deux États. Nous pourrions alors fournir aux Kurdes une aide en armes via l'Arménie. Car aider les Kurdes c'est nous aider nous-mêmes. Les États-Unis nous font signer le traité de START-1 La Turquie peut, dans le cadre de l'OTAN, contrôler le Caucase avec un porte-

avons naviguant en Mer Noire. Nous pouvons l'en empêcher grâce aux Kurdes».

Au cours de ce débat de 3 heures ont également pris la parole le général Andreï Malakov, de l'état-major du ministère russe de la Défense, Vladimir Pavlovitch, du ministère des relations économiques extérieures et le professeur M. Lazarev de l'Institut d'orientalisme. Aucun de ces officiels n'a voulu répondre à la question directe d'un député: «*Les Turcs, dans le cadre de plans secrets de l'OTAN, sont en train de franchir le Caucase et parvenir à nos frontières. Et voilà que nous vendons, nous aussi, des hélicoptères au gouvernement turc pour bombarder les Kurdes. Notre gouvernement envisage-t-il de fournir aux Kurdes des armes efficaces ?*» L'organisateur du débat, le député

Mitrofanov, président du Comité géopolitique du Parlement, a finalement pris sur lui d'y répondre par ce mot: «*Le marché aux armes ne reste pas vide. Si ce n'est nous qui vendons, d'autres vont le faire. Si les Kurdes en veulent nous pouvons leur vendre également des armes!*».

C'est la première fois depuis la fin de l'URSS que dans une réunion tenue au Parlement même avec la participation des officiels l'éventualité d'un soutien russe aux Kurdes de Turquie est publiquement évoqué. En faisant l'impasse sur les légitimes revendications d'identité et de culture des Kurdes et en accordant un soutien inconsidéré à leur allié turc les Occidentaux finiront peut-être par jeter une fraction des Kurdes dans les bras de la Syrie, de l'Iran et de la Russie.

contesté par plusieurs États et par la plupart des ONG. Deux choix s'offraient aux candidats au départ pour Istanbul: Boycoter une conférence axée sur les établissements humains alors que le pays hôte, la Turquie, mène une campagne massive d'évacuation et destruction de villes et villages kurdes dans sa guerre au Kurdistan, ou participer à la conférence et montrer sa désapprobation en dénonçant sur place la politique turque envers le peuple kurde. Ou encore, comme le firent une trentaine d'ONG locales, tenir «une conférence alternative» en marge de la conférence officielle, qui a été dispersée rapidement et violemment par la police turque.

Du début à la fin la Conférence Habitat II s'est tenue dans une atmosphère très tendue. Déjà, lors du discours inaugural du Secrétaire général de l'ONU, M. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, les médias turcs ont réagi violemment et crié au scandale, parce que M. Ghali qui, par deux fois, dans son discours officiel d'ouverture a désigné le pays hôte par «*La République fédérale de Turquie*». Lapsus révélateur? ou une méconnaissance de M. Ghali de la structure étatique de la Turquie? Ce qui reste évident c'est que tout au long de la conférence l'accent a été mis sur la décentralisation et le rôle à jouer par les collectivités locales dans la gestion d'un environnement permettant à «*la personne humaine*» de s'épanouir. Est-ce que le Secrétaire général a tenu, par ce «*dérapiage linguistique*», à communiquer sa pensée intime sur la Turquie de demain? Hypothèse d'autant plus plausible que son discours a dû être

ISTANBUL: LA CONFÉRENCE HABITAT II DE L'ONU

LA conférence onusienne sur les établissements humains s'est achevée vendredi 14 juin, après près de deux semaines de discussions ayant pour thème principal «*l'homme dans la ville du XXIème siècle*». La nouveauté de cette conférence sur l'Habitat était la participation aux discussions officielles des collectivités locales et des organisations non-gouvernementales de la société civile. Le sommet de chefs

d'États et de gouvernements n'a pas atteint les espoirs des organisateurs. Celui-ci a été boudé par les principaux chefs d'État développés peu enclins à fréquenter ostensiblement les dirigeants turcs et n'a pu réunir qu'une quinzaine de participants de rang modeste. Fidel Castro, qui a fait le déplacement d'Istanbul, a finalement été la principale vedette de ce «*sommet*».

Le choix du lieu de la conférence a dès le départ suscité une polémique; il a été

rédigé, lu et relu par plusieurs conseillers de M. Ghali. Les politiciens turcs ont en tout cas crié au scandale et attribué à M. Ghali «l'intention de diviser la Turquie», car c'est un «anti-musulman». Les médias turcs qui avaient mené des campagnes outrancières contre Mme. Mitterrand, Nelson Mandela et Edward Kennedy pour leur défense des Kurdes se sont cette fois-ci déchainés contre le Secrétaire général de l'ONU.

Voici quelques faits majeurs relevés par l'envoyé de l'Institut à cette Conférence internationale:

1 • Lancement du livre «la liberté de vivre en Turquie». Toute la matinée du vendredi 7 juin a été dominée par la présentation et le lancement du livre «La liberté de vivre en Turquie». Livre dédié à la conférence de l'ONU Habitat II et co-édité par une centaine de parlementaires, d'avocats et d'organisations non-gouvernementales dont l'Institut kurde. L'idée d'origine était d'un collectif d'ONG norvégiennes visant à «défier la censure turque»: en publiant des articles déjà saisis en Turquie et y mentionnant dans son introduction un aperçu sur la politique systématique et massive de destruction et d'évacuation de villages kurdes par l'armée turque dans sa guerre au Kurdistan. Dans son introduction on peut lire: «Dans les quatre dernières années, la Turquie a détruit et/ou évacué environ 3000 villages kurdes. Très souvent avec la destruction de villages, les champs, les forêts et les biens sont aussi brûlés. Les villageois ne sont pas dédommés et la plupart d'entre eux vivent aujourd'hui dans les bidonvilles autour d'Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Mersin et

Diyarbakir. En plus de l'article 8 de la loi dite anti-terreur, les articles 311 et 312 du Code pénal turc sont les plus utilisés pour limiter la liberté d'expression en Turquie». Lors de la conférence de presse de présentation de ce livre, M. Erik Sauar, au nom de tous les éditeurs a tenu à souligner que «nous croyons que les Turcs et les Kurdes seront à mieux de pouvoir diriger leur pays et de choisir leurs leaders s'ils sont informés par ce qui se passe dans leur pays que s'ils ne l'étaient pas». Cette conférence de presse a donné lieu à un débat houleux; plusieurs ONG fabriquées de toutes pièces par les autorités turques à l'occasion de la conférence ont essayé par tous les moyens d'empêcher la tenue de cette conférence en voulant monopoliser le débat et en insultant les organisateurs.

2 • Un rapport de l'union des chambres des ingénieurs et des architectes de Turquie (uctea) sur Diyarbakir. Un atelier, organisé par UCTEA au Forum des ONG d'Habitat II le vendredi 7 juin, a été consacré à l'émigration forcée et au déplacement de la population kurde. A cette occasion un rapport intitulé «une recherche sur les questions sociales issues de l'émigration inter-régionale à

l'échelle de la ville de Diyarbakir» a été rendu public. Pour analyser la situation démographique et les retombées sociales sur la population émigrée/déplacée dans la ville de Diyarbakir, le rapport se base sur les données statistiques du recensement de 1990 et de celui de 1996. Selon le rapport, la ville de Diyarbakir compte aujourd'hui 822 837 habitants dont 327 957 personnes déplacées, arrivées depuis 1990. En 6 ans, si les données des recensements turcs sont fiables, la population de la ville a accru de 116%.

Quelques chiffres analytiques :

- Le taux de chômage au sein de la population active est de 70, 91%
- Le taux d'analphabétisme est de 35, 85%
- 64,3% des habitants n'ont pas de sécurité sociale
- 43,63% parmi les nouveaux arrivés à Diyarbakir ont indiqué qu'ils ont émigré à cause de la situation générale de la région tandis que 58% ont «émigré» à la suite de «la destruction et l'évacuation de leurs villages»
- 99% ont indiqué qu'ils ne pouvaient retourner dans leurs villages en raison «d'absence de sécurité pour leurs biens et leurs vies».

Évolution de la situation sanitaire en chiffres:

Maladies	1990	1994-95	Taux de croissance
Diarrhée chez les enfants (de 0-4 ans)	15000 enfants/an	20 000/an	33 %
Typhoïde	1000 pers/an	5000 pers/an	400 %
Malaria	1732 pers/an	27498 pers/an	2500 %
Dysenterie	1000 pers/an	3000 pers/an	200 %
Hépatite	180 pers/an	320 pers/an	20 %
Tuberculose	200 pers/an	495 pers/an	149 %
Choléra	2 pers/an	14 pers/an	200 %

3 • Un rapport de Human Rights Watc/Helsinki tient la Turquie responsable de la destruction des villages kurdes. Un autre rapport intitulé «*La politique erronée de la Turquie dans son aide aux déplacés forcés du Sud-Est*», a été rendu public le 11 juin à la Conférence d'Habitat II, par l'organisation humanitaire américaine basée à New York *Human Rights Watch* sur la destruction des villages kurdes par l'armée turque. Ce rapport est plus centré sur les conséquences des déplacements forcés et les aspects juridiques que cela comporte du point de vue du droit international et du droit international humanitaire. Tous les soi-disant plans gouvernementaux d'aide à la population kurde déplacée sont arrivés soit «*trop tard*» soit ils sont «*complètement insuffisants*» au regard des besoins. En outre, le rapport critique la politique de la Turquie qui consiste d'empêcher les organisations internationales d'aide humanitaire, comme l'UNHCR ou le CICR, de venir en aide aux déplacés. Par ailleurs, le rapport contient quelques recommandations à l'armée turque dans sa guerre au Kurdistan: **a.** *Le gouvernement turc doit respecter le droit international dans ses opérations militaires, limitant ses décisions d'évacuation forcée de civils à des nécessités militaires explicites; b.* *dédommagement adéquat dans le rétablissement des déplacés dans le leur statut quo ante; c.* *La mise en place d'une commission d'investigation indépendante pour enquêter sur l'évacuation des villages et bourgades; d.* *Indemniser financièrement tous les*

déplacés; e. *Poursuite judiciaire et condamnation des militaires et des forces de police qui en connaissance de cause ont violé les dispositions gouvernementales».*

4 • Arrestation de plus de 1500 manifestants à Istanbul. La police turque a procédé à l'arrestation de plus de 1500 manifestants y compris des participants à la conférence d'Habitat II, le samedi 8 juin. Les manifestants ont voulu marquer leur solidarité avec les mères des Kurdes «disparus» dans leur rassemblement hebdomadaire tous les samedis sur la place de Taksim au centre d'Istanbul. Cette manifestation a été violemment réprimée par la police en dépit de la présence de plusieurs dizaines de journalistes et d'observateurs étrangers. Parmi les manifestants arrêtés se trouvait un membre de la délégation officielle de Norvège à la Conférence d'Habitat, Mme. Nita Kapoor, qui a été retenue durant plusieurs heures dans un commissariat de police. Le lendemain, dimanche 9 juin, une manifestation spontanée pour la liberté d'expression et le droit de manifester a rassemblé près d'un millier de personnes dans l'enceinte du Forum des ONG. Au cours d'une conférence de presse, Mme. Nita Kapoor, a témoigné qu'en accord avec son travail «*qui consiste à s'occuper des femmes victimes des guerres et des conflits, elle avait souhaité s'informer sur la situation de ces femmes qui se rassemblaient chaque samedi pour que l'on n'oublie pas leurs enfants*» *Le rassemblement était parfaitement pacifique» a-t-elle précisé.* «*J'étais parmi elles, tranquillement assise*

depuis seulement 1 ou 2 minutes lorsque les forces de police ont chargé avec une violence inouïe».

Déjà vendredi 7 juin, une cinquantaine de militants des droits de l'homme et de syndicalistes avaient été arrêtés manu militari à la poste d'Istanbul alors qu'ils s'apprétaient à envoyer au président de la République turque une lettre attirant son attention sur la grève de la faim entamée par environ 10 000 détenus politiques à majorité kurde.

AINSI QUE ...

- **LA TURQUIE RECONNAÎT L'ÉVACUATION ET LA DESTRUCTION DE 2785 VILLAGES ET HAMEAUX KURDES.** Cette statistique est donnée par le «super-préfet» de Diyarbakir cité par le quotidien turc *Milliyet* du 27 mai. Selon ce haut responsable turc, d'après les données dont disposent ses services, «*918 villages et 1767 hameaux ont été évacués par les forces de sécurité pour des raisons d'ordre militaire*». Certains de ces villages sont totalement détruits d'autres le sont en grande partie ou partiellement. Les ONG locales citent généralement le chiffre de plus de 3000 villages évacués et détruits.
- **LES ISLAMISTES GRANDS VAINQUEURS DES ÉLECTIONS MUNICIPALES PARTIELLES.** Les élections municipales partielles tenues le 2 juin dans 41 localités traduisent un net progrès des Islamistes. Dans les villes

ayant le statut de préfectures, le Refah obtient 34,3% des suffrages contre 17,9% à l'ANAP de Mesut Yilmaz et seulement 6,5% au DYP de Mme. Çiller. Avec 8,6% des voix le DSP de Bulent Ecevit et le CHP de Deniz Baykal (5,6%) voient également leur audience s'effondrer. Dans les sous-préfectures, le Refah obtient 36,9% contre 23,3% pour l'ANAP; le DYP obtient 13,2%, le DSP 9,3% et le CHP 6,5 %. Ce n'est que dans des toutes petites communes dépendant lourdement des subsides gouvernementaux pour leur survie que les deux partis de la coalition gouvernementale font des scores honorables avec 28,6% des voix pour le DYP et 22,6% pour l'ANAP du Premier ministre.

• **1088 INTELLECTUELS TURCS ET KURDES DEVANT LA COUR DE SÛRETÉ DE L'ÉTAT D'ISTANBUL.** Un groupe de 98 intellectuels turcs et kurdes qui s'étaient volontairement associés, comme coéditeurs, à la publication du livre «*Liberté de pensée et d'expression*» a comparu, le mercredi 22 mai, devant la Cour N° 3 de Sûreté de l'État d'Istanbul. Déjà, au mois d'avril, un groupe de 99 de ces intellectuels, parmi lesquels figuraient les romanciers Yachar Kemal et Orhan Pamuk, le syndicaliste Munir Ceylan et le chanteur Zülfü Livaneli et d'autres noms connus du monde littéraire et artistique, avaient comparu devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'État. Leur cas a été examiné le vendredi 31 mai. Ce procès a été reporté au 22 juillet. Un message de soutien et de solidarité du PEN-Club signé par, entre autres noms littéraires

connus, les dramaturges Edward Albee et Arthur Miller et les romanciers Norman Mailer et Susan Sontag et le philosophe Sir Isaiah Berlin leur a été envoyé. On peut lire dans ce message : «*Il ne peut y avoir de liberté d'expression dans un pays ou des écrivains de l'envergure de Yachar Kemal sont poursuivis. Il n'y aura pas non plus de liberté de presse lorsque des journalistes qui veulent faire des articles sur certains sujets tabous, tel que l'oppression de la minorité kurde, sont menacés de prison et même de mort.*»

Lors de l'audience du 22 mai, de nombreux intellectuels ont mis l'accent sur la liberté de pensée et d'expression en Turquie et affirment que leur action, volontaire, visait à élargir les frontières de la liberté d'expression. Les juges turcs n'entendaient pas les choses de cette oreille. Pour eux, cette action porte atteinte à l'intégrité territoriale et tombe de ce fait sous le coup de l'article 312 du Code pénal turc qui sanctionne «*toute incitation à la haine raciale*» et le tristement célèbre article 8 de la loi dite anti-terreur. Lors de cette audience, protégés par les caméras, certains intellectuels ont tenu à s'exprimer en toute liberté devant leurs juges. Extraits des ces déclarations : «*Je prendrai part à toute initiative de défense de la liberté de pensée. Une des qualités de l'être humain est justement sa capacité de penser*». Tandis qu'un syndicaliste disait «*Je me considère comme un rouage dans une usine à pensées, je ne peux me séparer de la chaîne en arrêtant de penser sous prétexte que mes idées ne sont pas du goût d'un juge*». Alors qu'une

dame disait : «*moi, j'ai du mal à expliquer à mon enfant de 8 ans comment le fait de penser peut être en soi un crime.*»

• **ARRESTATION DU DR. KIZILKAN, PRÉSIDENT DE LA CHAMBRE DES MÉDECINS DE 5 PROVINCES KURDES.** La police turque a effectué le 5 mai à 23 h une descente au domicile à Diyarbakir du Dr. Seyfettin Kizilkan, médecin en chef de l'Hôpital de la Sécurité sociale et président, depuis 1994, de la Chambre des médecins des provinces kurdes de Diyarbakir, Mardin, Siirt, Batman et Sirnak, et l'a placé en garde-à-vue sous l'accusation de «*possession illégale d'armes à feu et de grenades*». Ce médecin connu et apprécié par son humanisme et son pacifisme a été écroué le 7 mai par la Cour de Sûreté de l'État de Diyarbakir. Détenu au secret «*pour des raisons de confidentialité de l'enquête préliminaire*» ce médecin de 43 ans, père de 3 enfants, a été présenté par les médias proches de la police et de l'armée comme «*un suppôt du terrorisme*». M. Kizilkan est connu pour ses dénonciations de la torture et ses critiques des conditions de santé publique et d'hygiène déplorables des centaines de milliers de paysans kurdes déplacés peuplant les faubourgs de Diyarbakir. Il était l'un des principaux interlocuteurs des observateurs étrangers en visite dans la région. De ce fait son arrestation a soulevé une vague d'indignation et de protestation au sein des ONG de Turquie ainsi que parmi les médecins allemands car la Chambre de Diyarbakir est parrainée par son homologue de Berlin. Dans un

communiqué rendu public le 7 mai, le conseil d'administration de la Chambre des médecins des 5 provinces kurdes réaffirme sa confiance totale à son président et dénonce «*la grossière manipulation policière visant à faire taire un éminent représentant de la société civile*». Le même jour, les représentants des syndicats, des associations et des organisations professionnelles de Diyarbakir ont publié un communiqué commun affirmant leur soutien au Dr. Kizilkan «*respecté pour ses états de services en tant que médecin, par sa personnalité humaniste et démocrate et par ses opinions universelles*». Dénonçant le complot policier, ils demandent que «*leurs domiciles soient perquisitionnés en présence du procureur de la République et des avocats*» afin d'éviter de grossiers montages policiers visant à arrêter les personnes jugées indésirables. La police turque a une longue tradition de placer, lors des perquisitions, des «*documents compromettants*», des armes ou des stupéfiants dans les appartements des opposants politiques qu'elle veut arrêter et criminaliser.

Le 17 juin le docteur Seyfettin Kizilkana été condamné à 3 ans 9 mois de prison par la Cour de Sûreté de l'État de Diyarbakir pour «*aide et soutien au PKK*». Il a rejeté les accusations policières à son encontre et dénoncé la parodie d'une justice qui le condamne sans avoir apporté aucun élément de preuve. Ce médecin, qui exerce depuis 23 ans dans des hôpitaux d'État, se voit en outre condamné à 3 ans d'interdiction

de tout emploi public. En attendant la confirmation de sa peine par la Cour d'appel turque, le docteur Kizilkan a été remis en liberté par les juges en service commandé qui par ce procès ont voulu intimider les derniers et courageux représentants de la société civile kurde.

• «TURQUIE; ENNEMIE DE LA PRESSE

1». Pour célébrer la journée de la liberté de la presse, le 3 mai, le Comité pour la Protection des Journalistes (CPJ) a rendu publique une liste de 10 dirigeants déclarés comme «*ennemis de la presse*». «*Chacune de ces personnes est activement impliquée dans l'éradication de toute presse indépendante*» a déclaré M. William Orme Jr, directeur du «CPJ». Le nom de Mesut Yilmaz, actuel premier ministre turc, figure sur cette liste d'ennemis de la presse à côté de celui d'Abu Abdul Rahman, dirigeant du Groupe islamique armé en Algérie, et du président du Nigeria le général Sani Abacha. Selon les statistiques du CPJ, 51 journalistes de nationalité turque se trouvaient dans les prisons turques à la fin de l'année dernière «*tout simplement parce qu'ils exercent leurs fonctions*». Ce chiffre a valu à la Turquie d'être en tête d'une autre liste du CPJ, rendue publique en janvier dernier, comme «*le pays le plus répressif envers les journalistes*» qui, dans l'exercice de leur métier, écrivent des articles relatifs à la guerre du Kurdistan.

• **UNE STATISTIQUE ALLEMANDE SUR «L'AUDIENGE DES ORGANISATIONS EXTRÉMISTES**». M. Manfred Kanther, ministre allemand de l'Intérieur, a

présenté le 24 mai à Bonn le rapport annuel du Bureau fédéral de la protection de la Constitution (service de renseignements). Selon ce rapport «*le PKK avec 8900 membres est le groupe de terreur étranger le plus dangereux en Allemagne*». Malgré son interdiction, cette organisation aurait élargi son audience en recrutant en un an près de 2000 membres nouveaux et mis sur pied de nouvelles associations pour mener ses activités. Le rapport évoque aussi l'existence de «*18 autres organisations extrémistes kurdes ayant environ 650 membres*». Le document évalue à environ 40 mille le nombre de Turcs d'Allemagne affiliés à des «organisations extrémistes» dont l'audience se répartit comme suit: extrême gauche: 3720; extrême droite: 6000; mouvement intégriste musulman: 29400. La plus importante organisation intégriste est Milli Görüs (vision nationale) qui compte 26200 membres et dispose d'un réseau de 500 associations légales. Le PKK est la seule «organisation extrémiste» interdite en Allemagne. Les membres de toutes ces «organisations extrémistes» réunies représentent environ 2,7 % de la communauté turque et kurde d'Allemagne.

• **LA TURQUIE VIOLE LE DROIT DE RECOURS DEVANT LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME DE SES CITOYENS**. Dans un rapport détaillant les violations de la Turquie de ses engagements contractés vis à vis de la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, l'organisation non gouvernementale américaine, *Human*

Rights Watch/Helsinki (HRW), examine le non-respect par la Turquie de sa propre législation et celle de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme, dont la Turquie est membre signataire depuis 1954. La Turquie s'est donc depuis cette date engagée à se conformer à l'article 25 de la susdite Convention qui stipule: «La Commission peut être saisie d'une requête par toute personne physique, toute organisation non gouvernementale ou tout groupe de particuliers, qui se prétend victime d'une violation des droits reconnus dans la présente Convention...Les Hautes parties contractantes ayant souscrit une telle déclaration s'engagent à n'entraver par aucune mesure l'exercice efficace de ce droit». Depuis 1991, au moins 778 citoyens de nationalité turque ont fait recours à la Commission, très souvent pour des violations liées à la guerre du Kurdistan.

Toutefois, les citoyens qui ont porté plainte, surtout ceux qui habitent les régions kurdes sous état d'urgence, après avoir épuisé les moyens de recours internes, déclarent être la cible de persécutions, d'intimidations et de mauvais traitements de la part des autorités turques, pour avoir exercé leur droit de recours en vertu de l'article 25 de la Convention européenne. Les requêtes portent souvent sur la détention par les forces de sécurité, perquisition des maisons, menaces de mort

téléphoniques anonymes et directes, des «*conversations amicales*» avec les officiers et la torture. Lors d'une rencontre entre les responsables de HRW et les membres Secrétariat de la Commission, ceux-ci ont déclaré que la plupart des violations de l'article 25 par la Turquie concernent une seule région en particulier: les requêtes émanant du Sud-Est du pays. Quant à la version turque de ces faits; dans une interview accordée par le représentant du gouvernement turc à la Commission au magazine *Nokta*, du 1-7 janvier 1995, il dit «*Nous voulons faire partie de l'Europe. Nous reconnaissons le droit de recours individuels devant la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme. Nous reconnaissons l'autorité de la Cour européenne, à Strasbourg....On se voit comme des Européens...Pour nous, il n'y a pas de différence entre (l'autorité de) la Cour de Strasbourg et celle de la Cour de Kadikoy à Istanbul. Il n'est pas possible de dire je mange des hamburgers, je m'habille en jeans, je bois du Nescafé, mais je n'accepte pas tous les articles de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme*».

• **LA MAFIA TURQUE DISPOSERAIT DE 23.000 TUEURS À GAGES.** La mafia turque est un véritable Etat dans l'Etat en Turquie affirme le quotidien *Milliyet* du 10 mai qui établit la liste de 40 domaines d'activité où elle sévit. Selon le quotidien, la Pieuvre a un budget annuel de 200

trillions de livres (environ 15 milliards de FF.) et elle emploie dans l'ensemble du pays 23.000 tueurs à gages. Le journal publie également les tarifs en vigueur en 1994: blesser quelqu'un à la jambe ou le blesser avec un couteau est facturé 2000 FF; le passage à tabac avec brisure d'un bras ou de doigts: 1000 FF; simple menace verbale: 400 FF. Quant au meurtre, il coûte environ 200.000 FF. La mafia turque tire la majeure partie de ses ressources du trafic de stupéfiants et de l'obtention, par menace ou corruption, de marchés de construction ainsi que du recouvrement des chèques et créances non honorés des entreprises ou des particuliers. Pour obtenir son dû, il est courant en Turquie de s'adresser à la Mafia qui, en échange de ses services, retient 50% de la somme recouvrée. La mafia entretient également des relations suivies avec la classe politique à tous les niveaux ainsi qu'avec la police, la justice et la haute hiérarchie militaire. Ces relations ne sont pas toujours occultes. Inci Baba, l'un des parrains illustres de la Mafia turque, a accompagné à plusieurs reprises M. Demirel dans ses voyages à l'étranger et à sa mort le président turc a un moment songé à publier un décret gouvernemental pour autoriser sa famille à ériger un mausolée à la mémoire de cet Al Capone local qui avait porté assistance financière et «protégé» M. Demirel après le coup d'Etat militaire de 1980. (cf. aussi pp. 45-47 du Bulletin, *Turkey: The Mafia Republic*).

EN BREF, LA REVUE DE PRESSE

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LES ÉTATS-UNIS SOUTIENNENT LE POINT DE VUE TURC SUR L'EUROPE ET LA SYRIE/PKK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 8 mai 1996), p. 13.

TURQUIE-KURDES : 29 MORTS LORS D'UNE OPÉRATION DE L'ARMÉE TURQUE CONTRE LE PKK DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK. Cette opération a fait 29 morts dont 28 dans les rangs du PKK et un dans ceux de l'armée, selon des bilans non officiels. (*A.F.P.*, 9 mai 1996), p. 14.

LA SALE GUERRE AU KURDISTAN CONTINUE. Au début du mois d'avril, comme chaque année, l'armée avec le soutien de 60 000 auxiliaires d'origine kurde, armés par les autorités, a commencé une opération militaire d'envergure contre l'organisation nationaliste kurde PKK. (*Lutte ouvrière*, 10 mai 1996), p. 14.

LA TURQUIE A HORREUR DU VIDE AU NORD DE L'IRAK. L'Iran renforce son influence dans le Kurdistan « autonome ». Depuis la guerre du Golfe, le nord de l'Irak n'est plus contrôlé par Bagdad, et les deux principales organisations kurdes s'y affrontent. Les Américains essaient de ramener la paix, l'Iran se pose en arbitre et en financier, la Syrie joue les parrains. Quant à la Turquie, elle s'inquiète. (*Courier International*, 9-15 mai 1996), p. 15-16.

MEHMET AGAR ACCUSE SES ACCUSATEURS D'ÊTRE DES LOBBIES ANTI-TURCS. — Le journal *Evrensel* interdit de parution pendant 20 jours. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 mai 1996), p. 16.

L'AGENDA DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (*Turkish Probe*, 10 mai 1996), p. 17.

LE RAPPORT AMÉRICAIN SUR LA TERREUR TIMIDE POUR LA SYRIE ET FRANC POUR LA GRÈCE. (*Turkish Probe*, 10 mai 1996), p. 18-19.

ET SI DANS UN APRÈS-MIDI DE DIMANCHE UN SOLDAT S'ÉGARE DANS UNE MANIFESTATION EN FAVEUR DE LA PAIX. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 mai 1996), p. 20.

LES TROUPES TURQUES LANCENT UNE OPÉRATION AU NORD DE L'IRAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 mai 1996), p. 21.

UNE SECONDE ENQUÊTE SUR LA CORRUPTION ÉBRÈCHE LA COALITION TURQUE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 10 mai 1996), p. 22.

DIVISION DU GOUVERNEMENT DE COALITION TURC. Seconde enquête sur les enrichissements de Çiller. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10 mai 1996), p. 23.

MEHDI ZANA: LE CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE VA TRÈS LENTEMENT. (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 11 mai 1996), p. 24.

LA REQUÊTE D'UN SYNDICALISTE TURC DÉCLARÉE RECEVABLE À STRASBOURG. La requête de Munir Ceylan, président du syndicat des travailleurs du pétrole, condamné pour avoir critiqué dans un article de presse la politique du gouvernement vis-à-vis des Kurdes, a été déclarée recevable par la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, a-t-on appris à Strasbourg auprès du Conseil de l'Europe. (*A.F.P.*, 13 mai 1996), p. 24.

LES VENTES DU BRUT IRAKIEN ATTIRENT L'INTÉRÊT DES MARCHANDS DU PÉTROLE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 12 mai 1996), p. 25.

EUROCOPTER SIGNERA UN CONTRAT DE 500 MILLIONS DE DOLLARS BIENTÔT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 12 mai 1996), p. 26.

IRAK/PÉTROLE : LES NÉGOCIATIONS AVEC L'ONU SE DÉROULENT BIEN. Ces pourparlers entre l'Irak et l'ONU sur l'application d'une résolution du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU prévoyant un allègement de l'embargo imposé à l'Irak se déroulent bien, a affirmé un quotidien officiel irakien. (*A.F.P.*, 13 mai 1996), p. 32.

UNE NOUVELLE ENQUÊTE À ANKARA

AJOUTE UNE ENTORSE AUX PROBLÈMES DE ÇILLER. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 mai 1996), p. 33.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL: MÊME LES ENFANTS SONT TORTURÉS EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 mai 1996), p. 33.

LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME JUGE ADMISSIBLE LA REQUÊTE DE MÜNIR CEYLAN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 mai 1996), p. 33.

LA COUR REJETTE LA DEMANDE DE LIBÉRATION DE KIZILKAN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 mai 1996), p. 34.

L'INVESTITURE DU GOUVERNEMENT TURC A ÉTÉ INVALIDÉE. La tension s'accroît au sein de la coalition. Déjà secouée par les accusations de corruption portées contre Mme Tansu Çiller, la coalition gouvernementale en Turquie a encaissé un nouveau coup dur. (*Le Monde*, 16 mai 1996), p. 35.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS S'ATTENDENT À LA PROLONGATION DE PROVIDE COMFORT AVEC « QUELQUES MODIFICATIONS ». (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 mai 1996), p. 36.

DISPARITIONS: OÙ-EST TALAT TÜRKÖGLÜ, SE DEMANDE IHD (Association des droits de l'homme turque) (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 mai 1996), p. 36.

TURQUIE : L'OPPOSITION ISLAMISTE PARALYSE LA FRAGILE COALITION DE DROITE AU POUVOIR EN TURQUIE. Sur un recours du parti islamiste de la Prospérité (Refah), premier parti d'opposition, la Cour constitutionnelle a annulé le vote de confiance obtenu en mars par le gouvernement de Mesut Yılmaz. (*A.F.P.*, 16 mai 1996), p. 37-38.

IRAK-KURDES : ARRESTATION DE 700 KURDES À KIRKOUK (NORD DE L'IRAK). L'opposition kurde en Irak a affirmé que la police irakienne avait arrêté le 13 mai 700 civils kurdes dans la ville Kirkouk à la limite de la zone contrôlée par Bagdad. (*A.F.P.*, 17 mai; *Le Méridional*, 18 mai 1996), p. 38, 51.

LES SCIENTIFIQUES AMÉRICAINS DÉFENDENT LES GROUPES DE DROITS DE L'HOMME EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 mai 1996), p. 39.

LA QUERELLE ENTRE LA FONDATION TURQUE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME (TIHV) ET LE MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES S'AGGRAVE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 mai 1996), p. 39.

LES ACTIVISTES PRO-PKK SERONT LIBÉRÉS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 16 mai 1996), p. 40.

HADEP: LES INSTITUTIONS TURQUES NE SONT PAS BASÉES SUR DES PRINCIPES DÉMOCRATIQUES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 mai 1996), p. 41.

L'AGENDA DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (*Turkish Probe*, 17 mai 1996), p. 42.

UNE GUERRE SANS LOIS SUR UN FOND SECRET. (*Turkish Probe*, 17 mai 1996), p. 43.

TURQUIE: LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE LA MAFIA. (*Turkish Probe*, 17 mai 1996), p. 44-47.

YILMAZ (PREMIER MINISTRE TURC) DISCUTE DE L'UNION EUROPÉENNE ET DES KURDES À BONN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 mai 1996), p. 48.

LA BUREAUCRATIE TURQUE EST PUISSANTE ET CORROMPUE d'après une enquête de *Freedon House*. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 mai 1996), p. 49.

VISITE DU CHEF DU GOUVERNEMENT TURC À BONN. Demande d'acceptation dans l'Union européenne. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 18/19 mai 1996), p. 50-51.

ALLEMAGNE - KURDES : LE CHEF DU PKK FAIT SON AUTOCRITIQUE. Abdullah Ocalan, chef du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), se livre à une autocritique en règle et reconnaît avoir commis des « erreurs » en menaçant l'Allemagne d'attentats suicides, dans un entretien au quotidien *Die Welt*. (*A.F.P.*, 19 mai 1996), p. 51.

À WASHINGTON LA QUESTION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ATTEND M. GÜNENSAY, ministre des Affaires étrangères turc. (*Turkish Daily News*, 19 mai 1996), p. 52.

LA TURQUIE VA DOUBLER SES ÉCHANGES COMMERCIAUX AVEC LA FRANCE. La France est le premier investisseur du pays par le biais de 180 entreprises. Profitant de l'entrée en vigueur de l'Union douanière ente la Turquie et l'Union européenne à partir du 1^{er} janvier 1996, La France s'est lancée dans une opération de séduction à l'égard du monde économique turc, qui n'attendait que cela. (*Le Monde*, 1^{er} juin 1996), p. 53.

L'AUTONOMIE CULTURELLE EST-ELLE UNE SOLUTION À LA QUESTION KURDE. (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 20 mai 1996), p. 54 - 55.

L'ANÉANTISSEMENT MENACE LES KURDES POURCHASSÉS. (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 20 mai 1996), p. 56.

GÜNENSAY À WASHINGTON POUR DISCUTER DES ARMES, DE LA MER ÉGÉE ET DE PROVIDE COMFORT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 mai 1996), p. 57.

LES KURDES AU NORD DE L'IRAK ATTENDENT LES EXPORTATIONS DE PÉTROLE. Espoir d'un progrès économique. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 21 mai 1996), p. 58-59.

L'ACCORD ONU-IRAK : UN DEMI DOLLAR PAR JOUR POUR CHAQUE IRAKIEN... L'accord entre l'Irak et ONU sur la formule « pétrole contre nourriture » ne représente, au mieux, pour chaque Irakien que la modique somme d'un demi dollar (deux francs cinquante) par jour, a indiqué un responsable de l'ONU. (*A.F.P.*, 20 mai 1996), p. 59.

L'ACCORD DES NATIONS-UNIES/IRAK SUR LE PÉTROLE MÈNERA À DE NOUVELLES OUVERTURES POUR LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 mai 1996), p. 61.

LA SYRIE MENACE LA TURQUIE. (*Dagens Nyheter*, 22 mai 1996), p. 62.

L'ACCORD SUR LE PÉTROLE EST BIEN

ACCUEILLI EN TURQUIE, MALGRÉ LE SOUCI D'UN « KURDE » (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 mai 1996), p. 63.

POINT SUR LA SITUATION EN TURQUIE : - Visite du Comité européen pour la prévention de la torture... — La Fondation turque des Droits de l'Homme poursuivie par les Cours de Sécurité de l'état... — Une nouvelle incursion turque au Kurdistan d'Irak... (*Gamk*, 22 mai 1996), p. 64-65.

LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE, ENCORE UNE FOIS EN PROCÈS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 mai 1996), p. 65.

UN DRAME EN MARGE DE HABITAT II, UNE PERSONNE TUÉE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 mai 1996), p. 65.

LA TURQUIE PROTESTE CONTRE LES PRO-KURDES TENUS LORS D'UNE RÉUNION DU PARLEMENT RUSSE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 mai 1996), p. 66.

ANKARA NIE SON MÉCONTENTEMENT CONCERNANT L'ACCORD AVEC ISRAËL. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 mai 1996), p. 66.

MURAT POUR LE KURDISTAN. Curiosité scénique annoncée de la semaine prochaine : un concert militant de Murat. CONCERT : UNE NUIT POUR LE KURDISTAN. MURAT SORT DE SON SILENCE POUR LE KURDISTAN. Tous ceux qui espéraient découvrir, en avant-première, quelques titres du prochain album de Jean-Luis Murat, n'auront finalement dû se « contenter » à la Maison du Peuple de Clermont-Ferrand, que d'anciennes chansons et de reprises. Les bénéficiaires du concert - auquel participaient également André Agier et Jack et les Eventreurs - permettront, eux, de financer l'envoi d'un convoi humanitaire au Kurdistan. (*Libération*, 22 mai; *La Montagne*, 28 mai; 29 mai 1996), p. 66, 85, 86.

'PAS DE LUMIÈRE AU BOUT DU TUNNEL'. (*The Independent*, 23 mai 1996), p. 67.

LA GUERRE DU GOLFE N'EST PAS FINIE. L'accord, conclu à New York entre l'ONU et l'Irak, sur la résolution «pétrole contre

nourriture» n'entame en rien la volonté de Washington d'«accélérer la chute de l'actuel régime irakien». LES IRAKIENS DEVRONT ENCORE ATTENDRE UNE AMÉLIORATION DE LEUR SORT. Les effets de l'accord «pétrole contre nourriture» sur la situation humanitaire ne se feront pas sentir avant deux mois. (*La Croix*, 23 mai, 24 mai 1996), p. 68, 76.

L'OPPOSITION IRAKIENNE CRAINT QUE L'ACCORD AVEC L'ONU NE RENFORCE LE POUVOIR DE SADDAM HUSSEIN. Washington voudrait empêcher Bagdad de tirer des bénéfices «à des fins illégitimes». Le Comité des sanctions de l'ONU contre l'Irak, ou «Comité 661», s'est réuni, à New York, pour examiner l'accord «pétrole contre nourriture», dont il devra superviser la mise en oeuvre. De leur côté, les États-Unis ont affirmé qu'ils «empêcheraient» le président irakien, Saddam Hussein, d'utiliser les bénéfices de la vente du pétrole «à des fins illégitimes». (*Le Monde*, 23 mai 1996), p. 69.

YILMAZ ET ÖCALAN SE LIVRENT À UNE GUERRE SANS MERCI DANS LES MÉDIA. (*Turkish Probe*, 24 mai 1996), p. 70.

L'AGENDA DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (*Turkish Probe*, 24 mai 1996), p. 70.

EN TURQUIE, LE CHEMIN DE L'HISTOIRE RELÈGUE AU PASSÉ LA PENSÉE D'ATATÜRK. (*International Herald Tribune*, 20 mai 1996), p. 71-72.

LA TURQUIE POURRAIT ACHETER DES HÉLICOPTÈRES D'ATTAQUE D'EUROCOPTER APRÈS LA RÉTICENCE DES AMÉRICAINS SUR LES COBRAS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 mai 1996), p. 72.

L'AGRESSEUR DE DEMIREL, MÉCONTENT DE L'ACCORD TURCO-ISRAËLIEN. (*International Herald Tribune*, 20 mai 1996), p. 73.

LE PRÉSIDENT TURC SULEYMAN DEMIREL ÉCHAPPE À UN ATTENTAT. Son agresseur, un pharmacien islamiste de 48 ans, père de quatre enfants, apparemment mentalement instable, semble avoir agi seul pour protester contre

l'accord de coopération militaire conclu en février entre la Turquie et Israël. (*Le Monde*, 21 mai 1996), p. 73.

L'IRAK ACCEPTE L'ACCORD DES NATIONS-UNIES SUR LA VENTE LIMITÉE DE SON PÉTROLE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 21 mai 1996), p. 74-75.

SADDAM EN LAISSE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 23 mai 1996), p. 75.

L'ACCORD SUR LE PÉTROLE : UNE AUBAINE POUR L'ARMÉE DE SADDAM. (*International Herald Tribune*, 25-26 mai 1996), p. 77.

LES ISLAMISTES SE PRÉPARENT À DÉPOSER LE LEADER TURC. (*International Herald Tribune*, 27 mai 1996), p. 77.

IRAK : DÉMANTELEMENT DE RÉSEAUX DE TRAFIC D'ANTIQUITÉS. Les cinq membres des deux réseaux ont fait des aveux à la télévision irakienne qui a montré également des statuettes en pierre et en bronze d'anciens dieux et rois de l'époque assyrienne, ainsi que des vases et des sceaux qu'ils tentaient de faire passer en Jordanie. (*A.F.P.*, 26 mai 1996), p. 78.

UNE SANTÉ RAVAGÉE AU SUD-EST. (*Turkish Daily News*, 27 mai 1996), p. 79.

TANSU ÇILLER PORTE LE COUP DE GRACE À LA COALITION GOUVERNEMENTALE EN TURQUIE. La fin de l'alliance entre les deux partis conservateurs fait le jeu des islamistes. Onze semaines seulement après la poignée de main scellant l'union forcée entre le Parti de la mère patrie (ANAP) du premier ministre Mesut Yilmaz et celui de la Juste Voie (DYP) de M^{me} Çiller, la méfiance, les accusations réciproques de corruption et les échanges d'insultes ont finalement eu raison de la fragile coalition formée par les deux partis conservateurs rivaux pour empêcher l'arrivée aux pouvoirs des islamistes. LA COALITION D'ANKARA EST SAPÉE PAR LA BROUILLE ENTRE CONSERVATEURS. (*Le Monde*, 26-27 mai; *Agence économique et Financière*, 28 mai 1996), p. 80.

DEUX AUTRES REQUÊTES À LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME CONTRE LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 28 mai 1996), p. 81.

HELSINKI COMMISSION-US RENOUVELLE SES EFFORTS POUR RÉSOUDRE LA QUESTION KURDE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 27 mai 1996), p. 82.

L'ATTITUDE NÉGATIVE AMÉRICAINE NUIT AUX RELATIONS AVEC LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 29 mai 1996), p. 83.

43 REBELLES KURDES TUÉS DANS LE SUD-EST ANATOLIEN EN UNE SEMAINE. (*A.F.P.*, 28 mai 1996), p. 84.

DEMIREL AJOUTE UNE SEPTIÈME BOUCLE AU PROJET GAP. (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 mai 1996), p. 87-89.

COOPÉRATION ANKARA-JÉRUSALEM : LA GENESE D'UNE ALLIANCE. Entre la Turquie et Israël, la complémentarité est totale. Reste une inconnue : la montée de l'islamisme à Ankara. Le président turc Suleyman Demirel a évoqué publiquement la possibilité d'un « changement de frontière » avec l'Irak. (*Valeurs Actuelles*, 29 juin 1996), p. 90-91.

LE PREMIER MINISTRE TURC NIE UN DÉPART PROCHAIN. (*International Herald Tribune*, 29 mai 1996), p. 92.

SUNGURLU EST PATIENT SUR L'ACCORD DE VENTE DE COBRA. (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 mai 1996), p. 92.

L'IRAK DIT QUE LES GROS CONTRATS SONT RÉSERVÉS SEULEMENT AUX « AMIS ». (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 mai 1996), p. 93.

LES GROUPES KURDES IRAKIENS SONT D'ACCORD POUR LA PROLONGATION DU MANDAT DE LEUR PARLEMENT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 mai 1996), p. 93.

LA FRANCE VOIT L'IMMINENCE DE LA SIGNATURE DU CONTRAT EUROCOPTER. (*Turkish Daily News*, 31 mai 1996), p. 94.

YACHAR KEMAL REÇOIT LE PRIX HELLMAN/HAMMETT. (*Human Rights Watch*, 31 mai 1996), p. 95.

LES PRISONS SONT EN ÉTAT D'ÉBULLITION. (*Turkish Probe*, 31 mai 1996), p. 96-97.

KURDES : LE SECRÉTAIRE AMÉRICAIN À LA DÉFENSE WILLIAM PERRY A EU UN ENTRETIEN AVEC SON HOMOLOGUE TURC OLTAN SUNGURLU SUR L'AVENIR DE L'OPÉRATION ALLIÉE « PROVIDE COMFORT » DE PROTECTION DES KURDES D'IRAK, A ANNONCÉ LE PENTAGONE. (*A.F.P.*, 30 mai 1996), p. 97.

SIX PRISONNIERS S'IMMOLENT DANS LA PRISON DE DIYARBAKIR. (*Turkish Daily News*, 31 mai 1996), p. 98.

LE FONDS D'ASSISTANCE ÉTRANGÈRE AMÉRICAIN VA ACCORDER 3 MILLIONS DE DOLLARS À BARZANI ET TALABANI. (*Turkish Daily News*, 31 mai 1996), p. 98-99.

HADEP ET HABITAT II. (*Turkish Daily News*, 31 mai 1996), p. 99.

SUNGURLU REVIENT SUR SES COMMENTAIRES CONCERNANT PROVIDE COMFORT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 31 mai 1996), p. 99.

LES ACTIVITÉS DE LA CONFÉRENCE ALTERNATIVE D'HABITAT : UNE AUTRE MANIÈRE DE VOIR LES CHOSES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 31 mai 1996), p. 100.

IMMIGRATION-MANIF : PRES DE 2 000 MANIFESTANTS À MARSEILLE CONTRE LES LOIS PASQUA. (*A.F.P.*, 1^{er} juin 1996), p. 97.

DROITS DE L'HOMME - TURQUIE : RÉOLUTION COMMUNE SUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET LA SITUATION EN TURQUIE. Le Parlement européen demande au nouveau gouvernement de décréter une amnistie générale et renouveler plus particulièrement sa demande de libérer immédiatement M^{me} Leyla Zana ainsi que les

trois autres députés du DEP. (*Le Point de la session*, juin II 1996), p. 101.

YACHAR KEMAL REÇOIT LE PRIX HELLMAN/HAMMETT POUR SON COURAGE FACE À LA RÉPRESSION. — La police interdit la *Conférence Alternative Habitat* (*Turkish Daily News*, 1^{er} juin 1996), p. 102.

LES PRINCIPALES FORMATIONS KURDES IRAKIENNES QUI SE DISPUTENT LE CONTRÔLE DU NORD DE L'IRAK SONT CONVENUES DE PROROGER DE QUATRE MOIS LE MANDAT DU « PARLEMENT » KURDE, ÉLU EN MAI 1992, ONT INDIQUÉ DES RESPONSABLES. (*A.F.P.*, 2 juin 1996), p. 103.

LA TURQUIE DÉCLARE QU'IL POURRAIT Y AVOIR DES ÉMISSIONS DE TV EN KURDE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 2 juin 1996), p. 104.

KIRKOUK PERMETTRA À L'IRAK DE RETROUVER SA PLACE SUR LE MARCHÉ PÉTROLIER. (*Turkish Daily News*, 3 juin 1996), p. 105.

L'ORGANISATION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME MET LE SUD-EST À L'ORDRE DU JOUR D'HABITAT (*Turkish Daily News*, 3 juin 1996), p. 106.

L'AVENIR DU PARLEMENT KURDE RESTE INCERTAIN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 3 juin 1996), p. 107.

DANS UN ISTANBUL ÉTOUFFANT, L'ONU MÉDITE SUR L'AMÉNAGEMENT DE LA VILLE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 4 juin 1996), p. 108.

USA-SYRIE-TURQUIE : LES ÉTATS-UNIS ONT EXPRIMÉ LEUR « INQUIÉTUDE FACE AU TERRORISME DIRIGÉ CONTRE LA TURQUIE, VENANT DE SYRIE » ET RENOUVELÉ LEUR SOUTIEN À ANKARA TOUT EN APPELANT À L'AMÉLIORATION DES RELATIONS ENTRE LES DEUX PAYS, SELON LE PORTE-PAROLE DU DÉPARTEMENT D'ÉTAT. (*A.F.P.*, 5 juin 1996), p. 109.

TURQUIE-BELGIQUE-KURDES : VISITE DE MESUT YILMAZ. Le Premier ministre turc, Mesut Yılmaz, a assuré que la Belgique allait prendre des mesures visant à empêcher les activités des militants du parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan sur son territoire. (A.F.P., 4 juin 1996), p. 109.

LA TURQUIE; UN DES PAYS QUI PRATIQUE LE PLUS LA TORTURE DANS LE MONDE. Alors que les diplomates occidentaux déclarent que la situation des droits de l'homme est en amélioration croissante depuis les années 80, les organisations de défense des droits de l'homme turques sont d'un avis différent. (Garnk, 5 juin 1996), p. 110.

QUARANTE ET UNIÈMES JOURS DE GREVE DE LA FAIM. Un mouvement de grève de la faim toumante entamé par des centaines de prisonniers kurdes pour protester contre un projet de nouveau règlement des prisons. Bahattin Guner, vice-président du Parti démocratique populaire, a déclaré, à l'AFP: Les prisonniers « protestent contre les nouvelles règles que prépare le ministre de la Justice, Mehmet Agar, qui conduiraient à une détérioration des conditions de vie dans les prisons ». (A.F.P., 6 juin 1996), p. 110.

LE RETOUR DE L'IRAK SUR LE MARCHÉ PÉTROLIER CRÉE DE NOUVEAUX PROBLÈMES À L'OPEC. (International Herald Tribune, 6 juin 1996), p. 111.

LE CHEF DE L'ONU NE PENSE QUE DU « BIEN » DE LA TURQUIE. (Turkish Daily News, 6 juin 1996), p. 112.

L'ADOPTION DE LA MOTION DE CENSURE CONTRE ÇILLER PAR LE PARLEMENT MET À L'ÉCART ERBAKAN. (Turkish Daily News, 6 juin 1996), p. 113.

TURQUIE-KURDES : 12 REBELLES KURDES ET TROIS SOLDATS TURCS TUÉS EN ANATOLIE. Des opérations militaires et des combats se sont déroulés dans les régions de Tunceli (est), de Siirt (sud-est), de Van, à la frontière avec l'Irak et l'Iran, et de Simak, à la frontière avec la Syrie et l'Irak. (A.F.P., 7 juin 1996), p. 113.

LES ISLAMISTES ARBITRES DE LA CRISE TURQUE. Le Premier ministre Mesut Yılmaz a démissionné. La coalition de droite éclate. (Libération, 7 juin 1996), p. 114.

REP. HOYER: LES DROITS DE L'HOMME ONT ÉTÉ VIOLÉS LORS DE LA CONFÉRENCE HABITAT II. (Turkish Daily News, 7 juin 1996), p. 115.

YILMAZ DÉMISSIONNE, LA CRISE PERSISTE. (Turkish Daily News, 7 juin 1996), p. 116-117.

UNE FOULE DE QUESTIONS DANS UNE COALITION QUI SE DÉSAGRÈGE. (Turkish Daily News, 7 juin 1996), p. 117-118.

ARRESTATION DE MILITANTS DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (New Century, 8 juin 1996), p. 118.

L'UNION EUROPÉENNE DEMANDE AUX FORCES DE SÉCURITÉ TURQUES « D'APaiser LA SITUATION. (New Century, 8 juin 1996), p. 119.

LE LEADER ISLAMISTE TURC DÉTIENT UNE DEUXIÈME CHANCE DE FORMER UN GOUVERNEMENT. (International Herald Tribune, 8-9 juin 1996), p. 120.

EXCES DE KÉMALISME. Vainqueur des législatives de décembre dernier, le Parti de la prospérité (Refah) s'était vu barrer la route du gouvernement en raison de l'opposition des milieux patronaux. Mais aussi, et surtout, de l'armée, gardienne du dogme kémaliste qui, depuis les années 20, se chante sur l'air de « laïcité-centralisation-turquisation ». (Le Républicain Lorrain, 8 juin 1996), p. 120.

TURQUIE: L'INSAISSABLE POMME D'OR (DOSSIER). (The Economist, 8 juin 1996), p. 121-123.

ERBAKAN RÊVE À UNE COMMONWEALTH OTTOMAN. (New Century, 9 juin 1996), p. 135.

LES ARABES DEMANDENT À LA TURQUIE DE RECONSIDÉRER SON ACCORD AVEC L'ISRAËL. (New Century, 9 juin 1996), p. 136.

LE BOUCLIER D'HABITAT A ÉCHOUÉ DE PROTÉGER LES MANIFESTANTES CONTRE LES MATRAQUES. (New Century, 9 juin 1996), p. 137.

L'IMMIGRATION FORCÉE COÛTE DES MILLIARDS. (New Century, 9 juin 1996), p. 138.

LA POLICE TURQUE A REPRIMÉ LA DÉMOCRATISATION. (Svenska Dagbladet, 9 juin 1996), p. 138.

1500 PERSONNES ONT ÉTÉ ARRÊTÉES PAR LA POLICE LORS DE MANIFESTATIONS À ISTANBUL. (Turkish Daily News, 9 juin 1996), p. 139.

LES GRÉVISTES DE LA FAIM DANS LES PRISONS SONT AU SEUIL DE LA MORT. (Turkish Daily News, 10 juin 1996), p. 140.

LES ONG PROTESTENT CONTRE LA VIOLENCE DE LA POLICE. (Turkish Daily News, 10 juin; El Pais, 11 juin 1996), p. 141, 156.

LA CONFÉRENCE D'HABITAT II DOMINÉE PAR LA QUESTION KURDE. (Turkish Daily News, 10 juin 1996), p. 142-143.

MANIFESTATION À ISTANBUL : ANKARA REGRETTE LE MAUVAIS TRAITEMENT DE JOURNALISTES. Une dizaine de journalistes avaient été molestés par la police lors de l'intervention de celle-ci pour disperser les manifestants sur la rive européenne du Bosphore, non loin du site de la conférence internationale de l'ONU sur les villes, Habitat II. (A.F.P., 10 juin 1996), p. 144.

TURQUIE-KURDES : LE PKK DÉCIDE LA REPRISE DE SES ACTIONS MILITAIRES CONTRE LA TURQUIE, ROMPANT UN CESSER-LE-FEU DÉCRÉTÉ UNILATÉRALEMENT LE 15 DÉCEMBRE, A ANNONCÉ LE CENTRE D'INFORMATION DU KURDISTAN EN ALLEMAGNE. Ce cessez-le-feu, affirme le communiqué du centre installé à Cologne, a été « respecté sans discontinuité ». LE CESSER-LE-FEU DU PKK TOUJOURS EN VIGUEUR, SELON LE CENTRE D'INFORMATION DU KURDISTAN. Le Centre

a déclaré que la reprise des actions militaires contre le régime turc décidée par le PKK ne s'appliquait qu'au «long terme» et que le cessez-le-feu «se poursuivait». (A.F.P., 10, 11 juin 1996), p. 144, 153.

L'IRAK S'OPPOSE À UN PROVIDE COMFORT NE COMPRENANT QUE LA TURQUIE ET LES ÉTATS-UNIS. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 juin 1996), p. 145.

TALABANI DÉCLARE QUE LA TURQUIE FAIT DU CHANTAGE AVEC L'OPÉRATION PROVIDE COMFORT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 juin 1996), p. 145-148.

DES MARGINAUX : LES ALEVIS TURCS. Émancipation et exclusion d'une minorité religieuse. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10 juin 1996), p. 149-151.

UN LONG BANC DES ACCUSÉS. Un procès de masse contre des artistes et des intellectuels. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10 juin 1996), p. 152.

LE DOSSIER DU MAGAZINE ECONOMISTE EST PESSIMISTE SUR L'AVENIR DE LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 juin 1996), p. 154.

LES RÉACTIONS SUR LES INCIDENTS DU DIMANCHE CONTINUENT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 juin 1996), p. 154.

ANKARA PRÉPARE UN RAPPORT SOCIO-ÉCONOMIQUE SUR LE NORD DE L'IRAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 juin 1996), p. 156.

NOUVEAU DÉFI D'ANKARA POUR LE PKK. Les tensions augmentent entre la Turquie et la Syrie. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 12 juin 1996), p. 157.

LE PARTI DE ÇILLER SE DIT PRÊT À JOINDRE LES ISLAMISTES. (*International Herald Tribune*, 12 juin 1996), p. 158.

DE PEUR D'ESPIONNAGE, L'IRAK INTERDIT LA PRÉSENCE DES INSPECTEURS DE L'ONU. (*International Herald Tribune*, 13 juin 1996), p. 158.

L'ARMÉE TURQUE A MULTIPLIÉ SES OPÉRATIONS CONTRE LE PKK DEPUIS AVRIL. Soixante douze rebelles kurdes et six soldats turcs ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires de l'armée dans l'Est et le Sud-Est anatoliens, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie, qui ne précise pas la date de ces opérations. CINQUANTE REBELLES KURDES TUÉS EN ANATOLIE. Ils ont été tués par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires dans la région de Çukurca, en territoire turc le long de la frontière avec l'Irak. SOIXANTE DIX- SEPT REBELLES KURDES TUÉS LORS D'OPÉRATIONS DE L'ARMÉE TURQUE. Le bilan porte à 199 le nombre total des rebelles kurdes tués depuis le 12 juin, dont 146 dans la seule région de Çukurca, le long de la frontière turco-irakienne, où les troupes turques effectuent depuis plusieurs jours une opération ponctuelle contre le PKK, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie, citant des sources officielles. (A.F.P., 12, 14, 15 juin 1996), p. 159, 173.

TURQUIE : PROLOS, JEUNES ET KURDES JOUENT LEUR VIE AU FOOT. Pour la première fois, la Turquie dispute la phase finale du Championnat d'Europe de football. Un sport qui suscite un engouement exceptionnel. Opium du peuple ou seul exutoire - trop souvent violent - à toutes les frustrations ? (*Courrier International*, 13/19 juin 1996), p. 160-161.

L'IRAK INTERDIT AUX INSPECTEURS DE L'ONU LES CITES SENSIBLES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 13 juin 1996), p. 161-162.

TURQUIE: UN NOUVEAU DÉSARROI POLITIQUE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 15-16 juin 1996), p. 162.

LA CRISE POLITIQUE AJOUTE PLUS D'AMBIGUÏTÉ POUR PROVIDE COMFORT. (*Turkish Probe*, 14 juin 1996), p. 163.

QU'EST-CE-QUE LA TURQUIE DOIT AUX ARABES ? (*Turkish Probe*, 14 juin 1996), p. 164.

DE L'EXTÉRIEUR DES PRISONS, ILS REGARDENT VERS L'INTÉRIEUR. (*Turkish Probe*, 14 juin 1996), p. 165-166.

ALLEMAGNE-KURDES : MANIFESTATION DE KURDES. Plusieurs dizaines de milliers de Kurdes, 40 000 selon la police, ont manifesté sans incident à Hambourg pour la paix dans le sud-est de la Turquie. (A.F.P., 15 juin 1996), p. 166.

UNE AUTRE HISTOIRE DE «DISPARITION». (*Turkish Probe*, 14 juin 1996), p. 167.

MESSAGE À ERBAKAN: L'ARMÉE N'EST PAS CONTRE LA FORMATION D'UN GOUVERNEMENT PAR REFAH. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 juin 1996), p. 168.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/HELSINKI TIENT LA TURQUIE RESPONSABLE DES ÉVACUATIONS FORCÉES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 juin 1996), p. 169.

SOUS L'ARBITRAGE DE L'ISLAM. Le Refah au pouvoir à Ankara ? Erbakan est chargé à nouveau de former le gouvernement. Cette fois, il a ses chances. Erbakan pourrait mieux s'entendre avec Tansu Çiller. En redevenant premier ministre, celle-ci pourrait espérer échapper à ses tracas judiciaires ou au moins les différer. (*Valeurs Actuelles*, 15 juin 1996), p. 170-171.

SYRIE-TURQUIE : DES RENFORTS SYRIENS DANS LES ZONES FRONTALIÈRES. La Syrie a massé près de 40 000 soldats le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie à la suite d'informations sur l'implication d'Ankara dans une série d'explosions en Syrie ces dernières semaines, a rapporté le quotidien saoudien *al-Hayat*. (A.F.P., 15, 16 juin 1996), p. 172, 177-178.

TURQUIE-KURDES : OPÉRATIONS DE L'ARMÉE TURQUE. 77 rebelles Kurdes ont été tués par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires menées dans la région du sud-est anatolien, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie, citant des sources officielles. 28 REBELLES KURDES TUÉS DANS DES OPÉRATIONS DE L'ARMÉE TURQUE. TURQUIE : BAIN DE SANG AU KURDISTAN. (A.F.P., 15 juin, 16 juin; *La Marseillaise*, 17 juin 1996), p. 173, 174, 182.

SYRIE-TURQUIE-ARABES : LA LIGUE ARABE MET EN GARDE LA TURQUIE CONTRE UNE ÉVENTUELLE OPÉRATION MILITAIRE TURQUE EN SYRIE. Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe, le Syrien Mouaffak al-Allaf, a mis en garde contre une incursion militaire turque en Syrie mais a affirmé ne pas croire au déclenchement d'un conflit armé entre les deux pays. LA LIGUE ARABE MET EN GARDE LA TURQUIE. (A.F.P., 16 juin; *Courier Picard*, 17 juin 1996), p. 175, 182.

LA GRÈCE ABANDONNE SON OPPOSITION À UNE AIDE DE L'UNION EUROPÉENNE À LA TURQUIE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 16 juin 1996), p. 176.

CINQUANTE SEPT REBELLES KURDES TUÉS DANS LA ZONE FRONTALIERE TURCO-IRAKIENNE. (A.F.P., 15 juin 1996), p. 176.

IRAK-TURQUIE- KURDES : BAGDAD CRITIQUE UNE NOUVELLE INCURSION TURQUE DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK. L'Irak a protesté contre une opération militaire turque dans le Kurdistan irakien et a demandé à Ankara de mettre fin au plus tôt à cette nouvelle « invasion ». (A.F.P., 16 juin 1996), p. 178.

LA POLITIQUE PERSISTANTE DE LA SYRIE: TERRORISME, TRAFIC DE DROGUE ET CONTREFAÇON. (*International Herald Tribune*, 17 juin 1996), p. 179.

LA TURQUE ET ISRAËL FORGENT UNE ALLIANCE AU MOYEN-ORIENT. (*International Herald Tribune*, 17 juin 1996), p. 180.

TURQUIE-SYRIE : ANKARA DÉMENT TOUTE ÉVENTUELLE OPÉRATION MILITAIRE TURQUE EN SYRIE. La Turquie a démenti avoir l'intention d'effectuer une incursion militaire en territoire syrien pour pourchasser les rebelles kurdes de Turquie qui, selon elle, reçoivent l'aide de Damas. LA TURQUIE MINIMISE LA TENSION AVEC LA SYRIE. Elle a affirmé que les mouvements de troupes des deux côtés de la frontière n'avaient pas eu un caractère agressif. L'OTAN SUIT « TRES ATTENTIVEMENT » LA SITUATION ENTRE LA TURQUIE, MEMBRE DE L'ALLIANCE

ATLANTIQUE, ET LA SYRIE. Il n'a pas entrepris de démarche particulière pour faire baisser la tension entre les deux pays, a-t-on indiqué de source diplomatique. L'ARMÉE TURQUE CONFIRME LES MOUVEMENTS DE TROUPES SYRIENNES ET CEUX DES TROUPES TURQUES. (A.F.P., 17 juin 1996), p. 181, 183-184, 184, 185.

LES FRÈRES MUSULMANS SECOUENT LE RÉGIME SYRIEN. (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 juin 1996), p. 182.

SYRIE-TURQUIE : MOUVEMENTS DE TROUPES À LA FRONTIERE. La Syrie a massé des unités blindées dans les régions frontalières avec la Turquie, a rapporté l'agence semi-officielle turque *Anatolie*. (*Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, 17 juin 1996), p. 182.

LA TURQUIE ATTEND AVEC IMPATIENCE LA RÉOUVERTURE DU MARCHÉ IRAKIEN. Le débouché irakien était considéré comme le deuxième marché intérieur de la Turquie. D'autant plus précieux que le transit du pétrole était particulièrement lucratif pour Ankara. Les hommes d'affaires turcs ont maintenu des liens étroits avec leurs homologues de Bagdad. (*Les Echos*, 17 juin 1996), p. 186.

CONFLIT INTER KURDE DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 juin 1996), p. 187.

L'IRAK CHERCHE UNE DÉTENTE CONCERNANT LES INSPECTIONS DE SES ARMES. (*International Herald Tribune*, 18 juin 1996), p. 187.

L'ARMÉE DE DAMAS À LA FRONTIERE TURQUE. L'accord israélo-turc fait enrager la Syrie qui aurait déployé 40 000 soldats. Le nouveau foyer de crise s'installe alors que les relations entre Ankara et ses autres voisins deviennent de plus en plus tendues. TENSIONS ENTRE LA SYRIE ET LA TURQUIE. Les deux pays se reprochent réciproquement d'avoir concentré des troupes à la frontière. (*Libération*, 18 juin; *Dagens Nyheter*, 19 juin 1996), p. 188-189, 190.

TURQUIE-KURDES : OPÉRATIONS DE

L'ARMÉE TURQUE. 28 rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires et combats dans la province de Van, frontalière avec l'Iran. Un soldat turc et quatre « protecteurs de village », miliciens pro-gouvernementaux armés par l'État, ont été blessés lors des combats. (A.F.P., 19 juin 1996), p. 191.

TURQUIE- KURDES : PROLONGATION DE « PROVIDE COMFORT ». Le Parlement turc a prolongé pour un mois le mandat de la force multinationale basée en Turquie, chargée de protéger les Kurdes d'Irak. (A.F.P., 19 juin 1996), p. 191.

AU MOINS DIX MORTS DANS DEUX ATTAQUES TERRORISTES EN TURQUIE. Sept personnes ont été tuées et quinze autres blessées dans une attaque à main armée à Diyarbakir, chef-lieu du Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde, et à Istanbul. ATTENTATS MEURTRIERS EN TURQUIE. (*Libération*, 24 juin; A.F.P.; *Le Dauphiné Libéré*, 23 juin; *L'Humanité*, 22 juin 1996), p. 192, 206, 208, 219.

TURQUIE-KURDES : ARRESTATION DE DIRIGEANTS DU HADEP. Près d'une trentaine de cadres du Parti de la démocratie du peuple (HADEP) ont été arrêtés à la suite d'un congrès de cette formation pro-kurde. ARRESTATION DE PRES DE 70 MEMBRES D'UN PARTI PRO-KURDE. (A.F.P., 24 juin, 25 juin 1996), p. 192, 218.

LA TENSION MONTE ENTRE LA TURQUIE ET LA SYRIE. A quelques jours du sommet arabe du Caire, Damas juge que les récentes décisions prises par Ankara lui sont hostiles. DAMAS-ANKARA : MANOEUVRES SOUS TENSION. Début mai, des bombes ont explosé en Syrie. A l'origine des attentats : sans doute les services secrets turcs. Alors, en réponse, Damas a massé des troupes sur sa frontière nord. (*Le Monde*, 19 juin; *Le Point*, 22 juin 1996), p. 193, 197.

DE NOUVEAUX AVIONS TURCS D'ATTAQUE ET DE RECONNAISSANCE POUR LE SUD-EST. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 juin 1996), p. 194.

LE GROUPE SOCIALISTE DU PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN DEMANDE UNE AMNISTIE EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 juin 1996), p. 194.

LA TENSION MONTE À LA FRONTIÈRE TURCO-SYRIENNE. (*The Guardian*, 20 juin 1996), p. 195.

KURDISTAN TURC : LES MILICIENS ANTI-PKK SONT DEVENUS INCONTROLABLES. Créés « provisoirement » il y a bientôt dix ans pour « protéger » les villageois turcs et kurdes des attaques de la guérilla autonomiste du PKK, les « gardes de village » sont aujourd'hui 50 000. Armés par l'État, ils n'en font pourtant qu'à leur tête, terrorisant à leur tour les habitants. (*Courrier International*, 10/26 juin 1996), p. 196-197.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS MISENT SUR LES GÉNÉRAUX TURCS. Washington s'appuie sur l'armée turque pour avancer sur deux dossiers clés : la Bosnie et la mise en place d'un « nouvel ordre » au Moyen-Orient. L'ARMÉE VEILLE DISCRETEMENT SUR LA VIE POLITIQUE TURQUE. Alors que le leader islamiste Necmettin Erbakan effectue un dernier tour de piste pour tenter de former un gouvernement, les militaires jouent les arbitres. (*La Croix*, 20 juin 1996), p. 198, 199.

DES OFFICIERS DE L'ONU DÉTRUISENT DES DÉPÔTS D'ARMES IRAKIENS. (*International Herald Tribune*, 21 juin 1996), p. 198.

SELON AL-HAYAT, L'IRAN PROPOSE UNE ALLIANCE MILITAIRE AVEC LA SYRIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 21 juin 1996), p. 200.

LE CONFLIT INTER-KURDE PEUT SE GÉNÉRALISER AU NORD DE L'IRAK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 21 juin 1996), p. 200.

L'OBJECTIF EST L'EXTIRPATION DE L'ARSENAL DE SADDAM HUSSEIN. (*International Herald Tribune*, 21 juin 1996), p. 201.

TURQUIE-POLITIQUE : LE FONDAMENTALISME ISLAMIQUE N'A « AUCUNE CHANCE »

EN TURQUIE, SELON M. DEMIREL. Ce dernier, interrogé sur les préoccupations occidentales face à la montée des forces islamistes en Turquie, a déclaré : « Le fondamentalisme c'est vouloir établir un régime théocratique, ce qui n'a jamais eu de succès en Turquie même pas sous l'empire ottoman »... (*A.F.P.*, 21 juin 1996), p. 202.

SOLIDARITÉ AVEC LES PRISONNIERS POLITIQUES DE TURQUIE ET DU KURDISTAN. (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 21 juin 1996), p. 203.

L'ONU DÉCLARE QUE TOUT VA BIEN ENTRE LA TURQUIE ET LA SYRIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 juin 1996), p. 204.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS ONT PRIS UN RISQUE LORS DE L'ATTAQUE CONTRE LES DÉPÔTS D'ARMES CHIMIQUES EN IRAK EN 1991. (*International Herald Tribune*, 22/23 juin 1996), p. 205.

EN RAISON DE LA QUESTION KURDE, UN AUTRE PARTI (EP, EMEK PARTISI) PEUT ÊTRE BANNI. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 juin 1996), p. 205.

LA TURQUIE, SES VOISINS ET ISRAËL. Aux yeux des Turcs, l'essor des relations avec Israël pourrait être plus rentable que les relations ambiguës qu'ils ont toujours entretenues avec les Arabes. La maîtrise des eaux de l'Euphrate et l'aide apportée aux séparatistes kurdes : c'est sur ce double registre que se joue depuis des années le conflit entre la Turquie et la Syrie, dont le dernier rebondissement rappelle que le danger persiste. (*Le Monde*, 23/24 juin 1996), p. 207.

LIBERTÉ POUR LES PRISONNIERS POLITIQUES EN TURQUIE. A l'initiative, entre autres, du groupe de la Gauche unitaire européenne, le Parlement de Strasbourg a adopté une résolution sur les droits de l'homme et la situation en Turquie. (*L'Humanité*, 22 juin 1996), p. 208.

HABITAT POUR L'INHUMANITÉ. (*The Nation*, 24 juin 1996), p. 208-209.

DES SCÈNES INSOUTENABLES LORS DU

CONGRÈS DE HADEP. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 juin 1996), p. 210.

LES IRAKIENS SOUTENUS PAR LA C.I.A. CHERCHENT UNE NOUVELLE FOIS À RENVERSER SADDAM. (*International Herald Tribune*, 24 juin 1996), p. 211.

LA POLICE ARRÊTE LES DIRIGEANTS DE HADEP POUR L'AFFAIRE DU DRAPEAU. (*Turkish Daily News*, 25 juin 1996), p. 212-213.

L'INSPECTION SUR LE DÉSARMEMENT CONTINUE ET L'IRAK CONSENT. (*International Herald Tribune*, 25 juin 1996), p. 212.

... ET LE PKK DEVIENT UN DANGER POUR LE HADEP. (*Turkish Daily News*, 25 juin 1996), p. 213.

TURQUIE : RÉOLUTION SUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET LA SITUATION EN TURQUIE. (*Journal officiel des Communautés européennes*, juin 1996), p. 214-217.

TURQUIE-KURDES : ARRESTATIONS DE HUIT MILITANTS DU PKK EN POSSESSION D'EXPLOSIFS À ISTANBUL. Huit membres du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, dont deux femmes, ont été arrêtés à Istanbul en possession d'un important arsenal. (*A.F.P.*, 25 juin 1996), p. 219.

L'AXE ANKARA-JÉRUSALEM CONTRE DAMAS ET TÉHÉRAN. A l'heure où les dirigeants arabes affichent leur unité, Israël dispose d'un atout de poids : l'accord stratégique avec la Turquie. (*Libération*, 25 juin 1996), p. 220.

LES DROITS DE L'HOMME DOMINENT LES RELATIONS TURCO-EUROPÉENNES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 26 juin 1996), p. 221.

LES ENQUÊTES POLICIÈRES D'ANKARA FOURNISSENT AUX EUROPÉENS DES INFORMATIONS CONCERNANT LES ORGANISATIONS SATELLITES DU PKK. (*Turkish Daily News*, 26 juin 1996), p. 222-223.

L'IRAK POURRAIT ACHETER DES

PRODUITS ALIMENTAIRES À LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 26 juin 1996), p. 223.

EST-CE QUE HADEP SERA SATISFAIT SI NOTRE DÉMOCRATIE ÉCHOUAIT. (*Turkish Daily News*, 26 juin 1996), p. 224.

L'ASPIRATION DE HADEP À DEVENIR UN PARTI DE MASSE SE HEURTE À DES PROBLÈMES ÉNORMES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 26 juin 1996), p. 225-226.

TURQUIE-KURDES-EUROPE : ANKARA S'ADRESSE AUX DÉPUTÉS EUROPÉENS. La Turquie a appelé les députés européens à réviser leur jugement sur le PKK, en rébellion armée contre Ankara, après un attentat, revendiqué par ce mouvement séparatiste, qui a fait huit morts à Diyarbakir. (*A.F.P.*, 26 juin 1996), p. 227.

TURQUIE-KURDES-IRAK : NOUVELLE INTERVENTION MILITAIRE MENÉE PAR L'ARMÉE TURQUE DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK. Des troupes turques ont lancé une nouvelle opération dans le nord de l'Irak contre le PKK. FIN DE L'INTERVENTION MILITAIRE DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK. L'opération lancée par l'armée turque contre le PKK dans le nord de l'Irak a pris fin, faisant 45 tués chez les rebelles kurdes. (*A.F.P.*, 27 juin 1996), p. 228.

TURQUIE-EGYPTE-SYRIE : L'Égypte prête à jouer un rôle entre la Turquie et la Syrie, selon le ministre égyptien des Affaires étrangères, Amr Moussa. (*A.F.P.*, 27 juin 1996), p. 229.

SYRIENS, PRENEZ GARDE ! Alors que Damas, inquiet de l'accord militaire turco-israélien, masserait des troupes à sa frontière nord, Ankara cherche un accord qui réglerait tous les contentieux entre les deux États. A condition qu'Assad cesse de soutenir les autonomistes kurdes du PKK. (*Courrier International*, 27 juin/3 juillet 1996), p. 230-231.

HADEP ACCUSE LES MÉDIA DE PROVOQUER LA HAINE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 27 juin 1996), p. 231.

TURQUIE-IRAN : TIRS D'HÉLICOPTÈRES TURCS EN IRAN. ARMÉE TURQUE DÉMENT CE RAID. L'état-major des armées turques à Ankara a démenti les informations faisant état d'une attaque d'hélicoptères turcs qui, selon l'agence officielle iranienne, IRNA, a fait six morts et seize blessés dans un village kurde du nord-ouest de l'Iran. (*A.F.P.*, 28 juin 1996), p. 232-233.

WASHINGTON ET BONN EN DÉSACCORD SUR LA MANIÈRE DE TRAITER AVEC L'IRAN. (*International Herald Tribune*, 28 juin 1996), p. 234.

APRÈS AVOIR ÉTÉ ARRÊTÉ, SAKIK TIENT LES MÉDIA RESPONSABLE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 29 juin 1996), p. 235.

LE SÉNAT AMÉRICAIN DEMANDE UN NOUVEAU RAPPORT SUR LES « ATTAQUES CONTRE LES VILLAGES KURDES ». (*Turkish Daily News*, 29 juin 1996), p. 236.

L'INSPECTEUR DE L'ONU SUR LE DÉSARMEMENT DE L'IRAK MET EN GARDE LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 29 juin 1996), p. 237.

LE PARTI ISLAMISTE FORME UN GOUVERNEMENT EN TURQUIE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 29-30 juin 1996), p. 238.

CONDAMNATION DE L'ATTAQUE CONTRE LE CONSULAT GÉNÉRAL DE TURQUIE À URMİYE (Iran). (*Turkish Daily News*, 29 juin 1996), p. 238.

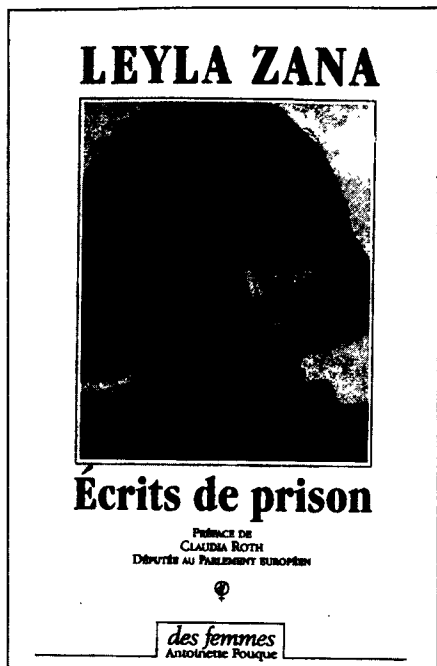
IRAK : L'ONU SE HATE LENTEMENT. Le diplomate irakien qui avait signé le 20 mai à l'ONU l'accord « pétrole contre nourriture » est revenu en fin de semaine à New York pour présenter formellement un plan de distribution de vivres élaboré par Bagdad, considéré comme essentiel dans la mise en oeuvre de l'arrangement qui tarde à se concrétiser. (*Le Quotidien de Paris*, 29/30 juin 1996), p. 239.

TURQUIE-KURDES. M. Erbakan promet de lever l'état d'urgence dans le sud-est. (*A.F.P.*, 29 juin 1996), p. 239.

TURQUIE-KURDES. Au total 1 128 rebelles du PKK, en rébellion contre Ankara, ont été tués en six mois par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires et de combats. (*A.F.P.*, 30 juin 1996), p. 240.

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ZANA, L.
1995 **Écrits de prison**. París: Des Femmes, 123 pàgs. ISBN 2-7210-0460-3.

A Turquia, un Estat oficialment laic, on, però, l'islamisme continua ben present i aquests últims anys ha reprès força, és difícil que una dona arribi a dalt de tot del poder polític. Tanmateix, no és un fet insòlit. Allò completament excepcional és que una dona kurda hagi pogut ser elegida diputada per un Parlament que, si en alguna cosa es demostra unit, és en la seva animadversió envers el poble kurd. Leyla Zana és una dona kurda i, a la vegada, diputada al Parlament d'Ankara. Dos títols, però, que han estat interpretats per les autoritats turques com a gairebé delictius. De fet, Leyla Zana es troba a la presó per les seves clares preses de posició a favor dels drets humans, en especial a favor dels drets del seu poble. Clares i, a més, públiques, expressades en el marc de la seva condició de parlamentària, i, per aquest motiu, encara majorment castigades. La seva última condemna és de quinze anys de presó.

És amb aquest rerafons que cal llegir el recull d'"escrits de la presó"; escrits que, com recorda l'eurodiputada Claudia Roth en la introducció, són d'una dona que estima la vida però

tant com la vida, la justícia. El llibre és un seguit de proves d'aquestes afirmacions. Sovint, Leyla Zana s'hi pregunta: per quin motiu hem de sofrir tant? Senzillament perquè "som" kurds i perquè en donem testimoni. Donem "testimoni de la immensa tragèdia del poble kurd a Turquia. Un poble l'existència del qual és negada i les seves llengua, identitat i cultura bandejades. Un poble víctima d'un genocidi cultural sistemàtic que sofreix, des de fa molts anys, una política deliberada de despoblament de les seves ciutats, dels seus boscos, de la seva manera de vida tradicional (...). Elegida el 1991 pel poble kurd a fi de representar-lo i defensar els seus interessos i les seves aspiracions, podria mantenir el silenci davant d'aquesta tragèdia? Evidentment, no. El nostre deure de parlamentaris i de ciutadans és de parlar, de donar testimoni, d'explorar totes les pistes a fi que s'acabi una terrible guerra que destrueix el nostre país i per trobar una solució pacífica a les legítimes reivindicacions dels quinze milions de kurds de Turquia (...). Les autoritats turques, presoneres d'un nacionalisme exclusiu d'un altre temps, afectades d'una veritable paranoia del separatisme kurd, volen aparentment convertir els elegits del poble kurd que som nosaltres en bucs emissaris còmodes davant la més greu crisi econòmica, política, social i moral de la història de Turquia (...). Als trenta-tres anys, jo he conegut ja catorze anys de persecució, una experiència atroç de la tortura i el dolor indescriptible de l'assassinat de molts dels meus amics (...) que només demanaven de viure en pau i en democràcia (...). Estimo la vida, m'hi sento molt lligada. Però la passió de la justícia per al meu poble martjritzat, per a la seva dignitat i la seva llibertat és, sens dubte, més gran encara. Perquè què val una vida en l'esclavitud, la humiliació i el menyspreu del que teniu com a més íntim: la vostra identitat!" (p. 37-40).

Un breu exemple, les paraules transcrites, del que constitueixen cada una de les pàgines d'aquest llibre que manté sempre un estil propi d'una

persona fermament compromesa i serena a la vegada, que se serveix d'un estil directe i profund alhora, que demostra com està plena d'uns convenciments i d'un coratge exemplars, d'una clarividència fora del normal, només explicable, com reconeix la citada eurodiputada Claudia Roth, perquè Leyla Zana ha assumit el deure d'encoratjar homes i dones a continuar la lluita "per una vida justa, en la pau i la llibertat" (p. 13).

Aureli Argemí

NE LES OUBLIONS

PORTRAIT D'UNE FEMME MILITANTE : LEYLA ZANA

Un procès d'un autre âge au sein même de l'Europe

M. Kendal NEZAN, Président de l'Institut kurde de Paris et ami personnel de Leyla ZANA, a accepté de répondre à nos questions.

Nous l'en remercions très vivement.

Année de naissance : 1961

Situation de famille : mariée à MEDHI ZANA (ancien Maire de Diyarbakir. Torturé et emprisonné par le régime militaire. Il vient d'être libéré après quatre ans passés dans les geôles turques pour témoignage devant une commission du Parlement européen en 1992 sur les violations des droits de l'Homme en Turquie).

Deux enfants de 15 et 18 ans : Ruken et Ronay, actuellement en exil en France et aux États-Unis.

Signes particuliers :

militante pour " une réconciliation entre Kurdes et Turcs dans le cadre de la démocratie et des frontières existantes ".

Arrêtée et torturée entre 1980 et 1991 par le régime militaire. Première femme kurde élue députée en 1991, elle est de nouveau arrêtée, déchue de son mandat et purge actuellement une peine de 15 ans de détention. Motif : avoir prononcé quelques mots en kurde lors de son serment devant le Parlement.

Distinctions honorifiques :

- 1994 : prix norvégien RAFTOS des droits de l'Homme.

- septembre 1995 : prix International de la Paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle.

- 9 novembre 1995 : prix SAKHAROV pour la liberté de l'esprit.

Son nom est évoqué pour le prix Nobel de la Paix.



Zana et 3 de ses collègues condamnés à 15 ans et demandé que les autres députés soient remis en liberté et rejugés.

Le Travail : Quelles sont aujourd'hui les voies de recours possibles ?

Kendal Nezan : Toutes les voies de recours juridiques ont été épuisées en Turquie. Le procès a été du début à la fin purement politique. Les cours turques avaient pour mission de trouver un habillage juridique à une décision politique prise au niveau du Chef d'état major des armées turques, véritable homme fort du pays. L'armée reproche à ces courageux députés leurs témoignages dans les médias et à la tribune du Parlement sur la terrible guerre du Kurdistan, sur la destruction de plus de 3000 villages kurdes par les troupes turques, sur l'assassinat de plusieurs milliers d'intellectuels kurdes par les escadrons de la mort de la police turque. L'objectif des autorités turques était de faire taire tous les témoins du drame kurde en Turquie en sanctionnant lourdement les députés kurdes théoriquement protégés par leur immunité parlementaire. Sur ce point au moins, Ankara a échoué car l'arrestation de Leyla Zana et de ses amis a fait beaucoup de bruit à l'étranger grâce notamment à l'action tenace de personnalités comme Danielle Mitterrand et Ségolène Royal. Le président Mitterrand est personnellement intervenu à plusieurs reprises et a incité des chefs d'état et de gouvernement européens à intervenir auprès d'Ankara. C'est sans doute grâce à ces interventions nombreuses que Leyla Zana et ses amis n'ont pas été envoyés à la potence. Cette solidarité se poursuit notamment par le recours introduit par les avocats de Leyla Zana devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'Homme de Strasbourg qui peut casser le verdict des tribunaux turcs et par l'action permanente d'information et de mobilisation du Comité international pour la libération des députés kurdes emprisonnés en Turquie (CILDEKT) présidé par M^{me} Mitterrand.

Le Travail : En 1993, 8 députés kurdes dont Leyla ZANA, dont vous êtes un ami, ont été arrêtés et condamnés arbitrairement à de lourdes peines de prison pour leur appartenance à la communauté kurde de Turquie.

Pouvez-vous nous faire un rapide historique des dernières péripéties de ce procès ?

Kendal Nezan : Ces 8 députés ont été arrêtés le 2 mars 1993 à l'issue d'une réunion extraordinaire du Parlement turc convoquée à la demande de l'armée. Accusés de trahison et de séparatisme, ces députés, qui n'avaient fait qu'exprimer pacifiquement les revendications culturelles de leurs électeurs et des 15 millions de Kurdes de Turquie, ont d'abord été tenus au secret pendant 15 jours dans les locaux de la police, puis incarcérés et traduits devant une Cour de Sécurité de l'État. Celle-ci, au terme d'un procès sommaire et expéditif de 5 audiences, a condamné 4 de ces députés, dont Leyla Zana, à 15 ans de prison pour délit d'opinion. Les 4 autres ont été condamnés à des peines allant de 3 à 7 ans de prison. La Cour de cassation turque a confirmé en octobre 1995 le verdict concernant Leyla

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PAS : LE SILENCE TUE

Propos recueillis par Florence GAUTIER

Le Travail : Que penser du revirement du Parlement européen qui, malgré les réserves des associations des droits de l'Homme, a ratifié fin 1995 le *Traité d'Union douanière avec la Turquie* alors que pourtant la libération des députés kurdes faisait partie des conditions " exigées " par ce même Parlement pour la ratification ?

Kendal Nezan : Soumis à de fortes pressions émanant des gouvernements européens, des milieux d'affaires et de Washington, le Parlement européen a hélas décidé de mettre son drapeau dans sa poche et de ratifier " la mort dans l'âme " l'union douanière avec une Turquie si peu démocratique. Tous ceux qui espéraient voir le Parlement européen jouer le rôle de conscience morale des peuples de l'Union européenne ont été vivement déçus par cette décision de Realpolitik. Le Parlement a raté une belle occasion d'affirmer, tel le Congrès aux États-Unis, son indépendance de jugement, son attachement aux grands principes de démocratie et des droits de l'Homme, sa vocation de donner un supplément d'âme à une Europe perçue par de larges secteurs de l'opinion comme une simple zone de libre échange. Les turcs n'ont pas manqué de railler " ces Européens qui lorsqu'ils ont à choisir entre leur porte feuille et leurs principes choisissent toujours le porte feuille ". Dans cette affaire, le Parlement européen a perdu beaucoup de sa crédibilité morale auprès de l'opinion et de ce fait ces résolutions sur les droits de l'Homme ne sont guère prises au sérieux ni par les États ni par l'opinion et c'est vraiment bien dommage !

Le Travail : Et l'attitude du gouvernement français qui a encore récemment vendu des armes à la Turquie ?

Kendal Nezan : Les deux principaux fournisseurs d'armes de la Turquie sont les États-Unis (80 %) et l'Allemagne ; A la suite de réactions de l'opinion publique, des ONG, des parlementaires sur l'usage des ces armes occidentales, notamment des chars et des hélicoptères, contre des populations civiles kurdes, en particulier lors de la destruction des villages kurdes, Washington et Bonn ont été amenés à décider des restrictions sur la livraison de certaines armes à Ankara. Ainsi il y a quelques jours le Congrès américain a interdit la vente d'hélicoptères américains à la Turquie, l'organisation humanitaire Human Rights Watch ayant, dans un rapport récent, apporté la preuve de l'usage de ces hélicoptères dans le massacre de civils kurdes. L'Allemagne met également des conditions à l'utilisation des armes qu'elle vend ou qu'elle fournit sous forme de dons gracieux à l'armée turque. C'est dans ce contexte que la France essaie de se placer sur le marché des ventes d'armes à la Turquie en affirmant qu'elle ne posera aucune condition à l'utilisation de ses armes. Jusqu'ici, une vingtaine d'hélicoptères français ont été vendus. Un nouveau contrat portant sur la vente de 30 hélicoptères est en discussion et pour l'obtenir le gouvernement français ne s'embarrasse guère de considérations relatives au sort des Kurdes ou à la situation des droits de l'Homme. Après avoir été pendant 15 ans le principal fournisseur d'armes et allié occidental de la dictature de Saddam Hussein la France est en passe de devenir un partenaire de choix du déplorable régime autoritaire turc. Quelle triste image pour la partie des droits de l'Homme !

Le Travail : Le 24 décembre dernier, les élections législatives ont eu lieu en Turquie. Le Parti islamiste (parti de la prospérité) est arrivé en tête devançant les deux formations de droite, le Parti de la mère patrie (ANAP) de Mesut Yilmaz et le partie de la juste voie (DYP) de Tansu Ciller.

Après plusieurs semaines de discussions, c'est finalement une coalition gouvernementale formée de l'ANAP et du DYP et menée par Mesut Yilmaz qui est " sortie du chapeau ".

Celui-ci a très récemment déclaré qu'il s'engageait à adopter " une nouvelle approche, plus humaine " du problème kurde incluant notamment une levée de l'interdiction de l'enseignement de la langue kurde.

Quel crédit pensez-vous que l'on puisse donner à ces déclarations ?

Kendal Nezan : Pour l'instant aucune mesure concrète n'est venue étayer ces déclarations destinées plutôt à l'opinion publique occidentale. Après tout, ces déclarations n'émanent que du nouveau Premier ministre qui tient le devant de la scène dans un pays où l'essentiel du pouvoir est toujours détenu par l'armée. Or celle-ci a lancé, dès le 5 avril, sa nouvelle offensive du printemps dans le Kurdistan ignorant ostensiblement et les déclarations du nouveau gouvernement et le cessez-le-feu unilatéral déclaré le 15 décembre par la guérilla du PKK (parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan). Tout porte à croire que l'année 1996 va encore être une année de sang et de larmes, de guerre, de destructions, de déplacement des populations civiles kurdes dans l'indifférence des gouvernements occidentaux. Il reste encore un long et douloureux chemin à parcourir avant de faire de la Turquie un pays démocratique, où Turcs et Kurdes pourront vivre en paix dans le respect de l'identité et de la culture de chacun.



Ahmet TURK (debout), Leyla ZANA, Orhan DOUAN, Mahmut ALINAK, Hatip DICLE, Selim SADAK, Sirri SAKIK, Sedat YURTDAS, à l'arrière plan Ségolène ROYAL.

BON ANNIVERSAIRE

FRANCE-LIBERTÉS, la Fondation présidée par Danielle MITTERRAND vient de fêter ses dix ans.

Aux quatre coins du monde mais aussi des régions de France, Danielle MITTERRAND et son équipe ont mené de difficiles et parfois périlleux combats pour défendre les droits de l'Homme, pour apporter un peu d'éducation aux enfants et aux adultes (constructions d'écoles, envois de livres et de crayons...), pour lutter contre la progression des épidémies et du SIDA (principalement par l'information des populations).

A l'occasion de cet anniversaire, Danielle MITTERRAND a écrit un livre intitulé " En toutes libertés ". Elle y raconte nombres d'anecdotes, de peines, de joies vécues au cours de cette belle aventure avec France-Libertés. Elle parle aussi d'elle, de ses peurs de jeune fille dans la Résistance à Cluny, de sa vie d'épouse avec François MITTERRAND pendant quarante ans. C'est une vie de militantisme que les lecteurs découvrent au fil des 350 pages de cet ouvrage, et une belle vie.

Bon anniversaire et longue vie à France-Libertés.

INTERNATIONAL

Turkey - With Help From US - Chokes Off Drug Trafficking

By Scott Peterson

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ANKARA, TURKEY

THE drugs pass through Turkey in all manner of disguise, presenting an almost impossible job for narcotics agents: Raw heroin is hidden in walnut shells and music cassettes; cannabis is turned to resin and pressed into easy-to-conceal bricks; cocaine is packed into rawhide dog bones.

Nevertheless, Turkey seized 3.4 tons of heroin last year, more than any other nation and accounting for more than one-fifth of the global haul, according to Western and Turkish narcotics officials.

Turkey serves as the "bridge" for 70 to 80 percent of the drugs consumed in Europe, connecting users there to suppliers in the Golden Crescent of Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan - a fertile area known for its poppy production.

Now after years of trying to stamp out the trafficking - with the assistance of the United States Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) - Turkey's efforts are bearing fruit.

"Turkey is the first line of defense in the war on drugs," says one Western narcotics source who asked not to be identified. "But Turkey's problem is that it has some very creative criminals."

Long regarded as the country that links East with West, Turkey sits astride major drug trafficking routes. The raw materials necessary for heroin production, such as morphine base made from poppies and the chemical acetic anhydride - a chemical used to make heroin - usually enter Turkey through difficult-to-police mountainous borders in the east.

The materials are mixed by "heroin doctors" in primitive laboratories that resemble kitchens. These processing labs make the heroin for export to Europe, but are so simple and easily hidden - they can be dis-

mantled in minutes - that they are difficult to trace in the vast, sparsely populated area.

US helps out

Along with the DEA assistance to Turkey, the US State Department provides \$400,000 annually to improve the ability of the Turkish police force and customs officials to cope with the problem. Major police stations now have narcotics units, and six Turkish liaison officers are based in European capitals.

American clients account for only 5 percent of the drugs that transit Turkey. One reason, Western sources say, is that eastern Turkey is so isolated that few Americans are aware that heroin worth \$150,000 on the streets of New York can be bought here for as little as \$5,000.

Another reason may be Turkey's harsh punishments for foreigners in-

"They think they are getting most of it," says a Western narcotics source. "But even the best police force anywhere can only get 10 percent."

A rough indication of the flow is to calculate demand in Europe, and to figure Turkey's contribution. Six tons per month are required to "sustain" Europe's heroin addicts, and five tons of that - per month - is believed to come through Turkey.

Another method used to determine the scale of heroin production is to look at seizures of smuggled acetic anhydride. Some three pounds of this chemical are required to produce two pounds of heroin. Seizures of the chemical here doubled last year to 53 tons, a statistic that worries narcotics officials. This amount, probably a fraction of the chemical making its way to Turkey, could alone produce 35 tons of heroin.

"These figures are incredible and make us ask: 'How much could there be?'" says a Western narcotics source. "There is a whole lot of heroin being made here."

Western and Turkish officials agree that the bulk of the trafficking is controlled by several families in eastern Turkey, many of them ethnic Kurds with "business" alliances in Iran and Afghanistan, who use family connections among refugees in Germany, Holland, and elsewhere to smuggle the drugs to Europe.

The identities of the largest drug-smuggling families are no secret. A recent issue of Turkey's Tempo magazine published a story listing the top 40 families in the trade. Western sources confirm that of those involved in drug trafficking, "the majority are extended Kurdish families."

Halil Havar, who heads the family at the top of the Tempo list, is so influential that his "boys" rescued him from a jail in Holland a few years ago in a daring helicopter escape. He was smuggled back into Turkey using a standard trafficker's trick - behind a false wall in a truck.

'Most important to Turkey is that this smuggling is a crime and inhuman. It kills people, it poisons people - it's why we are committed to stopping it.'

- Ismail Caliskan, Turkey's drug czar

involved in drug trafficking, such as the fate of a foreign drugs offender that was portrayed in the American film "Midnight Express."

Still, the scale of the drugs flow has surprised even the most jaded officials. In the first quarter of this year, agents seized nearly one ton of heroin. The busts come in smaller amounts of 450 pounds or less and are due to effective police work.

Drug net has holes

Despite the successes, drugs still escape the law-enforcement net.

Wednesday, May 1, 1996

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

But arresting the big bosses has proved difficult, and often prison sentences are short. "The wild card here is corruption," says a Western source. "Everyone on that list has a friend in the government. The Turkish system is like a revolving door."

Turkish agents are adamant that the outlawed Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK), which has waged a violent insurgency in southeast Turkey for more than a decade, controls most of the trade through extortion and funds their "terrorist" activities with the profits. Western sources confirm PKK involvement in many cases, but cannot establish a direct link in every case.

In line with Turkey's war against the PKK, Ismail

Caliskan, the chief of Turkey's drugs team, says that the PKK insurgents are deeply into drugs trafficking.

"They either have records with the terror division before we arrest them, or in their statements they admit to moving drugs for the PKK," he says. "Illicit drugs and terrorism are both illegal things and go hand in hand."

Kurd insurgents involved

Western narcotics sources confirm that the PKK is involved, but say that the extent is impossible to quantify. "All the police in Europe say the PKK is involved in the drugs trade," says one official. "But European governments are not going to point it out.

They say, 'If we point the finger at the PKK, we will have these guys bombing and shooting in the streets.'"

Still, Mr. Caliskan says that the political influence of Turkey's drug smugglers does not matter, and that they will be arrested if the police can find evidence against them.

Hanging from his office wall are 15 citations of good work from narcotics agencies. In a glass cabinet he keeps samples of heroin, bricks of hashish, morphine base, and cocaine that were seized en route from the Golden Crescent to Europe.

"Most important to Turkey is that this, smuggling is a crime and inhuman," Caliskan says. "It kills people, it poisons people - it's why in Turkey we are committed to stopping it."

Turkish Writer Sentenced to Prison

ISTANBUL, TURKEY

WHEN novelist Yasar Kemal was a boy, he listened to his father sing Kurdish songs on a hilltop overlooking their village in the southern province of Adana. The songs told sagas of Kurdish heroism, of wars, lost sons, and migrations in past centuries.

But Kemal, Turkey's best-known author and nominee for the Nobel Prize in Literature, never promoted his Kurdish background. When asked about his ethnicity, Kemal says: "I'm a Turkish writer - of Kurdish origin."

But he has been forced to pick sides as fighting between Turkish forces and Kurdish rebels has worsened. With each report of rights abuses against Kurds, Kemal felt pushed to act.

"I had pangs of conscience," Kemal said during a recent interview. "You are a writer. You have to speak up, I kept telling myself."

In Turkey, speaking out sometimes carries a price. The 72-year-old writer was convicted in March for an article denouncing racism against minorities in Turkey, especially Kurds. He was sentenced to 20 months in prison for "inciting hatred and promoting racism." The sentence was suspended on the condition he doesn't repeat the "crime" in the next five years.

"That's censorship!" Kemal cried during the interview. "Asking a writer not to write for five years is torture!"

Although Kemal is not the first writer sentenced for writings on the Kurdish

issue, his fame has made him a symbol of government repression of alternative views about its treatment of Kurds during the 11-year guerrilla war in southeast Turkey. Nobel laureate Arthur Miller recently sent a letter of support to Kemal and called his sentence "a painful absurdity."

Born in a small Turkish village to Kurdish parents, Kemal grew up hearing Kurdish at home and Turkish outside. "In my village there was no Turkish-Kurdish split," Kemal explained. "I never saw Turks looking down upon Kurds. But in the last 11 to 12 years, strong winds of anti-Kurdish propaganda are blowing."

IDON'T want a separate Kurdish state, nobody does," he added. "All that the Kurds want is their universal human rights - the right to preserve their language, culture, identity."

Kemal has appealed the court's ruling, asking that the suspension be canceled so he can serve his sentence immediately. He was jailed twice for short periods before being acquitted for making "communist propaganda" in his writings during the cold war.

Kemal wrote his best-known novel, "Memed, My Hawk," in 1955, a story of feudal ties in southern Turkey. The book, like most of his 35 others, has been translated into more than 40 languages. He has also won numerous awards, including the prestigious Legion d'Honneur from the French government.

- Associated Press

mosaic

A voice from behind the bars

Chris Kutschera talks to Mehdi Zana, a Kurd who believes his 15 years in prison made him a writer

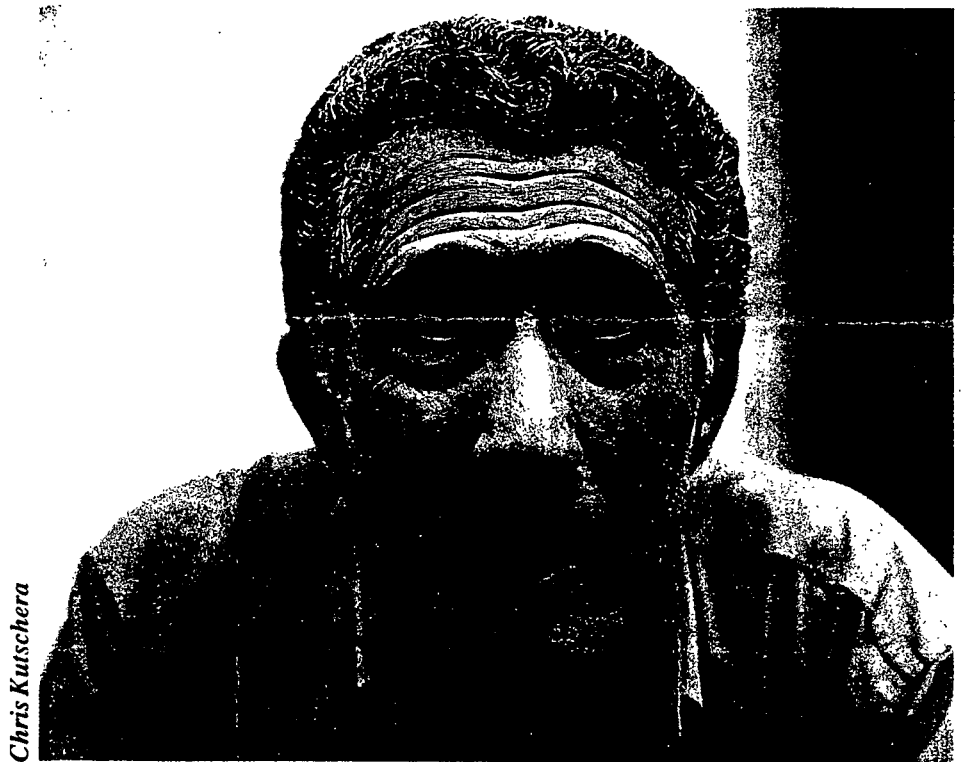
"I had been in prison for 18 months before I was taken to court. While I was waiting to be called into the courtroom I asked to go to the lavatory because I wanted to see my face in the mirror. I stood staring into the glass, amazed by the change. It is me, yet it is not me. My face is emaciated and four teeth have been broken by my guards. My skin is pockmarked by vermin. I look like a wild man. And then there are all the changes that I don't see but which I feel, a tightness in my lungs, pain in my spine and, worse than everything else, the absences of memory."

Born in 1940 in Silvan, a small town near Diyarbakir, the "capital" of Turkish Kurdistan, Mehdi Zana has spent more than 15 years of his life in prison: one year in 1967; three from 1971 - 1974; 11 from 1980 - 1991 and almost a year and a half during 1994/1995. Quite enough time behind bars to change any man.

Mehdi Zana has been a man of action for most of his life. Despite having almost no formal education, Zana became a member of the leadership of the Turkish Workers Party (TIP), then of Ozgurluk Yolu (Kurdistan Socialist Party). He was elected mayor of Diyarbakir in 1977.

Like many victims of political repression Zana can say that Turkish prisons were where the greatest part of his education was conducted. Indeed, by his own account, his experiences behind bars made him a writer. Since being freed from his last sentence in 1991, he has published five books.

From September 1980, the day he was jailed for the first time, Mehdi Zana went through hell along with thousands of other imprisoned Turks and Kurds. It is this journey through an extraordinary hell that Zana recounts at length. Although many of the more



Chris Kutschera

Mehdi Zana has spent over 15 years in prison

shocking details have been censored. Mehdi Zana's account of his periods of imprisonment make harrowing reading. "Even God cannot save you now", the sadistic soldiers who were his torturers told him as they hung him by his arms before administering electric shocks to his genitals and anus. "They were not trying to kill us, they were trying to take us to the absolute extremes of torture to break us. They wanted to destabilise us until we were ready to accept anything, to sign anything. As they tortured us they played music to drown out the noise - unless they were torturing one of their victims with special care in which case they would stop the music - so that all of

us could hear him screaming."

Mehdi Zana tells how as many as 40 detainees were sometimes packed into a single cell measuring less than two metres by two metres, where they would be forced to spend the entire night squeezed up against each other like living sardines. At around 2am the guards would open the door, pull a few prisoners out and ask them: "Are you Turk or Kurd?"

Those who failed to describe themselves as Turks were beaten until they fainted and then thrown back into the cell to be supported by the bodies of others, too closely packed together to do anything but hold them upright until they regained consciousness.

There are other accounts of prisoners forced to drink water mixed with



Kurdish Kurds showing defiance

...detergent, scaldings with hot tea poured over sensitive parts of the body, savagings by specially trained dogs and even immersion in tubs filled with excrement. It is not difficult to understand why some prisoners went on hunger strike, while others went crazy. Sometimes their feelings of despair drove them to kill themselves.

Mehdi Zana's books are essential reading for anyone trying to understand the present escalation of violence in Turkey. However, unless some enterprising Western publisher is prepared to publish a true translation of his works, taken from the Turkish original, much may be lost. At present none of Zana's five books is available in English, while in French only a resume

of the author's first two books is available, published by Kendal Nezan of the Kurdish Institute in Paris under the title *La Prison No 5*.

"It is time to write for history, to tell the truth," Mehdi Zana told *The Middle East*. "I will write about the Kurdish political parties, about my party."

However, Mehdi Zana is not only interested in writing his diaries from hell. He also plans to write several novels and he has already started work on the first one, *Silvan's Bazaar*. Through personal accounts of some of the merchants of the bazaar of Silvan, their clients and people of the neighbourhood, Mehdi Zana will aim to present a 30-year history of Kurdistan from 1940, when he was born, through to 1970, the period

which shaped his own political ideas and beliefs.

He will incorporate memories of his formative years with recollections of Sheikh Zayed's revolt (1925) and of stories passed down to him by his father. Writing a novel is not like writing memories, observes the author, although he has plenty of material and memories to work with. It is a difficult challenge but one which is being undertaken with enthusiasm by Zana, a man born to political life but deprived of the opportunity to play his part.

While Mehdi Zana sits at his desk fighting with the problems of literary composition, his wife, Leyla, is also struggling to get the first major literary project of her life onto paper. She is working on her autobiography which will include details of the 11 years she spent raising her children alone, while Mehdi was in prison. In October 1993 Leyla told *The Middle East*: "I began to change gradually. I had been living in a small world. Suddenly I was transported into a far bigger one... In 1980 Mehdi was sentenced to 35 years in prison, where he eventually spent the next 10 years. I was just 20 years old. I had a small son and I was pregnant. For the first year after his arrest I didn't stop crying." (see *The Middle East* No 227, page 33).

But this time it is Leyla, rather than Mehdi, who is composing her thoughts from a prison cell. While Mehdi was a prisoner, his wife was discovering the world of politics. She became the first Kurdish woman ever to be elected to the Turkish parliament, but she became disillusioned with the role and was later sentenced to 14 years for her pains. Mehdi is at last free but Leyla is behind bars. However, a short selection of letters published in French under the title *Letters from Jail* clearly reveal that Leyla Zana has lost none of her sense of moral outrage during her time behind bars. "Shimon Peres," says Leyla, "said it was not possible to live with the hate of 2 million Palestinian people. How then has Turkey coped for so long with the hatred of 15 million Kurds?" ●

Leyla Zana: outraged



US: Syria took steps that are 'classified' for restraining terrorism in 1995

By Uğur Akıncı / Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. State Department's "Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1995" report said that Syria — still on the list of state sponsors of terrorism — "has taken some steps to restrain the international activities" of a wide variety of international terrorist groups. Yet neither Counterterrorism Coordinator Ambassador Philip Wilcox, nor spokesman Nicholas Burns would spell out exactly what those "steps" were. This is the 15th year that the annual "Global Terrorism" report has been published.

Commenting on U.S. counterterrorism policy, Ambassador Wilcox mentioned two main principles: "We don't make deals" with the terrorists, Wilcox said. "We treat them as criminals. And we work to condemn and isolate state sponsors of terrorism." There has been no change in that list this year, which still includes North Korea, Libya, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, and Cuba.

Classified?

The section on Syria is almost a verbatim copy of the same section in the 1994 "Terrorism report." In last year's report Syria was also said to have "taken some steps to restrain the international activities of these [terror] groups." During the daily State Department press briefing, Burns told the TDN that "you may be looking for a detail of information that we cannot give out in this kind of forum."

The TDN asked if information about these "steps" that Syria has allegedly taken was classified. "Some of the information, of course, that we have pertaining to terrorism is classified and we don't give classified information out publicly," Burns said.

Syria: Is it or isn't it?

The State Department's report on Syria on the one hand admitted that Damascus was providing training camps and giving privileges to "radical terrorist groups" such as Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command (PFLP-GC); HAMAS; the Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ); and the Japanese Red Army (JRA). Yet on the other hand, the same report claimed that "there is no evidence that Syrian officials have been directly involved in planning or executing terrorist attacks since 1986."

Moreover, the State Department noted that "Damascus continues to negotiate seriously to achieve a peace accord with Israel," and "Syria continues to use its influence to moderate Hizbollah and Palestine rejectionist groups." Yet, at the same breath, we also learn that Syria "allowed Iran to resupply Hizbollah via Damascus" — just as in the 1994 report.

The State Department confirmed that the PKK trained in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley of Lebanon. It also admitted that the PKK "leader, Abdullah Öcalan, resides at least part-time in Syria," — as was reported in the 1994 report.

Burns had this to say on Syrian support for the PKK: "Syria remains on the terrorism list for a very good reason, because of Syrian support for terrorist groups, including the PKK. The PKK, as you know very well, has offices in Damascus. And we regularly remind the Syrian government of its obligation to stop its activities of support, indirect or otherwise, of the PKK."

The PKK

The State Department's newly-released 1995 report again lists the PKK among the top international terrorist organizations with "approximately 10,000 to 15,000 full-time guerrillas, 5,000 to 6,000 of whom are in Turkey." The PKK is also said to have "60,000 to 75,000 part-time guerrillas; and hundreds of thousands of sympathizers in Turkey and Europe." These are the same figures mentioned in the 1994 report.

As in the previous report, this year's report also mentions that the PKK "receives safe haven and modest aid from Syria, Iraq, and Iran."

Greece

One section of the report that is quite different to last year's is the section on Greece. This year the State Department officially acknowledged that Greece gave refuge to two Turkish terror organizations — the PKK and DHKP/C.

"Greek authorities continued in 1995 to deny public Turkish charges that the anti-Turkish Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) conducts operational terrorist training and receives assistance in Greece," the State Department's report said.

"As is the case in certain European countries, however, Greece permits the PKK to operate a known front organization in Athens," the report continued. The National Front for the Liberation of Kurdistan (ERNK) has reportedly opened such an office in Athens. "In May [1995] it also allowed the successor group to Dev Sol, another anti-Turkish and anti-U.S. terrorist group, to open an office in Athens under its new name, the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)."

Greek Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos, during his recent visit to Washington, said that the reported PKK militants in Athens were nothing but legal "Kurdish refugees," exercising their fundamental rights of freedom-of-speech to demonstrate in public against Turkish policies.

When Ambassador Philip Wilcox was asked what he thought of a NATO country, i.e. Greece, giving refuge to terrorist organizations that were fighting against another NATO ally neighbor, Turkey, Wilcox again diplomatically dodged the question and said that "counterterrorism is high on our agenda with both countries."

PKK attacks on Turkish businesses in Germany were also noted. "Although Germany banned the PKK and several associated Kurdish organizations in 1993, new PKK front organizations appear frequently in Germany, thus presenting a continuing problem for the government," it said. Iran was also highlighted as a country giving refuge to the PKK. "Tehran continues to offer [the PKK] safe haven in Iran," the report read.

The DHKP/C

This year's section on the DHKP/C is a replica of the section on "Dev Sol" in last year's report. It is described as an "intensely xenophobic and virulently anti-U.S. and anti-NATO" organization, having only "several hundred members, several dozen armed militants."

THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1996

Iran

Iran received the brunt of State Department criticisms in this year's "Patterns of Global Terrorism" report. "Iran remains the premier state sponsor of international terrorism and is deeply involved in the planning and execution of terrorist acts both by its own agents and by surrogate groups," it said. "This year Tehran escalated its assassination campaign against dissidents living abroad; there were seven confirmed Iranian murders of dissidents in 1995, compared with four in 1994."

Besides its above-mentioned support for the PKK, "Tehran also provided some support to Turkish Islamic groups that have been blamed for attacks against Turkish secular and Jewish figures," the report reminded.

After recalling that the death fatwa on writer Salman Rushdie was still valid, the report said "despite increasing Iranian support for extremist groups and involvement in terrorist operations, President Rafsanjani continued to project publicly a 'moderate' image of Iran to Western European countries and Japan to facilitate the expansion of its relations with them. This quest for respectability probably explains why Iran reduced its attacks in Europe last year; Tehran wants to ensure access to Western capital and markets."

Noting that Hizbollah is still "Iran's closest client," the report concluded: "Because of Tehran's and Hizbollah's deep antipathy toward the United States, U.S. missions and personnel abroad continue to be at risk."

Turkey

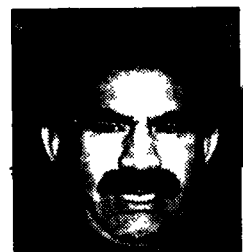
The PKK, the DHKP/C, the Islamic Movement Organization and IBDA/C were the organizations mentioned that carried out terror activities in Turkey in 1995. "Turkey continued its vigorous pursuit of several violent leftist and Islamic extremist groups, especially the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), responsible for terrorism in Turkey," the report said. "The PKK launched hundreds of attacks in 1995 in Turkey, including indiscriminate bombings in areas frequented by Turkish and foreign civilians, as part of its campaign to establish a breakaway state in southeastern Turkey ... The PKK continued — albeit with less success — its three-year-old attempt to drive foreign tourists away from Turkey by attacking tourist sites," the report said.

The State Department noted that Islamic groups "may have been responsible for the attempted assassination in June [1995] of a prominent Jewish community leader in Ankara."

12 EXPRESSEN

SÖNDAG 5 MAJ 1996

ETT HOTAT TURISTPARADIS. PKK-ledaren Abdullah Öcalan, lilla bilden, sa i går i tysk TV att hans trupper redan var på väg mot turistmålen i sydvästra Turkiet.



Han hotar med nya terroråd

Av P M NILSSON

Turistmål i Turkiet hotas åter av terroristattacker. På lördagskvällen meddelade PKK:s ledare i tysk TV att hans trupper redan har gett sig i väg mot turistområden i sydvästra delen av landet. Några timmar efter sändningen exploderade en bomb i centrala Istanbul.

I intervjun med den tyska

TV-stationen sa PKK-ledaren Abdullah Öcalan att det främsta målet för attackerna är att skada "Turkiets ekonomi".

– Vi tänker inte ta ansvar för om turister skadas, sa han också.

Öcalan uttalade liknande hot i mars i år. Det är oklart om lördagens utspel syftar på att det hotet kvarstår, eller om PKK inlett en ny operation.

PKK hotar turistmål i Turkiet med jämna mellanrum.

Detta för att störa turistindustrin i landet. Oftast händer inget, men ibland utför gerillan attacker.

Personalen på Vingresors kontor i Turkiet visste i natt ingenting om de nya hoten.

– Allt är lugnt. Vi vet inget om några hot, hälsar Vingresor.

Bomb i Istanbul

På utrikesdepartementet hade man heller inte fått information om PKK-ledarens uttalanden.

– Vi manar alltid till försiktighet när det gäller de här delarna av Turkiet. Vi avråder ingen från att åka, men det kan vara olämpligt att åka till de östra delarna av landet, säger Caroline Fleetwood på UD.

Enligt nyhetsbyrån AP exploderade en bomb i centrala Istanbul sent i går kväll. Bomben exploderade i en stadsdel med mycket barer, kaféer och biografier. Tre personer skadades. Hittills har ingen tagit ansvar för dådet.

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1996

Corruption vote might lead to coalition collapse

Mistrust between coalition partners lingers in the wake of ANAP support for the anti-Çiller RP motion for a parliamentary investigation of TEDAŞ. Next week the Parliament will vote on another motion of this kind, this time involving alleged irregularities in the TOFAŞ sale. ANAP is expected to turn its back on its coalition partner on that issue too. The TOFAŞ vote will determine the fate of the DYP-ANAP coalition government

By Kemal Balci

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA - The True Path Party (DYP)-Motherland Party (ANAP) coalition government has been plagued by a confidence crisis since April 24 when some ANAP deputies voted in favor of a Welfare Party (RP) motion calling for a parliamentary inquiry into alleged irregularities committed in the awarding of electricity contracts under DYP leader Tansu Çiller's prime ministry.

The confidence crisis is turning into a full-fledged government crisis. The second motion introduced against Çiller will be put to a vote in the Parliament on May 9. If the ANAP deputies turn their back on their coalition partner in that vote too, the coalition may collapse.

DYP officials, still simmering with resentment over the fact that some ANAP deputies voted against their leader Çiller on the Turkish Electricity Distribution Company (TEDAŞ) issue, have a tendency to cause problems for ANAP by delaying government action. First, the DYP wing of the coalition government boycotted government meetings.

Then, to create problems for ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz, they refused to sign any government decrees. DYP leader Tansu Çiller publicly complained that the government had done nothing since Mesut Yılmaz became the "rotating prime

minister" two months ago, and that Mesut Yılmaz had not performed successfully.

The DYP side not only boycotted government meetings but also prevented the convening of the Central Bank General Assembly meeting last week. State Minister Yaman Törüner, who is a member of the DYP, tried to attend the meeting as the Treasury representative. On the agenda was a discussion of the bank accounts of the period during which Törüner himself had been the Central Bank governor. When Prime Minister Yılmaz got wind of Törüner's attempt, he sent written orders which said that State Minister Rüştü Saraçoğlu of the ANAP, another ex-Central Bank governor, was authorized to represent the Treasury at the meeting. Following the incidents which prevented the convening of the Central Bank General Assembly, Törüner had a quarrel with Prime Minister Yılmaz, reportedly telling him, "I will not take orders from you."

In the face of the "obstructionist" attitude of his coalition partner, Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz decided to adopt new tactics. After the RP motion on TEDAŞ was adopted by the Parliament, Yılmaz did not even phone Çiller. And he did not invite State Minister Yaman Törüner to a recent "summit meeting" where key economic decisions were made. Angered by that development, Törüner boycotted the government meeting which



DYP leader Tansu Çiller

ing anymore. Whether it will be brought to an end legally too will depend on the DYP circles' capacity to endure the anti-Çiller motions being introduced one after another.

Meanwhile, there are reports indicating that ANAP officials are having "secret" talks with the Welfare Party with a view to reviving the coalition talks between the two parties if the current DYP-ANAP coalition collapses.

discussed the May Day incidents in Istanbul. During a telephone conversation he had with Çiller on Wednesday, Yılmaz said he would not change his basic stance regarding the motions introduced against Çiller, which he recently summed up as: "The ANAP deputies are free to vote in any direction according to their own consciences."

Yılmaz has also decided to stage a press conference next Monday to explain to the general public his government's performance in the past two months. He has already announced that the ANAP-DYP partnership was continuing in line with the coalition protocol, and that ANAP would not be the side which ends the coalition government, unless faced "with an act contrary to the coalition protocol."

Meanwhile, desperate not to be seen as the person who ended the coalition because of a motion introduced against her, Tansu Çiller decided not to pull the DYP from the coalition at least until May 9 when another motion on alleged irregularities will be debated and put to a vote.

She will make a final decision on May 9 if she fails to get from her coalition partner the support she expects. That motion involves alleged irregularities in the sale of the state-owned shares in TOFAŞ car company. Though it continues to exist legally, the DYP-ANAP coalition is not function-

Öcalan warns tourists of attacks in Turkey

Denial: PKK leader denies issuing death threats to Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) which is waging a separatist war in Turkey, renewed his threats at the weekend to launch attacks in Turkish tourist resorts.

Öcalan, whose remarks were carried by Reuters, said in a German television interview that PKK militants were already heading for Turkish tourist resorts.

The PKK declared a unilateral cease-fire in its 12-year war with the Turkish army in December but threatened to renew hostilities if attacked.

It was not clear if the latest warning amounted to notice that the cease-fire would end, since Öcalan had already threatened in a television interview in March to attack tourist spots if Ankara did not demonstrate its resolve to seek peace. "Some of our fighters have set off for the south and they are going to start operations," Öcalan told national ZDF television, according to the text of the interview being broadcast on Sunday.

"The south, that means Antalya, the tourist region. I don't know what exactly they are going to do. I have told my people to concentrate on economic targets."

Öcalan has hinted recently that he could unleash terrorist attacks or suicide bombers on Germany in a bid to get Bonn to end its

military support for Turkey. But in the interview he pledged to end PKK violence here. "At the moment I have no intention of endangering German democracy with violence. That is my final decision. There will be no more violence in Germany from the ranks of the PKK," he said.

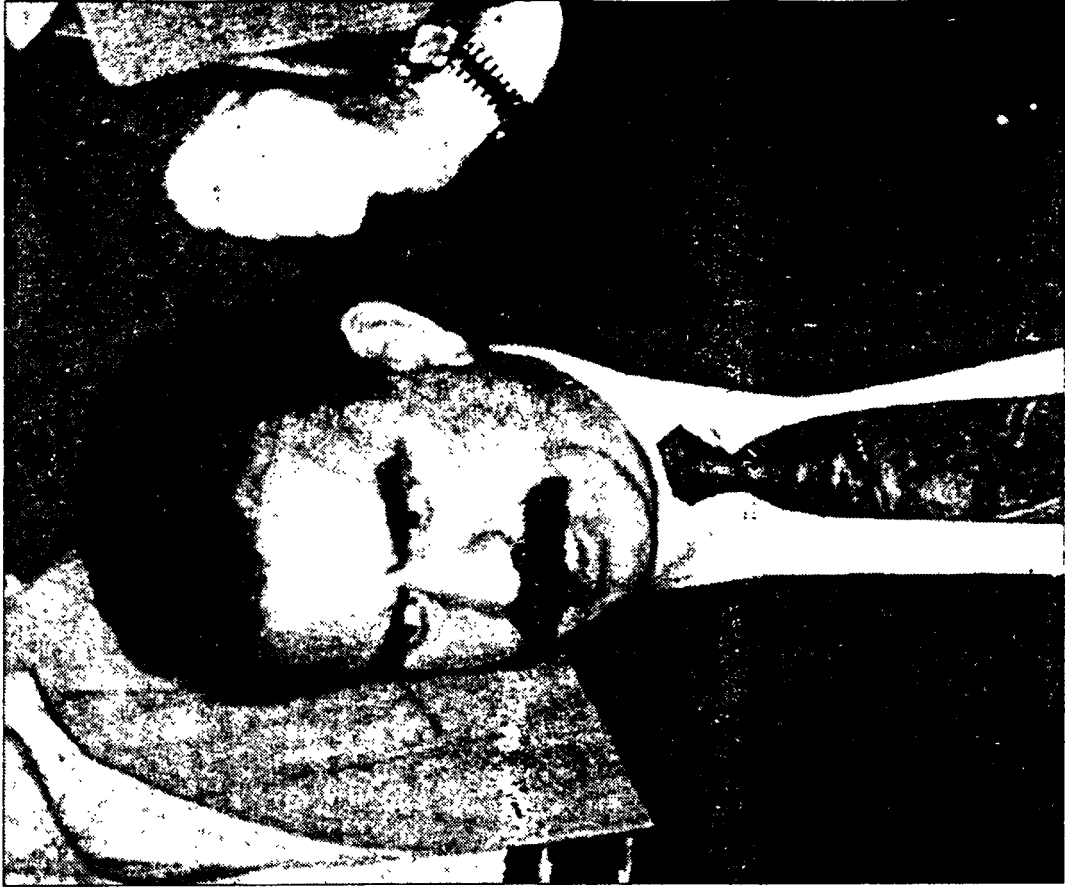
Öcalan said he hoped German and other tourists would not be affected by PKK actions in Turkey, but added: "If anything should happen to them, we can't take responsibility for that. Our most important goal is to hurt the Turkish economy." The PKK made headlines in Germany most recently when hundreds of its activists clashed in March with police trying to prevent a banned demonstration.

An attempt by the demonstrators to lynch a German policeman sent waves of anger through German public opinion.

Since then, Öcalan has been quoted as telling the weekly *Die Zeit*: "As soon as I give the order, dynamite charges would explode all over Germany."

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has accused PKK supporters of sending him and Chancellor Helmut Kohl death threats. But Öcalan told ZDF he had been misunderstood and that he believed Ankara's secret service was trying to smear the PKK. "We haven't threatened anyone. To threaten people like Kohl or Kinkel on our behalf is to set the entire German public against us," he said.

Öcalan said he did not expect Bonn, which has banned the PKK and has an arrest warrant out for Öcalan, to open talks with him. But he said it must take more account of the Kurdish issue.



PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan

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ONU-Irak

Reprise lundi des négociations entre l'ONU et l'Irak

NEW YORK (Nations unies), 6 mai (AFP) - Les négociations entre l'ONU et l'Irak pour un allègement de l'embargo international contre Bagdad et la mise au point de la formule "pétrole contre nourriture" reprennent lundi au siège des Nations unies à New York avec l'espoir à l'ONU que tout soit réglé avant le 15 mai.

Un porte-parole de l'ONU a précisé dimanche à l'AFP que les discussions ne reprendront que lundi soir après l'arrivée dans la journée à New York de la délégation irakienne dirigée par M. Abdel Amir Al-Anbari. Des sources irakiennes avaient auparavant annoncé l'arrivée à New York de M. Anbari dimanche, ce qui aurait permis une reprise plus rapide des pourparlers.

Le principal négociateur des Nations unies Hans Corell a, de son côté, exprimé l'espoir que les deux délégations parviennent à la conclusion d'un accord avant le départ du secrétaire général de l'organisation Boutros Boutros-Ghali pour Moscou le 15 mai.

Ce sera la quatrième ronde de discussions sur la mise en application de la résolution 986, adoptée en avril l'année dernière afin d'alléger les souffrances de la population irakienne, qui permettrait à l'Irak d'exporter du pétrole pendant une période de 6 mois renouvelable pour une valeur de 2 milliards de dollars afin d'acheter de la nourriture et des médicaments.

La dernière ronde s'était achevée le 24 avril dernier avec les Irakiens accusant la Grande-Bretagne et les Etats-Unis de vouloir introduire de nouveaux amendements à un projet d'accord pratiquement conclu, selon eux.

"Si les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne continuent à interférer dans les négociations, ils assumeront l'entière responsabilité de l'échec des pourparlers", car l'Irak pour sa part "a fait preuve de sérieux et de souplesse", a déclaré dimanche à Bagdad le vice-Premier ministre irakien Tarik Aziz, en confirmant la reprise lundi des pourparlers.

Le processus de l'échange "pétrole contre nourriture" doit se dérouler sous une stricte supervision internationale et une partie de la nourriture et des médicaments doit être distribuée aux populations kurdes du nord du pays qui échappent actuellement au contrôle du gouvernement de Bagdad.

Il s'agit là d'un des points faisant encore obstacle à la conclusion d'un accord qui serait le premier allègement des sanctions internationales imposées depuis août 1990 à l'Irak, qui ne seront levées que lorsque Bagdad aura satisfait aux exigences de l'ONU en ce qui concerne le démantèlement de ses armes de destruction massive.

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US endorses Turkish views on Europe and Syria/PKK

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. State Department has endorsed the views of two top Turkish officials regarding Turkish-European and Turkish-Syrian relations. And Undersecretary of State Lynn Davis has told a congressional committee: "It would be hard to overstate the importance of Turkey as a U.S. ally."

Asked at the department's daily press briefing Monday about Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz's call that morning for Syria to cease its support of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), spokesman Nicholas Burns reiterated U.S. support of "Turkey's wish that countries beyond Turkey give up their support of the PKK, specifically Syria. Therefore what Prime Minister Yilmaz said this morning makes sense to us ... as part of our own policy."

Said Burns flatly: "Syria ought to cease and desist from support for the PKK."

Burns also was asked about Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay's statement that Turkey should become a full member of the Western European Union. "We have supported almost across the board Turkey's wish ... to become more closely linked to European institutions," the spokesman replied, citing the EU customs union as an example. However, he had nothing specific to offer on Turkey's possible membership of the Western European Union.

Another Turkey-related question at the press briefing involved the possibility of including Turkey in a regional strategic cooperation agreement built around the U.S.-Israel relationship.

The question arose in the context of the planned meeting Wednesday between Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Israeli Foreign Minister Ehud Barak.

While Burns acknowledged recent efforts "to strengthen the U.S.-Israel relationship ...

State Department spokesman is 'not aware' of plans to include Turkey in regional strategic cooperation scheme

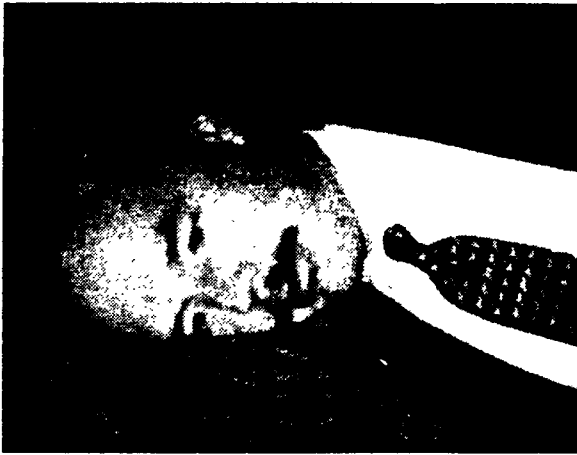
'It would be hard to overstate the importance of Turkey as a United States ally,' official tells Congress

that is critical to U.S. interests. Our FY (fiscal year) 1997 request of \$32 million for the subsidy cost of a total of \$297 million in FMF (Foreign Military Financing) loans for Greece and Turkey will support sustainment of U.S. origin equipment.

"We are also requesting \$60 million in ESF (Economic Support Funds)," Davis stated, "to help Turkey address long-term structural reforms necessary to sustain growth, to ease the transition resulting from Turkish membership in the EU customs union, and to help offset the economic costs associated with enforcement of U.N. sanctions against Iraq." (Comparative figures for FY 1996 are \$33.5 million in ESF and \$320 million in FMF.)

In justifying the aid to Turkey, Davis pointed to the difficulty of overstating "the importance of Turkey as a U.S. ally. It is at the crossroads of almost every issue of importance to the United States on the Eurasian continent, including NATO, the Balkans, Cyprus, Iraq sanctions, Russia's relations with the NIS (New Independent States) formed out of the former Soviet Union, Middle East peace, narcotics trafficking, and transit routes for Central Asian oil and gas."

But Davis also noted that the Clinton administration "continues to stress to Turkish officials the necessity of improving its human rights record and strengthening its democracy."



Nicholas Burns: 'Syria ought to cease and desist from support for the PKK'

We are working with our European Allies at every opportunity to urge Turkey to continue the reforms it began last summer and fall."

Continued Davis: "Turkey's new Prime Minister, Mesut Yilmaz, has indicated Turkey's willingness to: 1) engage in discussions to begin the process of a peaceful settlement with Greece; 2) start working to solve the Kurdish situation by a peaceful, rather than military, means; and 3) open a border gate with Armenia if Turkey sees clear signs of progress toward a peace settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan in their five-year war over the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. We are pleased by the new government's commitment to resolving these problems and we will work closely with them to implement these policies, especially the new approach to the Southeast."

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Turquie-Kurdes

29 morts lors d'une opération de l'armée turque contre le PKK dans le nord de l'Irak

ANKARA, 9 mai (AFP) - Une opération de l'armée turque contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) dans le nord de l'Irak frontalier a fait 29 morts dont 28 dans les rangs du PKK et un dans ceux de l'armée, selon des bilans non officiels.

Cette opération qui a pris fin jeudi matin et les troupes turques ont regagné la Turquie, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie. Elle avait été déclenchée dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi pour poursuivre en territoire irakien des rebelles PKK du qui avaient échappé aux troupes turques sur le sol turc.

Près de 1.200 hommes ont participé à cette opération, selon Anatolie. Elle n'avait pas été officiellement annoncée par les autorités militaires et civiles.

Elle visait également à détruire des abris et camps du PKK situés dans les zones proches de la frontière avec la Turquie.

Les soldats turcs avaient parfois pénétré jusqu'à cinq à six kilomètres de profondeur en territoire irakien, en face de la localité turque de Semdinli, à l'extrême sud-est de la Turquie.

Le nord de l'Irak, région montagneuse, est utilisé par le PKK comme base arrière et les unités turques pénètrent en Irak "lorsqu'elles le jugent nécessaire" à la recherche de militants armés du PKK.

Depuis début avril, l'armée a multiplié les opérations contre le PKK en territoire turc et le long de la frontière avec l'Irak pour prévenir toute infiltration de rebelles kurdes en Turquie.

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LUTTE OUVRIÈRE — 10 mai 1996

La sale guerre au Kurdistan continue

Au début du mois d'avril, comme chaque année, l'armée avec le soutien de 60 000 auxiliaires d'origine kurde, armés par les autorités, a commencé une opération militaire d'envergure contre l'organisation nationaliste kurde PKK, malgré le cessez-le-feu unilatéral proclamé par cette dernière. Plusieurs centaines de combattants du PKK et de soldats ont déjà été tués.

Comme toujours, les généraux disent que cette fois ils vont en finir « avec les bandits du PKK » ! Mais ce sont justement les exactions de l'armée et des autorités gouvernementales,

jointes à la misère, qui renforcent le PKK. Malgré la sale guerre qui continue depuis 1984, malgré les milliers de morts et les 10 000 prisonniers politiques kurdes dans les prisons turques, le peuple kurde continue à se battre pour ses droits les plus élémentaires.

Actuellement le gouvernement turc dépense annuellement presque 9 milliards de dollars pour cette guerre. C'est un énorme poids pour la Turquie : cette dépense absorbe à elle seule presque la moitié des revenus des exportations, qui sont de l'ordre de 20 milliards de dol-

lars. À tel point que maintenant des voix commencent à se lever contre la « solution militaire » même parmi le grand patronat.

Une partie de la bourgeoisie turque comprend évidemment qu'il n'y a pas de solution militaire à la question kurde. Mais elle est quand même prisonnière de la volonté de ses généraux sur lesquels elle s'appuie pour faire régner sa dictature contre la classe ouvrière et la population pauvre, kurde en particulier. Et jusqu'à présent, elle s'avère bien incapable d'infléchir la politique de ses propres généraux.

IRAK

Depuis la guerre du Golfe, le nord de l'Irak n'est plus contrôlé par Bagdad, et les deux principales organisations kurdes s'y affrontent. Les Américains essaient de ramener la paix, l'Iran se pose en arbitre et en financier, la Syrie joue les parrains. Quant à la Turquie, elle s'inquiète.

La Turquie a horreur du vide au nord de l'Irak

L'Iran renforce son influence dans le Kurdistan "autonome"

MILLIYET (extraits)
ISTANBUL

Lors d'une récente visite aux Etats-Unis, Süleyman Demirel [le président turc] a expliqué dans un discours au Washington Institute pourquoi son pays défend l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak. "Si nous ne le faisons pas, a-t-il dit, l'Irak serait divisé en trois. Le Sud [chiïte] passerait sous influence iranienne, le centre resterait sous le contrôle de Bagdad ; quant au Nord [à majorité kurde], le désordre y régnerait."

La grande inquiétude de la Turquie est bien sûr que ce désordre, par le biais du problème kurde, ne vienne menacer sa propre sécurité et sa stabilité [les territoires où vivent les kurdes sont à cheval sur les frontières de la Turquie, de l'Irak, de l'Iran et de la Syrie]. C'est d'ailleurs pour elle le plus grand danger engendré par la guerre du Golfe. Aujourd'hui, la situation de fait qui existe au nord de l'Irak ne favorise pas seulement les conflits intérieurs, elle crée aussi un terrain propice aux interventions directes ou indirectes de forces extérieures. [Bagdad ne contrôle plus cette région où les deux principales formations kurdes rivales, le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) et l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), s'affrontent.]

La lutte qui oppose les organisations kurdes de Massoud Barzani (PDK) et de Jalal Talabani (UPK) n'en finit pas et Washington essaie de les réconcilier afin d'établir un nouvel ordre sous sa surveillance. Il est question que le représentant de

la Maison Blanche, Robert Deutsch, visite la région en vue de donner une nouvelle impulsion au "processus de Dublin" [ville où les Etats-Unis ont organisé deux rencontres, l'an dernier, entre les représentants des deux leaders kurdes d'Irak].

Or, depuis quelque temps, c'est l'Iran qui profite du vide qui règne [dans le nord de l'Irak], en accroissant notablement son influence auprès des groupes kurdes rivaux, que Téhéran essaie de réunir sous

vaillours du Kurdistan (PKK) [des Kurdes de Turquie], et le PDK de Barzani [qui a, jusqu'à présent, toujours été proche d'Ankara]. D'après la même source, Téhéran serait "en train de prendre le contrôle de cette région discrètement et rapidement".

Maintenant, c'est au tour de la Syrie d'entrer en scène. Elle aussi joue au parrain des groupes irakiens d'opposition, parmi lesquels celui de Talabani et même celui de Barzani, tout en soutenant en plus le PKK.



son parapluie en présentant celui-ci comme une alternative à la tutelle américaine. Les informations de diverses sources non partisanses font état d'une évolution silencieuse dans cette région. Téhéran offre son soutien inconditionnel à l'administration kurde locale, lui fournit une aide militaire et financière, et paie même les salaires de ses fonctionnaires ! On sait aussi que l'Iran a joué un rôle actif dans le rapprochement entre le Parti des tra-

[Damas, qui héberge le chef du PKK et ses camps d'entraînement, est accusé de se servir de l'organisation kurde contre la Turquie pour contraindre celle-ci à négocier sur la répartition des eaux de l'Euphrate.]

Damas a également réuni, début avril, le Congrès national irakien [cartel de différents mouvements d'opposition], sans grand succès cependant. Le but de cette conférence de deux jours était de déterminer une stratégie commune visant

à renverser le régime de Saddam Hussein. Mais les anciennes rivalités et les divergences ont empêché les groupes présents de trouver un terrain d'entente. Les islamistes ont voulu exclure les communistes; les nationalistes ont refusé l'idée d'une future fédération irakienne avec les Kurdes. Finalement, les participants ont décidé de se réunir à nouveau, à une date non précisée... Pour résumer la chose clairement, selon l'expression d'un journaliste étranger qui a suivi les discussions, "le seul résultat de la rencontre a été un show politique au bénéfice de la Syrie".

Selon lui, Damas a surtout voulu apparaître comme le protecteur de l'opposition irakienne, renforcer son poids dans les négociations moyen-orientales et se mettre en meilleure position dans son conflit avec la Turquie concernant l'eau de l'Euphrate et la question du terrorisme. Le véritable but de Damas n'était pas tant le renversement de Saddam Hussein que d'apparaître comme un acteur essentiel de la politique irakienne. D'autre part, le fait que la Syrie se place dans le même camp que l'Iran sur cette question affecte considérablement les équilibres dans la région.

En bref, l'intégrité territoriale et la souveraineté de l'Irak continuent d'exister sur le papier, mais le nord du pays est en train de basculer dans le chaos, comme l'avait prévu Demirel. Si cela se confirme, on peut penser que les inquiétudes concernant l'influence iranienne dans le sud de l'Irak [à population chiite] commencent à peser également au nord. Ce qui risque de créer une situation nouvelle et grave pour la Turquie. ●

Sami Kohen

Turkish Daily News — May 11, 1996

Mehmet Ağar accuses accuser of being tool of anti- Turkish lobbies

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Justice Minister Mehmet Ağar has reacted angrily to remarks made at a subcommittee hearing in the U.S. Congress to the effect that he was a "super torturer" in Turkey because of his former position as chief of the police.

Pointing out that "it is a known fact what kind of anti-Turkish lobbies operated in the U.S. Congress," Ağar was quoted by the Anatolia news agency on Friday as saying that he "strongly rejected" the allegations against him.

He said that the allegation that he was a super torturer was purely the personal view of the person who put this allegation forward and had no basis at all.

"I see that person as a spokesman of those (anti-Turkish) lobbies. Throughout my long years as a civil servant I have had a very good dialogue with U.S. officials. That this person spoke in that manner has no effect on me," Ağar said. Dr. Inge Genefke, a Danish expert on torture and medical treatment and the medical director of the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRTC), made the allegation against Ağar while testifying before the U.S. House Subcommittee on Human Rights.

Evrensel newspaper closed for 20 days

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The State Security Court has decided to close Evrensel newspaper for 20 days because of an article published in December, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The newspaper had been charged with "openly inciting the local people through regional and racial discrimination" in the article "The Confessions of a Junior Officer" in accordance with Article 312 of the Turkish Criminal Code

The court sentenced Editor in Chief Ali Erol to two years in prison and fined him TL 600,000.

Focus on Human Rights

CHP Deputy Secretary-General Acquitted

The State Security Court (DGM) acquitted Sinan Yerlikaya, deputy secretary-general of the Republican People's Party (CHP), who was accused of "helping and assisting the illegal organization TIKKO," the Anatolia news agency reported. Yerlikaya said in the trial that he had no relations with the Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Liberation Army (TIKKO) and that he was not guilty of the charges. He indicated that he didn't know Selim Gül, who gave testimony against Yerlikaya. "The claims of my having him treated are untrue. As a matter of fact, this person was acquitted and during his trial he said that he gave such testimony because he was tortured at the police station."

DGM Chairman Turgut Okyay said that Yerlikaya was acquitted due to insufficient evidence.

Kalemli Defends Turkey on Human Rights Issues

Parliament Speaker Mustafa Kalemli on Tuesday received a delegation of the Turco-American Associations' Assembly, and during their meeting complained about the West's "double standards."

"Western countries have been misinformed on the subject of human rights violations in Turkey," Kalemli said. "There is no lesson Turkey can learn from other countries on the human rights issue. On the contrary, there are lessons we can teach them. It is not right for them to try to judge Turkey on the basis of lies or incorrect reports. Human rights violations take place in the United States and Germany too. And I feel very sorry about those violations." Committee members from certain countries were coming to Turkey to investigate human rights violations with the air of judges or prosecutors, he said, stressing that they received all kinds of assistance from the Turkish authorities despite that.

Human Rights Watch Responds to Turkish Criticism

Human Rights Watch (HRW) Executive Director Kenneth Roth has responded in writing to comments made by Türel Özkarol criticizing HRW's November 1995 report, "Weapons Transfers and Violations of the Laws of War in Turkey." Özkarol is the deputy director general of the Department of the Council of Europe and Human Rights in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara. In a letter which has just been made public through Inter Press Service (IPS), Roth pointed out that his organization and the government of Turkey had "widely divergent positions on the key issues" but the readiness to maintain a dialogue over human rights was appreciated.

Among the issues under contention were the applicability of international law, the methodolo-

gy used in arriving at the report's findings and the substance of the findings. Roth rejected the idea that the report's referring to "the Turkish-Kurdish conflict" was a way of characterizing the conflict as a civil war. He insisted that the report "characterized the violence as an internal armed conflict (as opposed to an international armed conflict) under international humanitarian law." Therefore, Common Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Convention to which Turkey is fully bound was applicable; that is, armed hostilities over time and at least one of the protagonists being a relatively organized group. The Washington-based HRW executive director also rejected an assertion by Özkarol that it was "deliberately" invoking humanitarian law in order to put the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) on an equal basis with the Turkish state and thus bestowing a measure of legitimacy on the organization.



Mahmut Alınak

Trial of Mahmut Alınak Begins

The trial began of former deputy Mahmut Alınak who is charged with "demeaning" the armed forces during a speech he delivered in Şırnak in 1993.

The Ankara state prosecutor is seeking a sentence of one year and six months for Alınak.

Alınak was previously tried and sentenced to prison by the State Security Court under the controversial Article Eight of the Anti-Terrorism Law for promoting Kurdish separatism. Alınak told the court on Wednesday that remarks from his address in 1993, following a rocket attack on the town, had been taken out of context and denied that he had any intention of insulting the military. He said that his criticisms had been addressed to the prime minister and the relevant minister at the time.

"But treatment is meted out in this country according to the person in question. Had these remarks been made by some other politician from another party they would have gone unnoticed. But when I say them then this is considered a crime and a case is opened against me," said Alınak, a well-known proponent of Kurdish rights.

US Terror Report Careful to Shield Syria, Frank on Greece

It is that time of the year when the U.S. State Department's "Patterns of Global Terrorism" report is released, the fifteenth year such a report has been issued. This year's report is distinctive in two aspects: 1) For the way it tries to shield Syria from a harsh judgment; and 2) the way it puts Greece officially on the spot for the aid and comfort it gives to such anti-Turkish terror groups as the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the leftist DHKP/C.

The section on Syria can go into the textbooks as a master recipe of how to make lemonade when life gives you nothing but lemons. Underlying all the delicate footwork is Washington's obsession not to tarnish Syria's "credibility" as an important player in the so-called "Middle East Peace Process."

The report on the one hand admits that Damascus was providing training camps and basing privileges to "radical terrorist groups" such as Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command (PFLP-GC); Hamas; the Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ); and the Japanese Red Army (JRA). Yet on the other hand, we were almost relieved to learn that "there is no evidence that Syrian officials have been directly involved in planning or executing terrorist attacks since 1986."

State Department of course notes that "Damascus continues to negotiate seriously to achieve a peace accord with Israel," and "Syria continues to use its influence to moderate Hizballah and Palestine rejectionist groups."

Yet, at the same breath, we unfortunately also learn that Syria "allowed Iran to resupply Hizballah via Damascus" — just as we read in the 1994 report. Some "serious negotiator" for "peace" indeed who also arranges the delivery of Katyusha rockets to be fired upon its "peace partner."

Commenting on the American counterterrorism policy, Ambassador Wilcox, State Dept. coordinator for counterterrorism, said: "We treat [terrorists] as criminals. And we work to condemn and isolate state sponsors of terrorism."

Syria is still nominally on the list of state-sponsors of terrorism together with North Korea, Libya, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, and Cuba. Despite that, the section on Syria certainly did not read as if Wilcox was "condemning" much that happens in Damascus these days. And when Secretary Christopher visits Damascus 20 times, it doesn't sound like Syria is "isolated" either.

'Classified Steps'

In the reports for 1993, 1994 and 1995, we read that Syria "has taken some steps to restrain the international activities of these [terror] groups." But what those mysterious "steps" exactly were, neither Wilcox, nor Nicholas Burns, State Department spokesman, would say.

During a daily State Department press briefing, Burns told Probe that "you may be looking for a detail of information that we cannot give out in this kind of forum."

Probe asked if the information about these "steps" that Syria has allegedly taken were classified. "Some of the information, of course, that we have pertaining to terrorism is classified and we don't give classified information out publicly," Burns said.

The PKK

The State Department's 1995 report again lists PKK among the top international terrorist organizations with "approximately 10,000 to 15,000 full-time guerrillas, 5,000 to 6,000 of whom are in Turkey." The PKK is also said to have "60,000 to 75,000 part-time guerrillas; and hundreds of thousands of sympathizers in Turkey and Europe." These are the same figures given in the 1994 report.

As in the previous report, this year's report also mentions that the PKK "receives safehaven and modest aid from Syria, Iraq, and Iran." The State Department confirms that the PKK trained in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley of Lebanon. It also admits that the PKK "leader, Abdullah Öcalan, resides at least part-time in Syria," — just as was reported in the 1994 report. Nick Burns had this to say on Syrian support for the PKK: "Syria remains on the terrorism list for a very good reason, because of Syrian support for terrorist groups, including the PKK. The PKK, as you know very well, has offices in Damascus. And we regularly remind the Syrian government of its obligation to stop its activities of support, indirect or otherwise, of the PKK."

Iran was highlighted as another country giving refuge to the PKK. "Tehran continues to offer [the PKK] safehaven in Iran," the report reads.

PKK attacks on Turkish businesses in Germany were also noted. "Although Germany banned the PKK and several associated Kurdish organizations in 1993, new PKK front organizations appear frequently in Germany, thus presenting a continuing problem for the government," the report said. Actually such attacks were blamed for increasing the number of international terror acts from 322 to 440 in 1995.

Greece

One section of the report that is quite different from last year's is the section on Greece. This year the State Department officially acknowledges that Greece gave refuge to two Turkish terror organizations — the PKK and DHKP/C. "Greek authorities continued in 1995 to deny public Turkish charges that the anti-Turkish Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) conducts operational terrorist training and receives assistance in Greece," the State Department's report says.

"As is the case in certain European countries, however, Greece permits the PKK to operate a known front organization in Athens," the report continued. The National Front for the Liberation of Kurdistan or ERNK has reportedly opened such an office in Athens. "In May [1995] it also allowed the successor group to Dev Sol, another anti-Turkish and anti-U.S. terrorist group, to open an office in Athens under its new name, the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)."

Greek Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos, during his recent visit to Washington, said that the reported PKK militants in Athens were nothing but legal "Kurdish refugees," exercising their fundamental rights of freedom-of-speech to demonstrate in public against Turkish policies.

When Ambassador Philip Wilcox was asked what he thought of a NATO country, i.e. Greece, giving refuge to the terrorist organizations that were fighting against another NATO ally neighbor, i.e. Turkey,



Dimitri Vunatsos (L), parliamentary deputy and member of the Central Committee of the ruling Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party (PASOK), with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in front of a map of likely routes for transporting Caspian oil over eastern Turkey. PASOK and the PKK, at the time of the meeting, reportedly vowed to use all means to prevent such an economic asset going to Turkey.

Wilcox again diplomatically dodged the question and said that "counterterrorism is high on our agenda with both countries."

The Greek press is reportedly rankled by the report, coming as it does on the heels of a U.S. Helsinki Commission hearing on Capitol Hill on the discrimination against the Turkish minority in Western Thrace. A number of Greek observers were reportedly upset that the positive environment created in Washington by Prime Minister Costas Simitis' visit was muddled by these negative references to the Greek record on terrorism and human rights.

Ambivalence

The report's section on Greece is a refreshing and overdue departure from State Department's traditional insistence not to ruffle any feathers in Athens. But the ambivalent U.S. approach to Syria is far from allaying the worst fears of Turkey that when the dust is settled down after the "Peace Process," Turkey will end up with the short end of the stick and still face a PKK operating out of Syrian-controlled territory.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher's recent TV interview on PBS with Jim Lehrer was enough to justify such Turkish fears. In the April 30 interview, Christopher admitted that Syria provides "haven for the terrorist organizations ... a home for some of the resistance movements." But Christopher said he thinks that Syrian dictator Hafez al-Assad "feels that a peace agreement is the only basis on which they will end that kind of activity of providing a safe haven for the resistance groups." Christopher apparently bought the Assad argument that as long as Israel occupies Golan Heights and part of Southern Lebanon, "then they're justified in providing a home for these resistance movements." One has to be a

greater optimist than Pollyanna to believe that Assad's protection of PKK will end the minute Israel pulls out of the Golan heights and south Lebanon.

When a journalist asked Ambassador Wilcox how come the United States contacted Hizbollah, a terror organization by State Department's own admission, to secure a cease-fire between Lebanon and Israel, he said the United States had not directly contacted Hizbollah, but did it through Syria. When Probe asked a senior State Department official if the United States was also "indirectly" in touch with the PKK, the answer was "no." And there is no apparent reason yet to doubt that answer.

But the State Department, just to continue the "Peace Process" between Syria and Israel, has created an environment in which some terror organizations have come to be referred to as "resistance movements" by the U.S. Secretary of State; the senior counterterrorism official admits to an "indirect" dialogue with the very terror organization condemned by the department's very own terror report; and the original list of seven state-sponsors of terrorism is now effectively pared down to the new sub-category of "rogue states" — Libya, Iran and Iraq. At the time of writing, for example, North Korean officials are in Washington, reportedly trying to cut a deal to get off the list.

Until the PKK's name is clearly spelled out next to that of Hizbollah and Hamas during U.S.-Syrian-Israeli talks, Turkey will have a very hard time believing that its vital national interests are shared by its allies in the region. That's why when it's time to renew Operation Provide Comfort, there'll be more in Turkey who'll remember the slight slap-on-the-wrist that the Terror Report has delivered Syria than the courageous rap on Greece.

Uğur Akıncı

If on a Sunday afternoon a soldier strays into a peace rally...

Marulcu was unaware that he was probably the first soldier in Turkish history to take part in a peace rally

By Zafer F. Yörük
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Two soldiers holding two different flags. Neither of the two flags is unfamiliar; one is the symbol of the People's Democracy Party (HADEP), known for its strong Kurdish constituency both in the southeast and in the cities. This picture of private Ömer Marulcu was taken at HADEP's peace rally on 21 April 1996.

The other one is the symbol of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), known for its ultra-rightist ideological convictions. This picture was taken in the middle of the troubled southeast region.

MHP is also known for its determination for a "military solution", that is, the continuation of military operations in order to "solve" the Kurdish problem.

Which one of these soldiers is in prison now? Not difficult to guess, perhaps because the terms "soldier and peace" constitute a logical contradiction by the nature of the terms.

"The Picture of Betrayal"

The daily Akşam reported on its 23 April edition that the most interesting scene of the HADEP rally was the participation of a soldier, which Akşam called "a traitor in uniform".

The news article claimed that the soft approach of the police towards the "demonstrations of illegal organizations" is not an indication of the "reason" but of "incapacity" of the state and the fact that a soldier can dare to take part in such a demonstration is a result of this impotency.

Cenk Koray: "A piece of excrement in uniform"

TV celebrity Cenk Koray, who also is a columnist in the daily Akşam, was "horrified" when he saw the soldier's picture at the front page of the Akşam news-

paper. Koray sees the HADEP flag in the soldier's hand as the PKK flag and somehow manages to read from the picture that the soldier was chanting "Biji (Long live) Apo, Biji PKK!" in Kurdish.

"The picture of this idiot is a document of horror for all of us" Koray writes, and continues "this traitor to the nation... this piece of excrement in a uniform should be immediately arrested and punished."

Some worried, some "satisfied"

Private Ömer Marulcu, a conscript of Kurdish origin from the southeast province of Mardin, was doing the first three months of his 18-month military service in Istanbul. Ömer was out in Kadıköy for the weekend leave when he met the peace demonstrators in a HADEP rally.

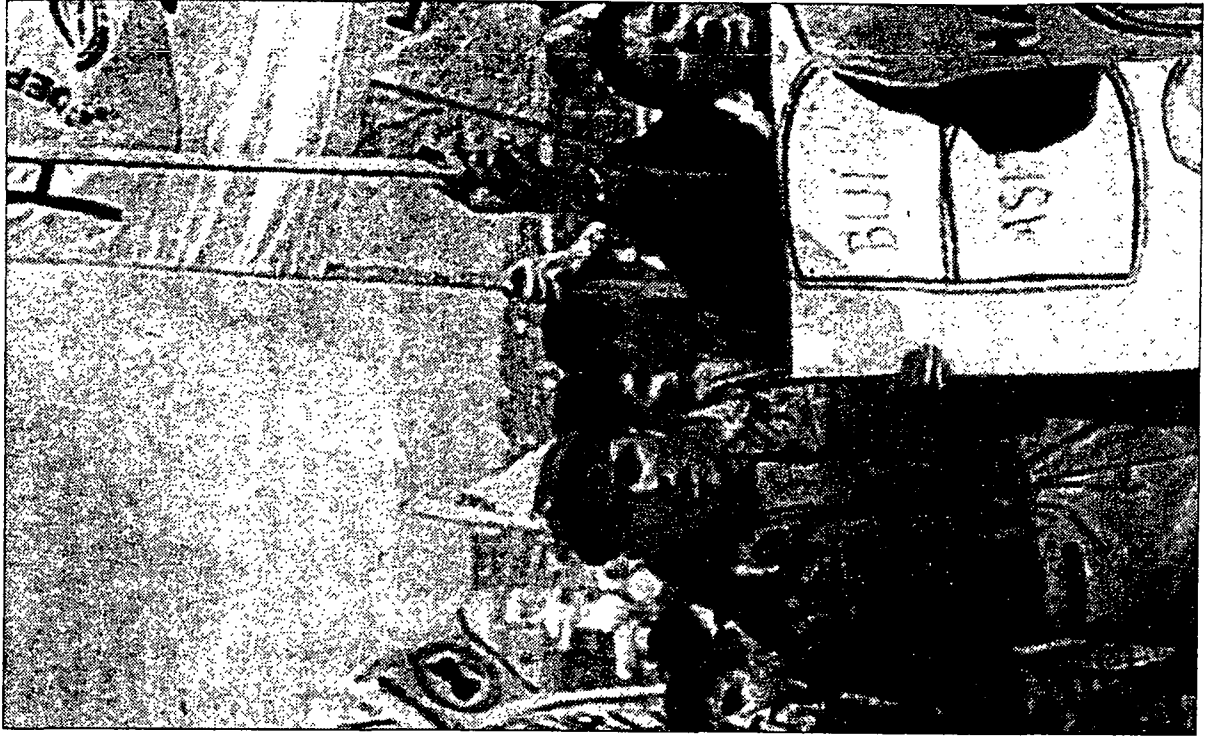
He joined in the demonstration and allowed the journalists to take his picture, not being aware that he was probably the first soldier in Turkish history taking part in a peace rally.

Upon the extensive coverage in Akşam, private Ömer Marulcu was immediately arrested on 24 April 1996 and put in the Kartal Military Prison.

His father İbrahim Marulcu, after intensive queries to Ömer's superiors, found out about his son's fate on 27 April.

Speaking to the TDN the elder Marulcu expressed concern about his son's fate. He said the military authorities have not pressed any charges against Ömer while keeping him in custody. Neither Ömer nor his father knows whether Ömer is to be given disciplinary punishment or is to face trial, and if he is to be tried whether the trial will proceed according to the Military Internal Services Act or the Turkish Penal Code.

Akşam columnist Cenk Koray, speaking to TDN, expressed "satisfaction and relief" with Ömer Marulcu's arrest.



Turkish troops wrap up N. Iraq cross-border operation

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA - The cross-border operation which Turkish forces launched during their pursuit of militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) ended on Thursday morning.

Turkish troops have withdrawn from northern Iraq which they penetrated last Sunday.

Officials said around 1,200 troops participated in the cross-border operation and that its targets had been achieved.

Defense Minister Oltan Sungurlu described the operation carried out against the outlawed PKK organization as a "hot pursuit." He answered reporters' questions following his early departure from a Cabinet meeting to meet with the British ambassador to Ankara.

Asked how he assessed the fact that the operation had been carried out upon the prime minister's verbal instruction, Sungurlu said everything had been done in accordance with the principles followed during previous operations.

Replying to the reporters' questions during his weekly press conference, Turkish Foreign Ministry deputy spokesman Nurettin Nurkan said Turkey was determined to ensure the security of its borders.

He said the cross-border opera-

tion had been limited in scope, adding that it was out of the question for Turkey to tolerate the existence of the PKK in northern Iraq.

Pointing out that Turkey's exercising its right to hot pursuit should be viewed as natural, Nurkan said the regrouping of terrorists who escape from clashes in Turkey in border regions in northern Iraq could not be accepted.

He emphasized that the Turkish Armed Forces' operations were not aimed at civilian targets and refuted reports that civilians in northern Iraq had suffered losses. He stressed that there were no settlements in the areas where the operations were carried out.

One the other hand, Iraq Kurdistan Democratic Party (IKDP), which is headed by Massoud Barzani, claimed that the operations had led to the formation of a no-man's-land.

A spokesman for the Ankara representative office of the IKDP claimed that the operation by the Turkish warplanes and helicopters had caused significant material damage in the area.

In another development the chief of staff, Gen. Ismail Hakkı Karadayı, who is currently on a visit to the Emergency Rule region along with many other high-ranking mili-



Gen. Ismail Hakkı Karadayı

tary officials said in the town of Lice in Diyarbakır that Turkey was obliged to eradicate the "deceived bandits" without harming its citizens.

Karadayı said Turkey's most dangerous enemies were those within the country and that those outside would not affect Turkey to any great extent.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, MAY 10, 1996

2d Corruption Inquiry Rocks Turkish Coalition

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ANKARA — The Turkish Parliament approved on Thursday a second corruption investigation of former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, increasing pressure on Turkey's fragile coalition government.

Mrs. Ciller, who has denied any wrongdoing, would be barred from a power-sharing pact to regain the prime minister's post if she is ordered to stand trial.

In case of a prosecution, Mrs. Ciller said she would seek to pull her True Path Party from the coalition and press for elections.

Mrs. Ciller and the leader of the rival Motherland Party, Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz, agreed to form a government to block the Islamic Welfare Party from taking office.

The Welfare Party led general elections in December, but it is strongly

opposed by the military and other backers of Turkey's secular system.

The prospect of a deepening government crisis — and a possible rebound for the Welfare Party — drove down the Turkish lira against the dollar on financial markets.

The Parliament vote was 376 to 141.

The latest inquiry involves alleged irregularities in the privatization of state shares in an automotive factory. Mrs. Ciller is accused of reviewing sealed bids from companies seeking to serve as advisers in the sale.

"I am not here to defend myself,"

Mrs. Ciller told Parliament before the vote. "There is a political ploy under way. Whatever I did was for the interests of my country and if necessary I will do it again," she said, admitting that she opened the sealed envelope.

Parliament voted last month to look into charges that Mrs. Ciller favored

firms owned by friends in awarding a government contract to build electricity distribution networks.

The inquiries have strained Mrs. Ciller's relations with the Motherland Party, which has supported the investigation motions presented by the Welfare Party.

"Legally, I have nothing to worry about," Mrs. Ciller said. She said she would testify before a Parliament committee if required.

Mrs. Ciller claims she was a victim of a political plot "not to make me prime minister again."

Mrs. Ciller became Turkey's first female prime minister in June 1993.

She stepped down in February after failing to get sufficient political backing after elections. Mrs. Ciller then agreed to join forces with Mr. Yilmaz under a plan to rotate the office of prime minister.

Mrs. Ciller told female activists from her True Party, "The beans have been spilled. The plan is to send Ciller to the Supreme Court and prevent her from becoming prime minister."

"This is the plot," Mrs. Ciller said. She said her coalition partner, Mr. Yilmaz and MPs from his Motherland Party had "stabbed her in the back" by not supporting her in the corruption row.

Mrs. Ciller has played the "Islamist card," warning that overwhelmingly Muslim but secularist Turkey would see the Welfare Party poised for power should her coalition come unstuck.

The latest charges center on alleged irregularities surrounding the sale of state-owned shares in carmaker TOFAS, including allegations that Mrs. Ciller improperly opened sealed bids in the privacy of her prime minister's office. (AP, Reuters)

Abbröckeln der türkischen Koalitionsregierung Zweite Untersuchung gegen Ciller wegen Bereicherung

Das türkische Parlament hat eine zweite Untersuchung gegen Tansu Ciller wegen angeblicher Beteiligung an Korruptionsaffären in die Wege geleitet. Die hartnäckigen Vorwürfe gegen die frühere Ministerpräsidentin erschüttern die konservative Koalitionsregierung aufs neue und verstärken die politische Krise der Türkei.

it. Istanbul, 9. Mai

Nach einer turbulenten Sitzung hat das türkische Parlament am Donnerstag mit einer überraschenden Mehrheit von 376 Ja-Stimmen eine Untersuchung wegen angeblicher Beteiligung an einem Korruptionsskandal gegen die frühere Regierungschefin Ciller in die Wege geleitet. Die Tatsache, dass lediglich 141 Abgeordnete gegen die entehrende Untersuchung gestimmt haben, dürfte für die ehemalige «eiserne Lady der Türkei» recht bitter sein. Ciller wird beschuldigt, bei der Privatisierung des staatlichen Automobilkonzerns Tofas ihre Macht missbraucht und die Anteile des Staates auf «irregulärem Weg» vermarktet zu haben. Eine ähnliche Untersuchung gegen sie in einem andern Fall hatte das Parlament bereits vor zwei Wochen gebilligt.

Sündenbock im Korruptionssumpf

Ciller weist die Vorwürfe vehement zurück. Sie versteht sich hauptsächlich als Opfer von undurchsichtigen Ankaraner Intrigen. Ihre Rivalen wünschten mit diesen Abstimmungen ihren «politischen Tod» herbeizuführen, sagte sie nach der Parlamentssitzung vom Donnerstag. Tatsache ist, dass die in den USA ausgebildete Wirtschaftsprofessorin, welche zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre in der türkischen Führungselite als vielversprechend galt und von den türkischen Medien als «blonde and beautiful» gefeiert wurde, einen schweren Schlag erlitten hat. Sollten die Untersuchungen gar zu einem Prozess gegen Ciller führen, wird ihre politische Karriere unausweichlich zu einem abrupten Ende gelangen. Tatsache ist aber auch, dass Frau Ciller das erste Regierungsoberhaupt in der Geschichte der Republik Türkei ist, das sich wegen Korruptionsskandalen verantworten muss. In den letzten Wochen wurde sie von der Presse und ihren Rivalen zum Exempel für die weit verbreitete Korruption in Ankara hochstilisiert, zu einer Art von nationalem Sündenbock.

Beide Abstimmungen im Parlament fanden auf Antrag der islamistischen Wohlfahrtspartei (Refah) statt. Dass viele Parlamentarier der konservativen Mutterlandspartei (Anap) auch für eine Untersuchung gegen Ciller eingelegt haben, hat diese als einen «Dolchstoß in den Rücken» und als «Verrat» ihrer Partner in der Koalitionsregierung bezeichnet. Die Koalition ist in ihren Fundamenten erschüttert und bröckelt regelrecht ab.

Die Regierung ist seit der ersten Abstimmung vor zwei Wochen lahmgelegt; es konnte keine einzige Kabinettsitzung mehr abgehalten werden. Während die Anap unter der Führung von Mesut Yilmaz das Wirtschaftspaket der Regierung vorbereitete, ohne die Koalitionspartner überhaupt zu konsultieren, verfluchte Industrieminister Yalim Etez, ein enger Freund von Tansu Ciller, die Anap als ein «Produkt des 12. Septembers», als Werk also des letzten Militärputsches. Die Presse ist sich einig, dass die Koalition von Anap und DYP nach einem kurzen, gerade 50 Tage langen Leben bereits am Ende ist.

Neue Chance für die Islamisten

Die konservative Koalitionsregierung konnte erst nach der eindringlichen Intervention von Armeeführung und Wirtschaftsspitzen überhaupt entstehen. Diese begründeten damals ihr Eingreifen damit, dass die Islamisten der Refah aus der Regierung fernzuhalten seien. Yilmaz und Ciller konnten allerdings ihre persönliche Feindschaft kaum überwinden. Dass beide um die Kontrolle des konservativen Lagers der Türkei kämpfen, verstärkte bloss ihre Feindschaft; diese wurde zum Lieblingsstoff der Karikaturisten. Sollte Frau Ciller ihre Drohung wahr machen und ihre Partei aus der Koalition zurückziehen, könnte trotz allen bisherigen Bemühungen der Armeeführung eine Beteiligung der Islamisten in der Regierung unausweichlich werden.

”Europarådet för långsamt”

● 16 år har Mehdi Zana tillbringat i turkiska fängelser. Under fängelseåren, då han adopterades som samvetsfånge av Svenska Amnesty International, nådde 12 000 brev och vykort fram till honom från olika medlemmar.

På fredagen kunde Mehdi Zana, den förre borgmästaren i Diyarbakir i sydöstra Turkiet, möta flera av de svenska brevskrivarna och tacka för deras moraliska stöd. Mehdi Zana är en av hedersgästerna på Svenska Amnestys årsmöte i Göteborg.

Den före detta borgmästaren har ett symbolvärde för kurderna i Turkiet. Han har dömts till sammanlagt 24 års fängelse för sina uttalanden och artiklar – bland annat efter att ha vittnat

om förhållandena i Turkiet inför Europaparlamentet i Strasbourg.

Han är make till årets Sacharovpristagare, den

fängslade kurdiska parlamentari-

kern Leyla Zana, som nu avtjänar ett 15-årigt fängelsestraff.

Mehdi Zana själv släpptes i vintras till följd av revideringen av turkiska lagar.

– Men nya åtal väntar när jag återvänder till Turkiet.

Idag gäller hans omsorger bland annat hustrun. Hans brev till henne från fängelset har kom-



Mehdi Zana

mit ut i bokform, Kära Leyla (Sevgili Leyla), men är förbjudna i Turkiet.

Domen mot henne är anmäld till Europakommissionen för mänskliga rättigheter. Mehdi Zana anser att kommissionens utredning är alltför segdragen.

– Det har antytts att kommissionen kommer att ta ställning till fallet först i slutet av året eller i början av nästa år, säger Mehdi Zana.

En lång rad turkiska ärenden utreds för närvarande av kommissionen. Hittills har två gått vidare till Europadomstolen för mänskliga rättigheter i Strasbourg. Det ena gäller en förstörd by i sydöstra Turkiet. Det andra tortyr.

BITTE HAMMARGREN

SVENSKA DAGBLADET • Lördagen den 11 maj 1996

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Europe-Turquie-droits

La requête d'un syndicaliste turc déclarée recevable à Strasbourg

STRASBOURG, 13 mai (AFP) - La requête d'un syndicaliste turc condamné pour avoir critiqué dans un article de presse la politique du gouvernement vis-à-vis des Kurdes a été déclarée recevable par la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, a-t-on appris lundi à Strasbourg auprès du Conseil de l'Europe.

M. Munir Ceylan, président du syndicat des travailleurs du pétrole, a été condamné en mai 1993 à huit mois de prison et à 100.000 livres turques d'amende pour incitation à la haine au sein de la population.

Le syndicaliste, dans l'hebdomadaire Yeni Ulke (Nouveau Pays) en 1991, avait notamment estimé que les travailleurs et leurs organisations devraient s'unir aux Kurdes dans l'opposition aux lois anti-terroristes et à la politique du gouvernement turc dans le sud-est anatolien, où fait rage le conflit entre les forces armées et les séparatistes kurdes.

M. Ceylan invoque à Strasbourg les articles 9, 10 et 14 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme qui garantissent le droit à la liberté de pensée et d'expression et répriment les discriminations fondées notamment sur l'appartenance à une minorité nationale.

Si aucun règlement à l'amiable n'est conclu, la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme --chargée de filtrer et instruire les requêtes-- transmettra le dossier à la Cour des droits de l'homme qui tranchera en dernier ressort et sans appel.

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AFP /AA1234/131852 MAI 96

Iraqi crude oil sales attract huge trader interest

Reuters

LONDON- A list of companies wanting to obtain a share of the first significant crude oil exports from Iraq since sanctions were imposed in 1990 provides a rare glimpse into the world of strange oil alliances.

In some cases, it seems firms were hoping that, by marketing Iraq's first crude sales, they would advance their chances of securing a share of that country's huge crude oil reserves when the U.N. embargo is fully lifted.

In others, small private concerns are vying with the world oil giants for a slice of the potential profits from buying Iraqi crude just to sell it on again.

Still under sanctions imposed after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait, Iraq on Monday signed a memorandum of understanding with the United Nations to sell about 700,000 barrel per day of crude oil to pay for badly-needed humanitarian aid.

In February the U.N. said companies no longer needed to register with them their interest in buying Iraqi crude, but the list, put together from 1991 to 1995, makes fascinating reading. France, which has supported Iraq's efforts to sell crude again, figured prominently with Elf Aquitaine and Total SA leading the pack. Total and Elf recently reopened offices in Baghdad, both having signed preliminary agreements to drill for oil there when sanctions are lifted.

The United States, by far Iraq's biggest single customer before the Gulf War, has not yet decided whether to allow its companies to trade in Iraqi exports.

U.S. government sources said on Monday that the issue had been



United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (R) watches as Ambassador Abdul-Amir Al-Anbari of Iraq signs the oil sale accord.

Iraq marketer approaches potential buyers in Europe

Reuters

LONDON-Iraq's State Oil Marketing Organization (SOMO) has already approached potential buyers of the country's crude oil in Europe immediately after Baghdad signed an oil-for-food agreement with the United Nations, European refiners said. Sent by SOMO's Executive Director General Saddam Z. Hassan in Baghdad on the same day the deal was agreed, the letter said export facilities at Ceyhan, Turkey were ready to start exports of Kirkuk crude and possibly Basrah Light, and the Al Bakr terminal in the Mideast Gulf was ready to begin shipping Basrah Light and possibly Fao Blend. The speed at which SOMO established contact with its old customers after six years of isolation surprised many. But Iraq has long been known for its oil marketing savvy and good contract with Western oil companies, trades said.

discussed informally, but indicated that officials were still debating whether to keep Iraqi oil out of the United States to ensure that policy toward Iraq and Iran remained consistent. The United States imposed a unilateral trade embargo on Iran last year.

A spokesman for U.S. major Mobil Corp., which used to import Iraqi oil before sanctions, said: "If the terms are fully met, and the U.S. and U.N. agree to allow Iraq to sell oil, then our view would be that U.S. companies should have the same opportunities as foreign

companies to buy Iraqi crude." British-registered companies were the most numerous on the U.N. list, but many were trading subsidiaries of U.S. firms and some have vanished from official records in Companies House since they were registered.

British companies included trading arms of major oil firms like British Petroleum Co Plc, U.S. Coastal Corp. and Royal Dutch /Shell; financial institutions such as Salomon Brothers' Phibro; and many small private companies such as Taurus Petroleum Services Ltd, currently active in trading Russian crude oil. Amongst the biggest corporate entities in the world are little-known middlemen hoping to get a share of the Iraqi pie. Some of the smaller British companies named on the list, such as International Bunkeroil Brokers Ltd, are no longer registered companies in Britain and one, Delaney Petroleum (UK) Ltd, was in liquidation, an official at Britain's Companies House said.

Well-known international energy traders based in Switzerland were well represented, with names such as Marc Rich Co (now Glencore), Hermitage Resources AG, Addax BV and Tempotrade SA all there.

Whichever companies sign contracts for the oil, much of it is expected to end up in the Mediterranean, in countries such as Spain and Italy.

Spain's CEPSA said on Tuesday it may use Iraqi oil but the other big Spanish refiner, Repsol, said it was unlikely to. A spokesman for Italy's ENI said it too could be among potential buyers.

Eurocopter sees \$500 million Turkish contract soon

By Burak Bekdil
Turkish Daily News

MARIGNANE, France—The world's second largest helicopter manufacturer Eurocopter SA is expecting to conclude year-long discussions with Turkish authorities for the co-production of 30 SAR/CSAR utility Cougar helicopters, the company's officials said in its main manufacturing unit in southern France.

The said talks with Turkey's Defense Industry Undersecretariat (SSM), the procurement agency, were progressing well and an agreement was in sight for the nearly \$500 million project. "The discussions have been tense, I should say. However, I am confident that a deal will be reached in the weeks to come," said Luc Barriere, Eurocopter's vice president for Europe.

Eurocopter, which has been negotiating with Turkey for a batch of 30 Cougars since June 1995, delivered today the last pair of 20 Cougars as part of an earlier deal signed on Oct. 8, 1993.

The program, which was direct purchase, cost Turkey \$253 million. A Turkish delegation, chaired by the SSM's acting undersecretary, Veyssel Yayan, was in Marignane on Monday for the delivery ceremony.

Eurocopter officials are confident of winning the second contract despite controversy. There were reports that the talks between the SSM and Eurocopter were close to failure because of heavy political pressure during the premiership of Tansu Çiller, who allegedly gave instructions to the Turkish bureaucrats for the direct purchase of the 30.

Talks reportedly returned to normal after Eurocopter agreed on co-production after the Dec. 24 election in Turkey.

Turkey and Eurocopter have not yet agreed on the share of Turkish participation in the proposed co-production program. "We are continuing talks to finalize the details, such as delivery schedule etc. We have not

yet come to a conclusion as to the share of local content," explains Didier Renaux, deputy director for industrial projects and offset programs.



There were reports that Eurocopter had already agreed on nearly 20 percent Turkish participation but the SSM was pressing for larger local content.

"In fact what matters is not the quantity of the local content only, but also its quality. And our offer contains a high-quality profile of Turkish participation in terms of technology transfer and other elements," said Renaux. Eurocopter's proposal for the co-production sees the Ankara-based Aerospace Industries Inc. (TAI), which manufactures F-16 fighter planes, as prime-sub-contractor for the airframe from development phase to delivery.

Engine parts manufacture assembly and test will be carried out by the TEI, the engine producer. Other

Turkish companies including the military electronics producer Aselsan and privately-owned companies Hema and communications equipment manufacturer Netas will be involved in main equipment manufacture, assembly and tests.

The proposal offer offset commitments of 50 percent of the imported part, mainly based on the industrialization and production of future attack helicopter Tiger. Direct economic benefits for the Turkish defense industry are estimated at 5,500 men/years according to Eurocopter officials.

The helicopter manufacturer is pledging to establish the Turkish helicopter industry through local production of additional Cougars; maintenance and upgrade of Turkey's Cougar fleet; and participation in production of new Eurocopter products such as Tiger.

Would Eurocopter withdraw from negotiations if Turkey insists on larger local content?

No, replied Jean-Pierre Dubreuil, director of the board's executive cabinet. "We shall not give up. We believe that we have to get as close as possible to Turkish industry. I am sure there is going to be an agreement at some stage," he said.

Defense industry experts say Turkey has become a lucrative market for the world's helicopter manufacturers, who are suffering from a contraction in market. World demand for helicopters, civilian and military, is hovering around 600 to 700 at the moment and is declining. "This is why we are fighting to win new contracts," said Dubreuil.

Eurocopter, a partnership between France's state-run Aerospatiale and German DASA, did not report any profits last year. Its consolidated turnover was around \$1.76 billion, half of which came from exports. Eurocopter has so far sold 10,825 helicopters to customers in 127 countries.

Turkey has 50 Eurocopter platforms in its fleet.

DEUTSCHLAND

BLANKER TERROR

Kurdische Demonstranten schlugen brutal auf einen wehrlos am Boden liegenden Polizisten ein



SPUREN DER GEWALT

Das Gesicht des Polizeikommissars Rolf Feger ist blutverschmiert. Noch heute benötigt der verprügelte Beamte eine Gehhilfe.

PKK

Eiskalt abgedrückt?

Bei Krawallen im März soll ein Kurde versucht haben, einen BGS-Beamten zu erschießen

Hermann Anhuth war zur richtigen Zeit am richtigen Ort. Gegen 12.30 Uhr des 16. März kann der Kameramann aus Essen aufnehmen, was Millionen Zuschauer am Abend schockiert am Bildschirm verfolgen: Mit Kanthölzern, Eisenstangen und Schlagringen prügeln besessene Anhänger der terroristischen Kurdischen Arbeiterpartei PKK auf einen Polizisten ein.

Kommissar Rolf Feger hat keine Chance, sich zu wehren. Er liegt am Boden. Seine Peiniger haben ihm die Waffe abgenommen. Führende Polizeibeamte sind heute davon überzeugt, daß die Angreifer in „blanker Tötungsabsicht“ handelten.

Vier Stunden nach der brutalen Attacke auf den Polizisten sind nur ein halbes Dutzend Beamte des Bundesgrenzschutzes (BGS) Augenzeugen, als es „Soldaten“ von PKK-Führer Abdullah Öcalan gelingt, drei deutschen Sicherheitskräften ihre Schußwaffen abzunehmen.

Einer der fanatischen Rädelsführer – das sollen mehrere Beamte beobachtet haben – richtet eine der erbeuteten Dienstpistolen „in Bauchhöhe“ gegen einen BGS-Mann und drückt ab. Bernhard Wollek* hat Glück: Er überlebt, weil die Waffe „vorschriftswidrig nicht durchgeladen und entspannt“ war, also keine Patrone im Lauf der Pistole saß.

Adolf Wunder, Sprecher im Krefelder Polizeipräsidium, erklärte auf FOCUS-Anfrage, daß in dieser Sache nicht ermittelt werde. Die Staatsschutzabteilung arbeitet die Ausschreitungen an der Autobahn A 3 nahe des deutsch-niederländischen Grenzübergangs Elten auf.

Hohe Beamte des Bundesgrenzschutzpräsidiums in Bonn bestätigen

*Name von der Redaktion geändert

gegenüber FOCUS den versuchten Anschlag auf ihren Kollegen in Elten. Dennoch scheuen sie sich, konkrete Aussagen zu machen.

Was im Sprachjargon der Ermittlungen unpräzise als „Eskalation“ bezeichnet wird, könnte für den Beamten, dem die Waffe gehört, disziplinarische Konsequenzen haben. Abgesehen vom Verstoß gegen Dienstvorschriften für „die einsatztechnische Vorbereitung“, muß der Besitzer der Waffe damit rechnen, daß sich „Kräfte seiner Einheit künftig weigern, mit ihm zu arbeiten, weil er womöglich vorsätzlich den Einsatz der Schußwaffe „persönlich reglementiert“, heißt es bei den Grenzschützern.

„Viel schwerer könnte ins Gewicht fallen“, vermutet Klaus Steffenhagen, stellvertretender Vorsitzender der Gewerkschaft der Polizei (GdP), daß der Beamte Wollek den Staatsschützern „noch keinen Hinweis auf das brutale Vorgehen der Kurden geliefert“ habe. Damit könnte er sich unter Umständen, so Steffenhagen, „dem Vorwurf des Verschleierns von Straftatbeständen aussetzen“.

MIT SCHUTZSCHILD UND HELM

Bundesgrenzschützer unterstützen Polizisten gegen Kurdengewalt



„Der Kollege vom BGS liefert bislang keinen Hinweis auf das brutale Vorgehen der Kurden“

GdP-VIZE KLAUS STEFFENHAGEN

DEUTSCHLAND



KURDISCHER AUFWIEGLER

PKK-Chef Abdullah Öcalan lenkt die Extremisten aus dem syrischen Exil

GEWALTBEREITE DEMONSTRANTEN

Bei den Ausschreitungen zum kurdischen Neujahrsfest im März wurden 22 Polizisten und Bundesgrenzschützer verletzt



Grenzschutzinterner Corpsgeist und polizeioffizielle Lesart verhindern anscheinend bislang, daß die extreme Gewaltbereitschaft der Anhänger Öcalans strafrechtlich angemessen verfolgt wird. So ermittelt der Klever Oberstaatsanwalt Reinhard Vogel gegen die marodierenden Kurden der März-Krawalle nur wegen des Verdachts des schweren Landfriedensbruchs und der schweren Körperverletzung. Vogel räumt ein: „Es liegt nahe, die Ermittlungen auf versuchten Totschlag auszudehnen.“

In der Tat. Der geschundene Kommissar Feger leidet noch heute an den Folgen der Kurdenattacke: „Ich hatte Todesangst und mit dem Leben schon abgeschlossen.“ Im Fall Feger, das ergaben FOCUS-Recherchen, geht inzwischen auch der mit den Ermittlungen betraute Staatsschutz Krefeld von „versuchtem Totschlag“ aus.

PKK-Chef Abdullah Öcalan spielte vor Wochen in einem Interview die Vorgänge herunter: „Man muß doch gerecht sein: Zwei Polizisten wurden die Nasen blutig geschlagen.“ Zynismus pur. Feger kann sich bis heute nur mit einer Gehhilfe fortbewegen.

Acht Wochen nach den Ausschreitungen an der A3 wird der Unmut innerhalb der nordrhein-westfälischen Polizei über die unzureichende Vorbereitung auf den Einsatz beim kurdischen Newroz-Fest immer lauter.

Zwischen den Innenministerien Bonn und Düsseldorf klafften vermut-

lich erhebliche Kommunikationslücken. Nur so sei es zu erklären, daß Rolf Feger, seine 23jährige Kollegin Petra S. und 16 weitere Kollegen der Autobahnpolizei in Elten „1500 gewaltbereiten Kurden ausgeliefert waren“, wie ein eingesetzter Polizeibeamter formuliert.

Zwei Tage nach Elten schilderte ein Polizist auf der Jahreshauptversammlung des GdP-Kreisverbands in Viersen seinen Kollegen die Pannen des Einsatzes: „Stundenlang standen Verstärkungskräfte führungslos herum. Der Funkverkehr untereinander wurde durch kurdische Störsender massiv beeinträchtigt.“

Danach seien Bundesgrenzschutz und Sondereinsatzkommandos erst herangeführt, dann aber wieder abgezogen worden, um die Kurden nicht zu provozieren.

Die aus den Niederlanden angereisten Öcalan-Anhänger waren besser vorbereitet: „Die Kurden griffen gezielt an und versuchten, in Dreiergruppen mit äußerster Brutalität einzelne Beamte zu überwältigen und möglichst deren Dienstwaffe an sich zu bringen“, berichtete der Polizeibeamte.

Erste Konsequenz der Erfahrungen von Elten: Grenzschutz-Führungskreise prüfen derzeit, ob die Beamten künftig – aus Sicherheitsgründen – ihre Waffen statt am Gürtel vor der Brust tragen sollen. ■

THOMAS VAN ZÜPTHEN/MICHAEL JACH

Fotos: dpa, Kruse/FOCUS-Magazin

PERISKOP

ATTENTAT

PKK-Boß im Visier

Der Vorsitzende der extremistischen Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan, ist am vergangenen Dienstag in Damaskus nur knapp einem Mordanschlag entgangen. Bei der Explosion einer Bombe, die Unbekannte in Öcalans Wohnung versteckt hatten, wurde niemand verletzt. Dies erfuhr FOCUS aus deutschen Sicherheitskreisen.

Laut westlicher Nachrichtendienste ging der Sprengsatz in einem Apartment hoch, das der Guerilla-Boß für Treffen mit hohen PKK-Funktionären genutzt hatte. Ein Vertrauter des PKK-Chefs erklärte gegenüber FOCUS, daß Öcalan sich zum Zeitpunkt der Explosion nicht in der Wohnung aufgehalten habe. Er sei rechtzeitig von seinem Sicherheitsdienst über einen drohenden Anschlag informiert worden. Öcalan sei wohl auf und fest entschlossen, seine Anhänger künftig von Gewaltaktionen in Deutschland abzuhalten.



Bombe überlebt: PKK-Chef Öcalan und Kämpfer

Über die Bombenleger gibt es derzeit keine sicheren Erkenntnisse. Der türkische Geheimdienst MIT, der Öcalan seit Jahren im Visier hat, schreckte bislang vor spektakulären Operationen auf syrischem Gebiet zurück. In Europa gingen Ankaras Agenten indes hart gegen PKK-Kader vor.

Nach bislang unbestätigten Meldungen soll die israelische Luftwaffe kürzlich bei ihren Einsätzen gegen die Hisbollah im Libanon auch Ausbildungslager der PKK bombardiert haben. Westliche Nachrichtendienste schließen nicht aus, daß dies auf Wunsch der türkischen Regierung geschah.

„Der Kanzler ist mein Vorbild“

Der türkische Ministerpräsident Mesut Yılmaz über Regierungskrise, Kurden und das Verhältnis zu Deutschland

SPIEGEL: Herr Ministerpräsident, Sie sind der erste türkische Regierungschef, der mit dem SPIEGEL ein Gespräch auf Deutsch führt. Sie haben vor über 20 Jahren in Köln studiert und besuchen jetzt die Bundesrepublik erstmals als Premier. Glauben Sie noch an die vielbeschworene deutsch-türkische Freundschaft?

Yılmaz: Diese Freundschaft bleibt sehr wichtig, besonders für uns Türken. Sie war ja immer eher eine türkisch-deutsche als eine deutsch-türkische Freundschaft.

SPIEGEL: Eine unerwiderte Liebe?

Yılmaz: Nicht ganz. Aber wir müssen unsere Beziehungen realistisch beurteilen. Und da muß die Türkei einsehen, daß sie für aufgetretene Mißverständnisse und Irritationen eine weitaus größere Verantwortung trägt, als wir bisher eingeräumt haben.

SPIEGEL: Was haben Sie falsch gemacht?

Yılmaz: Wir waren zu lange nicht bereit, Schwächen unserer Demokratie offen zu diskutieren. Ob es um Menschenrechte, Meinungsfreiheit oder Gewerkschaften geht – in manchen Bereichen haben wir einfach eine Menge nachzuholen.

SPIEGEL: Und über das Sündenregister der Bundesrepublik sehen Sie großzügig hinweg? Haben Ausländerhaß und rechtsradikale Übergriffe Ihr Bild von Deutschland nicht getrübt?

Yılmaz: Hinter diesen Vorfällen steckt nur eine kleine Minderheit. Die Bundesregierung und auch die deutsche Öffentlichkeit haben solche Taten scharf verurteilt, die Behörden haben entsprechende Maßnahmen ergriffen. Deshalb: Stel-

len wir Türken uns lieber unserer eigenen Verantwortung, statt immer nur mit dem Finger auf die andere Seite zu zeigen.

SPIEGEL: Für viele Anschläge auf türkische Einrichtungen sind radikale Kurden verantwortlich. Daß die Bundesrepublik zum Schauplatz innertürkischer Konflikte geworden ist, kostet Ihr Land viel Sympathie.

Yılmaz: Wir müssen zwei Dinge unterscheiden: Zum einen haben wir es mit separatistischem Terrorismus zu tun. Zum

anderen wird behauptet, daß türkische Bürger kurdischer Abstammung diskriminiert oder gar mißhandelt werden.

SPIEGEL: Das eine ist die Folge des anderen. Die Kurden rebellieren, weil sie unterdrückt werden.

Yılmaz: Terror darf auf keinen Fall gerechtfertigt oder geduldet werden. Wo er auftritt, muß er mit Gewalt bekämpft werden. Das tut jeder Staat auf der Welt. Terror verursacht Repression, genau darauf legen es die Unruhestifter ja auch an.



Yılmaz (r.) beim SPIEGEL-Gespräch*: „Die Türkei darf nicht aus Europa ausgegrenzt werden“

Der Machtkampf

in der Türkei hat die Regierungskoalition von Ministerpräsident Mesut Yılmaz und seiner Vorgängerin Tansu Çiller nach nur zwei Monaten an den Rand des Bruchs gebracht. Das Zweckbündnis war am 12. März vor allem auf Drängen der Militärs entstanden, die so eine Regierungsbeteiligung der islamistischen Wohlfahrtspartei verhindern wollten. Die beiden Erz-

rivalen vereinbarten für ihre Koalitionszeit ein Rotationsprinzip: Bis Ende des Jahres will Yılmaz die Regierung führen, danach soll Çiller für zwei Jahre das Amt übernehmen, um es 1999 wieder an Yılmaz zurückzugeben. Doch Korruptionsvorwürfe gegen Çiller stellten Ende voriger Woche das Abkommen in Frage. Yılmaz, 48, studierte in Köln Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften und war vor seinem Eintritt in die Politik als Unternehmer tätig.

* Mit Redakteuren Dieter Bednarz und Romain Leick in Istanbul.

SPIEGEL: Haben Sie denn Verständnis dafür, daß die Deutschen es leid sind, für Fehler und Versäumnisse der türkischen Kurdenpolitik zu büßen?

Yilmaz: Wir haben die Bundesregierung lange genug gewarnt, daß diese Auswüchse auch auf Deutschland übergreifen würden. Damit haben wir recht behalten.

SPIEGEL: Der Schlüssel zur Beendigung der Gewalt liegt aber doch in Ankara.

Yilmaz: Natürlich darf uns die Terrorbekämpfung nicht davon abhalten, Mißstände abzustellen. Das haben wir leider allzu lange nicht getan. Für die türkischen Regierungen der letzten Jahre reduzierte sich die sogenannte Kurdenfrage auf eine militärische Aufgabe.

SPIEGEL: Daran hat sich doch nichts geändert. Die Militärs greifen mit ihrer traditionellen Frühjahrsoffensive erneut hart durch und verkünden auch diesmal wieder die endgültige Vernichtung der radikalen Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK).

Yilmaz: Ja, solche Operationen sind ihre Pflicht, und die Streitkräfte haben zweifellos beachtliche Erfolge erzielt. Fast die Hälfte unserer Armee steht in Südostanatolien...

SPIEGEL: ... weit über 100 000 Soldaten, ein regelrechter Bürgerkrieg.

Yilmaz: Zur Zeit hat die Armee die absolute Kontrolle. Der Chef dieser Terrorgruppe PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, droht mit Selbstmordattentaten in den Städten, aber seit zwei Monaten haben seine Killerkommandos keine einzige Aktion mehr gewagt.

SPIEGEL: Freuen Sie sich nicht zu früh.

Yilmaz: Ich meine, die PKK ist dazu nicht mehr in der Lage. Auch die ländlichen Gebiete befinden sich unter Kontrolle unserer Sicherheitskräfte.

SPIEGEL: Die Wirklichkeit sieht doch so aus, daß die linksradikale PKK politisch immer stärker wird. Sie macht sich weltweit zum Symbol für den Freiheitswillen des kurdischen Volkes.

Yilmaz: Ja, unsere militärischen Fortschritte haben uns politisch wenig genutzt, im Gegenteil. Wir müssen nun feststellen, daß die Frage dadurch erst recht hochgespielt und internationalisiert worden ist.

SPIEGEL: Sie selbst haben zum kurdischen Neujahrsfest Newroz eine Wen-

de angekündigt. Zu welchen Kompromissen sind Sie bereit?

Yilmaz: Zuerst einmal: Wir wissen nicht genau, wie viele türkische Bürger kurdischer Abstammung es gibt, vielleicht 8 Millionen, vielleicht auch 15 Millionen. Aber fest steht, daß ungefähr zwei Drittel in anderen Gebieten der Türkei als Südostanatolien leben, und die sind völlig assimiliert. Deshalb sprechen wir nicht von einem Kurden-, sondern von einem Südostproblem.

SPIEGEL: Solche Versprechungen haben wir von Ihren Vorgängern auch schon gehört – doch es ist bei Lippenbekenntnissen geblieben.

Yilmaz: Wir haben beispielsweise Veröffentlichungen auf Kurdisch erlaubt. Doch diese Freiheiten, die wir durch Gesetzesänderungen gewährt haben, wurden in der Praxis von den Sicherheitskräften nicht voll umgesetzt. Fernsehen oder Schulunterricht in kurdischer Sprache sind noch immer verboten. Ein in den

achtziger Jahren gestartetes, riesiges regionales Entwicklungsprojekt, das seit fünf Jahren völlig stillsteht, haben wir jetzt wieder in Gang gebracht. Das wird das Schicksal der Region wenden. Im Jahre 2010 könnte der Südosten durch dieses Entwicklungsprogramm mit seinen über 20 Staudämmen zu einem der reichsten Gebiete der Türkei werden. Wenn das klappt, erledigt sich der Konflikt von selbst.

SPIEGEL: Und wenn die Reformen auch diesmal wieder scheitern, weil Ihrer Regierung am Ende die Durchsetzungskraft fehlt?

Yilmaz: Wenn es uns nicht gelingt, die Kurdenfrage in absehbarer Zeit endgültig zu lösen, wird die Türkei nach der Jahrtausendwende kein mächtiges Land, keine regionale Großmacht mehr sein.

SPIEGEL: Wann wollen Sie Ihre Truppen aus Südost abziehen?

Yilmaz: Schon Ende Juni werden wir den Ausnahmezustand in Südostanatolien völlig aufheben oder allenfalls noch in zwei, drei Provinzen an den Grenzen zu Iran und zum Irak weiter aufrechterhalten. Die militärischen Sicherheits-



Protest gegen Menschenrechtsverletzungen in Istanbul: „Eine Menge Fehler gemacht“



Yilmaz-Rivalen Erbakan, Çiller: „Historische Verantwortung“

Das geht über die ethnische Definition weit hinaus.

SPIEGEL: Wie immer Sie den Konflikt nennen – wie wollen Sie ihn lösen?

Yilmaz: Wir werden die lokalen Verwaltungen im Südosten stärken und ihnen mehr Selbstverantwortung einräumen. Durch den Flaschenhals Ankara läßt sich nicht mehr alles pressen. Und wir werden auch die kulturellen Reformen vorantreiben, mit denen wir Ende der achtziger Jahre angefangen hatten.

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maßnahmen sollen dann von zivilen Behörden übernommen werden, von speziell ausgebildeten Kräften, wie sie Spanien etwa gegen die separatistische Terrororganisation Eta einsetzt. Das Militär soll künftig nur noch für die Landesverteidigung sorgen.

SPIEGEL: So wie Jerusalem letztlich mit PLO-Führer Jassir Arafat verhandeln mußte, wird auch Ankara schwerlich um Gespräche mit PKK-Chef Öcalan herkommen, wenn die Region wirklich befriedet werden soll.

Yılmaz: O nein, ich glaube nicht, daß irgendeine türkische Regierung so etwas jemals machen kann. Die Kurden brauchen Öcalan nicht, um ihre Rechte einzufordern. Im Gegenteil: Er ist derjenige, der schnelle Fortschritte verhindert.

SPIEGEL: Und wenn Öcalan dem Terror abschwört, so wie Arafat das auch getan hat?

Yılmaz: Öcalan ist verantwortlich für den Tod von 20 000 Menschen. Er ist ein Massenmörder. Keine Schwüre können das wiedergutmachen.

SPIEGEL: Der Kurdenkonflikt vergiftet bisher auch die Beziehungen zur Europäischen Union. Werden Sie in Bonn darauf drängen, daß Kanzler Kohl sich für einen zügigen Beitritt der Türkei zur EU stark macht?

Yılmaz: Unser EU-Beitritt ist in der Türkei immer ein aktuelles Thema. Aber ich sehe das ganz realistisch: Wir sind zur Zeit einfach noch nicht reif für die Vollmitgliedschaft, vor allem wirtschaftlich nicht. Nur müssen wir zumindest eine Perspektive haben, etwa daß wir bald nach der Jahrtausendwende vollwertig

„Fast alles spielt zur Zeit den Islamisten in die Hände“

in die EU integriert werden. Die Zollunion, die Anfang dieses Jahres in Kraft trat, ist nur eine Zwischenetappe, keine Endstation. Doch leider hören wir immer wieder, daß gerade Deutschland – mehr noch als Griechenland – Widerstand gegen unsere Vollmitgliedschaft leistet.

SPIEGEL: Aus Angst vor einer großen Einwanderungswelle, wenn die Freizügigkeit innerhalb der EU auch für die Türkei gilt . . .

Yılmaz: . . . ich weigere mich aber zu glauben, daß Deutschland die Türkei aus Europa ausgrenzt. Die Bundesregierung darf diese Frage nicht aus nationaler egoistischer Sicht beurteilen, denn sie ist auch für Europa von strategischer Bedeutung.

SPIEGEL: Was, glauben Sie, ist denn der wahre Grund für das Zögern der Europäer? Ihr früherer Mentor, der

verstorbene Staatspräsident Turgut Özal, vermutete, daß das christliche Abendland einfach keinen Moslemstaat aufnehmen wolle.

Yılmaz: Vor 50 Jahren existierten auf der Welt eigentlich nur zwei bedeutende unabhängige islamische Staaten: die Türkei und Iran. Jetzt gibt es über 50, aber wieder sind es nur zwei, Türkei und Iran, die Wegweiser für die Entwicklung in der islamischen Welt sind.

SPIEGEL: Die beiden Länder repräsentieren diametral entgegengesetzte Modelle: Teheran den fundamentalistischen Gottesstaat, Ankara die laizistische Republik.

Yılmaz: Genau. Aber ob wir diesen Weg weitergehen können, hängt entscheidend von der Haltung der EU und damit auch Deutschlands ab. Wir sind das einzige Land in der islamischen Welt, das demokratisch und laizistisch ist. Aber ohne westliche Unterstützung können wir diese Werte in der islamischen Welt womöglich nicht mehr lange verteidigen. Wir brauchen die Integration in die EU, um auf unserem Weg weitergehen zu können. Wenn sich Europa als Christengemeinschaft versteht, dann besorgt es das Geschäft der Islamisten in der Türkei.

SPIEGEL: Die Gefahr, daß die Islamisten die Macht übernehmen, scheint größer denn je. Bei den letzten Parlamentswahlen ist die Wohlfahrtspartei stärkste Kraft geworden. Wie lange können sie noch von der Regierung ferngehalten werden?

Yılmaz: Fast alles spielt zur Zeit den Islamisten in die Hände: die wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten, unsere Ausgrenzung aus Europa, die Anstrengungen einiger islamischer Länder, das türkische Gegenmodell zu vernichten. Auch die lange Untätigkeit des Westens in Bosnien, die Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber Tschetschenien, die Parteinahme für Armenien gegen Aserbaidschan schüren Ressentiments, von denen die Islamisten bei uns profitieren.

SPIEGEL: Aber ist das Erstarken der Fundamentalisten in der Türkei nicht vor allem eine Folge der Schwäche und Zerstrittenheit der bürgerlichen Parteien? Ihre Regierung steht nach nur zwei Monaten praktisch vor dem Ende – vor allem, weil Sie mit Ihrer Koalitionspartnerin Tansu Çiller so heillos verkracht sind, daß sie womöglich ihre Minister aus dem Kabinett zurückzieht.

Yılmaz: Unsere Parteien und auch wir beide persönlich sind Erzrivalen. Wir haben uns jahrelang bekämpft, das kann man nicht in zwei Monaten vergessen.

SPIEGEL: Viele Abgeordnete Ihrer Partei haben mit der Opposition für die

Einsetzung von zwei parlamentarischen Untersuchungsausschüssen gestimmt, die Korruptionsvorwürfe gegen Frau Çiller prüfen sollen. Das kann das Todesurteil für die Koalition bedeuten.

Yılmaz: Ich habe meiner Fraktion keinen Zwang auferlegt, es handelt sich um eine Wissensfrage. Ein Teil hat für die Untersuchung gestimmt, und Frau Çiller sieht das als Komplott. Ich selbst habe im ersten Fall dagegen, im zweiten dafür votiert, weil ich glaube, daß Frau Çiller da wirklich etwas auf dem Kerbholz hat. Wir haben in unserer Koalitionsvereinbarung die Bekämpfung von

„Ich bewundere Helmut Kohl für seine Gelassenheit“

Korruption ausdrücklich festgeschrieben, da muß sich jeder der Verantwortung stellen.

SPIEGEL: Und Sie glauben dennoch, daß Tansu Çiller Sie im nächsten Jahr wie vorgesehen an der Spitze der Regierung ablösen kann?

Yılmaz: Ich werde meine Verpflichtung erfüllen und alles tun, damit es dazu kommt. Ich bin zuversichtlich, daß die Koalition hält. Frau Çiller hat doch gar keine Alternative.

SPIEGEL: Vielleicht kommen die Islamisten schon bald allein an die Macht.

Yılmaz: Wir sind uns der historischen Verantwortung bewußt. Aber auch Deutschland und Europa sollten ihre Mitverantwortung nicht vergessen. Weimarer Verhältnisse fürchte ich dennoch nicht. Wir hatten in der Vergangenheit viel schlimmere Fälle, und jedesmal haben wir unsere Krisen mit Vernunft und Augenmaß bewältigt.

SPIEGEL: Oder mit dem Militär. Und 1999 sehen Sie sich dann wieder als Ministerpräsident?

Yılmaz: Wenn alles wie abgesprochen verläuft, ja, aber ich gebe zu: Es kann sehr wohl sein, daß wir vorher Neuwahlen abhalten müssen.

SPIEGEL: Helmut Kohl ist nun schon fast 14 Jahre an der Macht. Vielleicht lassen Sie sich von ihm mal erklären, wie man mit Konkurrenten fertig wird.

Yılmaz: Der Kanzler ist mein Vorbild. Ich schätze Helmut Kohl sehr und bewundere ihn für die Gelassenheit, mit Problemen umzugehen. Er ist ein Mann, der sich durch Widrigkeiten nicht beirren läßt. Manchmal vergleicht man mich in der Türkei mit ihm, weil auch ich sehr geduldig bin und mich nicht darum schere, was die Presse so über mich veröffentlicht. Ich werde wie Kohl meinen Weg weitergehen.

SPIEGEL: Herr Ministerpräsident, wir danken Ihnen für dieses Gespräch.

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Irak/pétrole: les négociations avec l'ONU se déroulent bien (presse)

BAGDAD, 13 mai (AFP) - Les négociations entre l'Irak et l'ONU sur l'application d'une résolution du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU prévoyant un allègement de l'embargo imposé à l'Irak se déroulent bien, a affirmé lundi un quotidien officiel irakien.

"Jusqu'à présent, les choses vont bien", a affirmé le journal al-Joumhouriya, qui a cependant averti que les négociations pourraient à nouveau trébucher si les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne s'en mêlaient.

"Le Conseil de sécurité devrait prendre une position stricte pour empêcher deux de ses membres de s'ingérer (dans les négociations) à des fins politiques", a ajouté le journal dans une allusion à Washington et Londres.

"Le rôle du secrétariat général de l'ONU doit se borner à annoncer au Conseil de sécurité qu'un accord a été conclu", a ajouté le journal, insistant sur la nécessité de tenir les Etats-Unis et la Grande Bretagne à l'écart.

Samedi, le négociateur irakien Abdel Amir al-Anbari a déclaré que les pourparlers avec l'ONU allaient "un peu mieux", au lendemain d'une rencontre avec le secrétaire général de l'ONU Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Les discussions entre l'Irak et l'ONU ont repris le 6 mai sur l'application de la résolution 986, qui autorise la reprise sous contrôle de l'ONU d'exportations de pétrole irakiennes pour 2 milliards de dollars par semestre renouvelable afin d'acheter des produits alimentaires et des médicaments.

Washington et Londres avaient demandé en avril des amendements à un mémorandum négocié depuis février entre l'Irak et l'ONU et indiqué vouloir s'assurer que Bagdad respecterait strictement les conditions fixées par l'ONU, notamment sur la distribution des vivres.

Le principal point de blocage porte sur la distribution de la nourriture et des médicaments aux Kurdes du nord de l'Irak, qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad depuis 1991. L'Irak demande à jouer un rôle dans la distribution dans ce secteur, ce que refuse Washington, soutenu par Londres, craignant que Bagdad puisse reprendre un quelconque contrôle politique dans le nord.

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New Inquiry In Ankara Adds Twist to Ciller's Woes

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ANKARA — Prosecutors opened an investigation Tuesday into a man who boasted that he had duped then-Prime Minister Tansu Ciller into giving him money from a government fund.

The incident surfaced Monday evening when a television station ran an interview with a man they identified as Selcuk Parsadan.

Mr. Parsadan said he received \$71,000 after calling Mrs. Ciller on behalf of a retired army chief and promising to encourage 30,000 residents of an Istanbul district to support her True Path party.

Mr. Parsadan already is being tried on embezzlement charges in two separate cases, the prosecutor's office said. He faces up to 27 years in prison if convicted on all charges. In addition, the police issued an arrest warrant for him for eluding a subpoena to testify in the trials.

Mrs. Ciller's executive secretary, Akih Istanbulu, acknowledged that Mr. Parsadan was given the money, but contended that he was supposed to use it to form an association to promote the ideals of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey.

Mrs. Ciller faces two corruption inquiries in Parliament. They were instigated by the Welfare Party, which won the December elections but was unable to form a government, and backed by lawmakers in the Motherland Party of Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz.

The investigations threaten to end Mrs. Ciller's political future, and they put the future of the rightist coalition between True Path and Motherland in doubt. (AP, AFP)

■ Court Rules on Confidence Vote

The constitutional court ruled Tuesday that a confidence vote won in March by Turkey's new government was invalid, but that the shaky coalition should remain in place, Reuters reported from Ankara.

"We have decided nine votes against two to annul the Parliament decision about the vote of confidence," said the court's chairman, Yekta Gungor Ozden.

He said the 11 members of the court voted unanimously to reject a proposal by Welfare to invalidate the government itself. He made no further comment.

Amnesty International: Even the children are tortured in Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Amnesty International, which is currently touring the country introducing its activities to the Turkish public, held their second meeting, in Ankara on Monday evening.

The meeting, similar to the one held in Istanbul last Saturday, introduced to a Turkish audience speakers from the United States, China and Morocco, who spoke on human rights abuses in their own countries.

Carsten Jurgensen, an Amnesty researcher and expert on Turkey, told the Anatolia news agency that there existed systematic and extensive torture in Turkey, and that even children were tortured.

"The remand period in Turkey is very long and this makes it easier for incidents of torture to take place, this is because the long time period allows the marks of torture disappear," Jurgensen told Anatolia.

Referring to the incidents in Manisa, where high school students were tortured by police, Jurgensen said that torture was something that people talked about without even being shocked.

"Even the deputies openly admit that children were tortured in Manisa," he stressed.

"I know that there are a number of upright prosecutors who try to reveal incidents of torture. However, doctors are afraid to give reports on torture," Jurgensen said.

Jurgensen, who also acknowledged that Amnesty faced many obstacles in their research in Turkey, said at the meeting in Istanbul that Amnesty's former researcher for Turkey was deported and that it's current researcher was barred from entering.

The Amnesty delegation will travel to Mersin today, where they will hold their last meeting at the Chamber of Commerce Auditorium.

European Human Rights Commission takes up case of Münir Ceylan

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The individual application made by Münir Ceylan, the former chief of the Petrol-İş labor union, has been accepted by the European Commission on Human Rights.

Ceylan was sentenced to eight months in jail and a fine of TL 100,000 in 1993 for a column he wrote in Yeni Ülke, a newspaper which was closed down subsequently.

Ceylan applied to the commission, saying Turkey had violated the articles of European Declaration of Human Rights on freedom of expression.

The commission announced that the case would be taken up, the Anatolia news agency reported from Strasbourg.

Turkish Daily News — WEDNESDAY, May 15, 1996

Human Rights

Court rejects Kizilkan's demand for release

By Sinan Yilmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A state security court in Diyarbakir has rejected an appeal by Dr. Seyfettin Kizilkan, who is charged with having a bomb and weapons at his house, for his release from prison. Attorney Sezgin Tanrikulu said that the office of the prosecutor had prepared an indictment against Kizilkan, the chairman of the Doctors' Association and the chief doctor of the Social Insurance Hospital in Diyarbakir. Tanrikulu said that the case would be heard at State Security Court No. 4. The date of the commencement of the trial has not yet been set. It has been claimed that the police operation which led to the arrest of Kizilkan was a simple plot. Kizilkan's wife, his attorney and his colleagues claim that charges of the existence of bomb and weapons at Kizilkan's house are the result of a police set up.

Police officers earlier said that they had acted

on a tip and discovered a primed bomb and two pistols in Kizilkan's house. Kizilkan's supporters have made various counterclaims. Policemen went to Kizilkan's house on May 5, 1996 to search the house. Nuray Kizilkan, Kizilkan's wife, claims that policemen searched the house twice.

She says that they asked her to accompany them on the second search during which they went to the balcony where they found a plastic bag containing a bomb, weapons and various organizational documents.

She also says that although some of the officers had run away when the policemen making the search warned that the bomb was ready to go off, others took the plastic bag calmly and left it on the table in the hall before summoning a bomb disposal expert. Kizilkan says that it was strange that the bomb expert policemen entered the hall after only one or two minutes. It is claimed that the two pistols — one belonging to

Seyfettin Kizilkan and the other to his brother Remzi Kizilkan — are licensed. Remzi Kizilkan is claimed to have been out of the house and to have told police where his weapon was and that he had a license to carry it. Remzi Kizilkan claims that the police have lost his license.

Dr. Kizilkan was arrested by the state security court on May 7 after he was taken into custody and sent to Diyarbakir prison. Following his arrest, State Minister Ali Talip Özdemir issued a statement saying that there had been complaints against Kizilkan and that Governor Doğan Hatipoğlu, who was later removed from his post, wanted to dismiss him. This statement was later denied. Hatipoğlu is also claimed to have visited the Doctors' Association before he was sacked and to have written a thank-you letter to Kizilkan.

Hatipoğlu's removal from his post shocked Diyarbakir. Organizations and people with diverse political views launched a campaign to

stop his dismissal. During the farewell party for Hatipoğlu his wife was given lavish gifts.

It is claimed that Kizilkan's arrest is linked to this farewell party. During his speech at the party, Kizilkan is claimed to have said that Hatipoğlu's performance was appreciated by the people and that his dismissal would be a wrong step. Kizilkan also reportedly urged initiatives for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question. It is claimed that such statements were received coldly by the emergency rule region deputy governor and other bureaucrats at the party. According to the allegations, the first link in the chain of events leading to Kizilkan's arrest has forged at Kizilkan's speech to the farewell party. Kizilkan's defenders say that charges that Kizilkan had a bomb in a house only 30 meters from the regional office of the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) do not sound reasonable. People close to Kizilkan claim that his arrest is merely a police set up.

L'investiture du gouvernement turc a été invalidée

La tension s'accroît au sein de la coalition

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Déjà secouée par les accusations de corruption portées contre M^{me} Tansu Ciller, la coalition gouvernementale en Turquie a encaissé un nouveau coup dur mardi 14 mai. La Cour constitutionnelle a en effet annoncé que le vote de confiance accordé, en mars, au gouvernement par l'assemblée nationale n'est pas valide. Selon la Constitution, la coalition du Parti de la Mère patrie (ANAP) et du Parti de la juste voie (DYP) aurait dû obtenir la majorité des votes des députés présents au Parlement. Ce chiffre n'avait pas été atteint, en raison de l'abstention de 80 députés du Parti démocratique de gauche (DSP), présents dans la salle mais qui n'avaient pas voulu s'exprimer.

Cette décision, qui a semé la confusion à Ankara, s'ajoute à plusieurs succès remportés récemment par les islamistes du Refah. Arrivés en tête des élections de décembre 1995, mais écartés du pouvoir par le mariage forcé des deux partis de centre droit que sont l'ANAP et le DYP, les islamistes s'avourent leur vengeance. En forçant l'ouverture de deux enquêtes contre l'ancien premier ministre Tansu Ciller, ils ont déclenché une crise de confiance au sein du gouvernement, au point que le dialogue entre les deux partenaires semble être limité à un échange d'insultes et d'accusations par l'intermédiaire de la presse.

Deux nouvelles affaires sont venues s'ajouter aux accusations portées contre M^{me} Ciller : selon la

presse turque, elle aurait retiré 6,5 millions de dollars d'un fonds secret à la disposition du premier ministre quelques jours seulement avant de quitter le gouvernement. Elle aurait également versé 71 000 dollars à un personnage peu recommandable qui s'était fait passer pour un général à la tête d'une fondation kémaliste. Le parti de M^{me} Ciller prépare une contre-attaque contre les islamistes, à propos de l'affaire Suleyman Mercumek, condamné pour avoir détourné des fonds, récoltés au nom du Refah pour la Bosnie. Des spéculations sur l'origine de la fortune considérable du dirigeant islamiste Necmettin Erbakan et de sa famille ont également fait la « une » des grands quotidiens.

La coalition, qui semble condamnée à moyen terme, a été jusqu'à présent maintenue en vie artificiellement. Ses deux dirigeants - le premier ministre Mesut Yilmaz et Tansu Ciller - espèrent augmenter ainsi leurs chances de réélection lors des congrès de leurs partis respectifs et limiter l'érosion des voix lors des élections municipales partielles du 2 juin.

La décision de la Cour constitutionnelle vient pourtant de remettre en cause cet inconfortable *statu quo*. Elle devrait entraîner un nouveau vote de confiance au Parlement. Mais vu les relations tendues entre les partenaires, il pourrait se révéler difficile, à moins que les deux partis ne parviennent à un nouvel accord.

Nicole Pope

Turkish Daily News — WEDNESDAY, May 15, 1996

US expects Provide Comfort extended with 'some modifications'

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A senior U.S. State Department official told the TDN that he expects Operation Provide Comfort to be extended with "some modifications." The operation, which is up for extension by the Turkish Parliament in June, is expected to be an agenda item during the talks Turkish Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay and Defense Minister Oltan Sungurlu will hold in the last week of May in Washington with Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Secretary of Defense William Perry. "Yes, I do expect the extension of Provide Comfort. I'm sure we'll have good discussions with the Turkish government officials.

"We have to extend Provide Comfort," the senior official said. "We cannot let Saddam Hussein feel that there is some kind of vacuum above the 36th parallel. We're not going to let him get his hands on that turf until he or some other successor government shows that he can govern it in a legal, humane fashion.

That area is going to be protected by the parties that have been protecting since the April of 1991."

Won't listen to Saddam

The TDN asked the senior official what his response was to Baghdad's strong opposition to the recent Turkish incursion into northern Iraq in hot pursuit of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants. "That's tough," the official said. "Saddam Hussein has given up his right to object during the Gulf War, by his treatment of the Kurds in spring of 1991 when he tried to exterminate them. He can complain. We're not going to listen to him."

Gönensay's visit is important

"What matters is the United States and Turkey are together, along with other allies. That's why this is a very important visit by Turkish Foreign Minister. The secretary [Christopher] will see him and he is looking forward to it. We don't expect any problems. We expect continuing good Turkish-U.S. cooperation on Provide Comfort."

When asked if anything would be changed in the operation, "I don't expect any major changes," the official said. "There may be some modifications," he added. "But I'm just not aware of any major changes. Just minor modifications."

'Where is Talat Türkoğlu,' asks the İHD

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The Human Rights Association (İHD) Istanbul Branch held an open-air press conference in Sultanahmet to raise their claim that Talat Türkoğlu has "disappeared" in the state forces' hands.

Talat Türkoğlu has been missing since 1 April. His wife and family claim that Türkoğlu was arrested and is in custody. The İHD said that their queries since 26 April 1996 to Minister of Interior Ülkü Güney, Parliament Speaker Mustafa Kalemli, Parliamentary Commission of Human Rights, Minister of Justice Mehmet Ağar, Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz and President

Süleyman Demirel have not been answered yet.

"We ask to the state once again", said the İHD declaration, "where is Talat Türkoğlu? You who govern us, how long will you continue to keep silent? How long will you continue with 'disappearances' under custody which you have made an open government policy? Until when will you continue to violate the rights of your opponents to life and to be tried by independent courts?"

The İHD declared that if Talat Türkoğlu does not "reappear" alive the responsibility will be on the present government and the existing state mentality.

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Turquie : L'opposition islamiste paralyse le gouvernement
par Hervé COUTURIER

ANKARA, 16 mai (AFP) - L'opposition islamiste est parvenue à paralyser totalement la fragile coalition de droite au pouvoir en Turquie et vient peut-être de lui porter un coup fatal, deux mois seulement après sa formation.

C'est sur un recours du parti islamiste de la Prospérité (Refah), premier parti d'opposition, que la Cour constitutionnelle a annulé mardi le vote de confiance obtenu en mars par le gouvernement de Mesut Yilmaz, le plongeant dans l'incertitude quant à sa survie.

Les plus hautes autorités de l'Etat, le président Suleyman Demirel, le président de l'Assemblée Mustafa Kalemli et M. Yilmaz, ont estimé qu'il n'était pas juridiquement nécessaire pour le gouvernement de solliciter de nouveau la confiance du Parlement, la décision de la Cour n'étant pas rétroactive.

Tout le monde n'est pas de cet avis et la majorité des observateurs estiment que d'un point de vue moral et politique, le gouvernement ne pourra éviter de demander à nouveau la confiance.

"La morale dit: vote de confiance", titrait ainsi le quotidien Yeni Yuzyil jeudi, un avis que partageaient la plupart des éditorialistes.

L'éventualité d'un nouveau vote de confiance pose directement la question de la poursuite de la coalition. Celle-ci, formée entre le parti de la Mère Patrie (ANAP) de M. Yilmaz et celui de la Juste Voie (DYP) de l'ancien Premier ministre Tansu Ciller, rivaux traditionnels et qui se détestent, est en proie aux dissensions et l'un des deux partenaires peut être tenté d'y mettre fin.

Aucune décision ne sera probablement prise avant la publication au Journal Officiel des attendus de la Cour constitutionnelle, qui peut prendre deux semaines, voire un mois.

Pendant ce temps, on ne peut attendre du gouvernement aucun travail d'importance, ce qui ne fera que perpétuer une situation déjà constatée par de nombreux observateurs.

Depuis sa mise en place le 6 mars, le cabinet Yilmaz n'a pas réalisé grand chose, à l'exception de l'adoption d'un budget pour le reste de l'année.

Le programme des privatisations que M. Yilmaz voulait relancer n'a pas avancé d'un pouce. Une délégation du Fonds Monétaire International actuellement à Ankara pour discuter d'un nouveau crédit stand-by à la Turquie et de la situation économique générale en est réduite à rencontrer des bureaucrates à défaut d'interlocuteurs politiques.

La cause principale de cet immobilisme est l'obstruction systématique du Refah, qui "domine totalement le calendrier politique" du pays depuis plusieurs semaines, comme le constate jeudi un éditorialiste du quotidien Cumhuriyet.

Le parti islamiste occupe en effet l'emploi du temps du parlement en déposant motion sur motion contre Mme Ciller, qu'il accuse de corruption et veut faire comparaître en haute cour. Il a réussi à faire adopter deux de

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ces motions, semant la zizanie au sein de la coalition, et affirme avoir encore sept à huit dossiers contre Mme Ciller.

Mécontent d'avoir été écarté du pouvoir malgré sa victoire aux législatives de décembre dernier au profit d'une coalition laïque, il a déposé des recours devant la Cour constitutionnelle contre la façon dont s'est déroulé le vote de confiance et a gagné. Il a ainsi infligé un camouflet au reste de la classe politique, en lui donnant une leçon de Constitution.

Le Refah a aussi obtenu l'annulation, sur les mêmes bases constitutionnelles, du vote qui avait reconduit l'autorisation de séjour en Turquie de la force multinationale "Provide Comfort" de protection des Kurdes d'Irak, à laquelle il est farouchement opposé.

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Irak-Kurdes

Arrestation de 700 Kurdes à Kirkouk (nord de l'Irak), selon l'opposition

NICOSIE, 17 mai (AFP) - L'opposition kurde en Irak a affirmé que la police irakienne avait arrêté le 13 mai 700 civils kurdes dans la ville de Kirkouk (nord de l'Irak), à la limite de la zone contrôlée par Bagdad.

Dans un communiqué reçu vendredi par l'AFP à Nicosie, l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK de Jalal Talabani), une des principales formations de l'opposition kurde irakienne, précise qu'"un nombre très limité des 700 civils arrêtés ont depuis été relâchés et que les autres, soupçonnés d'entretenir des liens avec l'opposition kurde, sont soumis à des interrogatoires, sous la torture".

Selon le communiqué, "ces arrestations font partie des mesures de harcèlement et d'intimidation décidées par Bagdad contre les habitants kurdes de Kirkouk".

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American scientists defend human rights group in Turkey

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The human rights committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) kicked off a campaign to protest the Turkish government's case against the Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TIHV)'s centers for treatment of torture victims.

In an action alert, dated May 14, 1996, sent to its members, AAAS mentioned the indictment brought by the Adana chief prosecutor's office against Dr.

Tufan Köse and lawyer Mustafa Kılınc, who both work for TIHV's Adana center.

Köse and Kılınc were charged on May 10 under Articles 526 and 530 of the Turkish Penal Code with "operating an unlicensed health center" and "negligence in denouncing a crime" —

crimes carrying a sentence of up to six months in prison and stiff fines.

The prosecutor also asked officials of TIHV's Adana center to turn over their patients' records to the court. Indictments similar to these "are reportedly being prepared against the Foundation's torture treatment centers in Ankara and İstanbul," AAAS claimed.

AAAS recommended that its members to send faxes and letters to the Turkish government requesting the following:

"Drop all requests for the Foundation's medical files on the grounds that they fall under the protection of doctor-patient confidentiality established under the Geneva Convention;" and "Drop all charges against the Foundation, a legal organization in Turkey which is duly registered with the authorities."

Quarrel between TIHV and Foreign Ministry spreads

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The tension between the Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TIHV) and the Foreign Ministry worsened after the ministry filed suit, claiming that the TIHV's treatment centers for torture victims were illegal. The TIHV issued a harsh response to the statement by Foreign Ministry Deputy Spokesman Nurettin Nurkan which said: "Rehabilitation and treatment centers are illegal as no formal application was made." Yavuz Onen, chairman of TIHV, responded that the foundation was not under the control of the Foreign Ministry but of the General Directorate of Foundations.

At a press conference, Foreign Ministry spokesman Nurkan stated: "As there was no formal application, the rehabilitation and treatment centers are not legal. In civilized countries these centers are under the strict control and management of the government. Officials will do what is necessary."

TIHV Chairman Onen responded to these claims in a written statement yesterday. He indicated that the foundation had been treating torture victims at four centers and had helped more than 2500 torture victims since 1990. "There are three social service specialists, eight doctors, three psychiatrists and two medical secretaries working at the four centers and about 300 volunteer specialists who are contributing. In civilized countries, gov-

ernments are not authorized to maintain strict controls but they undertake legal functions within the framework of democratic cooperation in social duties," said Onen. The TIHV chairman added: "It is known that such centers carry on their activities without being pressured. We want to recall once more that TIHV is under the administrative and financial control of the General Directorate of Foundations, not the Foreign Ministry. Our foundation has been controlled regularly since 1995 by this organization. TIHV doesn't have a responsibility to inform the Foreign Ministry of the names of people who apply to our centers. The ministry to whom we have been sending our publications for six years did not make such a request."

Onen claimed that Nurettin Nurkan has been violating the law by making accusations and threatening statements in a field in which he is not authorized. "This is an effort to put pressure on the courts while the case is going on. We want him to explain by which aim and duty he called the information and security units to a meeting whose sole subject was the TIHV, and what kind of measures against us were decided on at the meeting," said Onen. "If he considers himself authorized and responsible, we call on him to reveal what kinds of initiatives he has taken on the issues of torture, death under torture (like Metin Göktepe) and torture crimes."

Pro-PKK activist to be released from jail

Dissenting Judge: Xulam has demonstrated ability to obtain false travel and other documents

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON. The pro-PKK activist known as Kani Xulam is expected to be released from jail in Los Angeles on Wednesday following the revoking of his detention order by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia. Xulam's trial for passport fraud will proceed as usual at a Los Angeles court. Xulam, who is arrested on April 12 for obtaining a passport by adopting the identity of an 18-month old baby, has been referred to as "a PKK friend" by Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan.

As an officer of the American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN), Xulam was a familiar figure around Washington, frequently showing up to Congressional testimonies and think-tank conferences to condemn the Turkish government's anti-PKK policies. During President Süleyman Demirel's Washington visit in March 1996, Xulam was seen leading a group of Kurdish protesters and carrying the PKK flag.

In the decision to revoke the pretrial detention order, two appeal court judges (Wald, and Tatel) voted for it while Judge Ginsburg voted against.

In his dissent statement, Judge Ginsburg said, "Why my colleagues take it upon themselves to become advocates for the defendant — who is zealously represented by counsel of his own — is a mystery to me."

In describing the reason to release Xulam, judges Wald and Tatel described Xulam as "an international human rights worker resident in the District of Columbia for over three years and a well-known and admired member of the national human rights community."

Maximum six months

If convicted, Xulam is likely to face a maximum sentence of six months under federal sentencing guidelines, and not ten years as suggested earlier by U.S. State Department deputy spokesman.

"In every category mentioned in the statute, this appellant was a prime candidate for release," the judges said and mentioned that he was charged with a nonviolent crime, had no prior criminal record, he was employed and "had a wide circle of respected acquaintances and close friends in the community who testified as to his 'spiritual' and 'intellectual' integrity." Judges Wald and Tatel thought that the government did not satisfy "its burden of showing a risk of flight."

Given the fact that Xulam is committed "to advocating his Kurdish cause in the United States," he would not flee "since the only way he can pursue that cause is publicly, within the human rights community, and disappearing or fleeing would render him permanently impotent in that respect," the judges argued.

They also repeated the assurances Sister Patricia Krommer and Mrs. Kathryn Cameron Porter (wife of Rep. John Porter) gave at the D.C. District Court to make sure that Xulam would indeed appear at the court after his release. Mrs. Porter even offered to give Xulam a room at her home.

Immense harm

"In view of the immense harm to their reputation that Sister Krommer and Ms. Porter would suffer if the appellant were to flee and the appellant's offer that he would comply with any conditions of release imposed upon him, the government failed to provide by a preponderance of the evidence that 'no condition or combination of conditions' would 'reasonably assure' the appellant's appearance in court," the judges argued. Noting that "there is no outstanding deportation order against" Xulam, the judges never-

theless noted that even if Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) wanted to detain Xulam it cannot keep him in custody for more than 48 hours. "The fact that a detainee has been lodged does not mean that appellant necessarily will be taken into custody by the INS if released by this court."

Ginsburg's dissent

In his dissent, Judge Ginsburg argued that the INS' inclination to pursue Xulam is "entirely irrelevant" to "our responsibility to assure that the defendant does not flee in contemplation of his possible deportation."

After summarizing the way Xulam changed his name three times since 1986, he reminded "because the defendant is apparently subject to deportation as an illegal alien — the INS has instituted an investigation and lodged a detainer against him — and has a demonstrated ability to obtain false travel and other documents, the government suggested that the risk he would flee is sufficiently high that he should be detained pending trial."

Leap of faith

Ginsburg reminded that the witnesses' familiarity with Xulam was superficial. "They did not know his name, other names he has used, where he is from and where his family is... Nor did they know his immigration status... Nothing in the witnesses' testimony suggests that the defendant would be amenable to supervision by any of them," Ginsburg said and asked: "Do my colleagues know something that the District Court does not?" Referring to the "immense harm" that Xulam's failure to appear at court would cause to the reputation of Sister Krommer and Mrs. Porter, Judge Ginsburg said "this is nothing more than a leap of faith on the part of my colleagues." By revoking the detention order "unconditionally," the judges were giving Xulam more than what he wanted since "the defendant at least proposed that he be released into the custody of one of his two acquaintances," Ginsburg said.

HADEP: Turkish institutions are not based on democratic principles

'The general political deadlock in the country can only be solved by stopping the current war'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) whose party assemble convened on Tuesday to discuss the latest political developments in the country has issued a press release regarding its evaluations.

Referring to the recent ruling of the Constitutional Court, that the vote of confidence received by the center-right government was invalid, HADEP said that the current minority government no longer had a legal basis.

"This government, which was formed after early general elections to ensure that the country overcomes the crisis that it is in, failed to do any good like the previous ones. Apparently, the general political deadlock in the country can only be solved by stopping the current war," the release said.

In reference to the current Parliament, HADEP said that it was negatively affected by a constitution which is the product of a coup d'etat, the National Security Council (MGK) and other powers.

HADEP also stressed that Parliament had been formed by an electoral system which would never be used in a democratic country.

In its evaluation of the May Day incidents, HADEP said that it was not the riots of "shanty youngsters" who "set cars on fire," "break windows" and "tread on tulips" as presented by the media and the supporters of war.

"The media, by drawing attention to these incidents, aimed to prevent the public from hearing the voices of hundreds of people crying for peace and democracy. In a way they have achieved their goal.

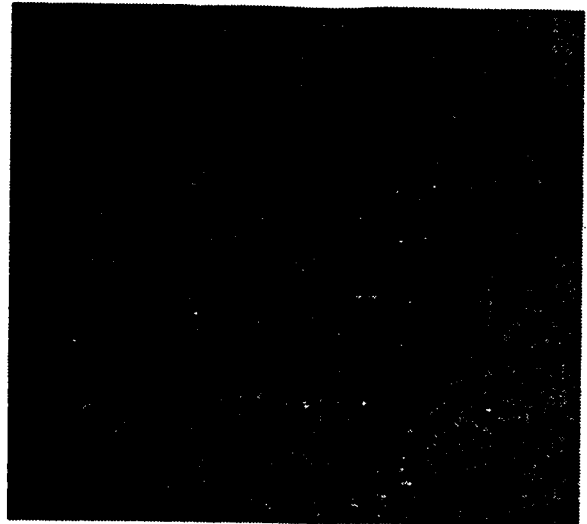
However, this will not last forever. Sooner or later the public will know that the masses got angry once the police started shooting at them and three young people lost their lives," the release said.

HADEP went on to say that the masses had reached the breaking point because of the military courts, leaders like mafia fathers, inflation, torture, the lack of freedom of thought, unemployment, the unjust legal system in the country and inequality. "However, nobody wants to take all these into consideration when evaluating the May Day incidents," the release added.

Referring to the war between the state and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), HADEP said that certain people were exploiting this war for their financial gains and were trying to increase the tensions.

"Turkey should have to admit that it cannot achieve anything through bloodshed, and it has to adopt a democratic approach to safeguard its citizens from being harmed by this war. It is a known fact that provocation was used to try to bring an end the unilateral cease-fire declared by the PKK," HADEP contended. Noting that the oppression against their party was continuing, the release said that HADEP Deputy Chairman Osman Özçelik and Bingöl Provincial Chairman Niyazi Azak had been taken into custody by police without any reason being given.

In reference to HADEP's performances in the last gen-



eral elections, the release said that the party's potential was definitely far more than what it achieved in the elections.

Focus on Human Rights



Mehmet Ağar

Danish Doctor at US Congress: 'Mehmet Ağar is Super Torturer'

Turkish Minister of Justice and former Director General of Police Mehmet Ağar was accused at the US Congress of being a "super torturer."

Dr. Inge Genefke, a Danish expert on torture and medical director of the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRCT), testifying before the U.S. House Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, said that in Turkey torture was carried out by the police. As the former chief of Turkish police, she referred to Mehmet Ağar as the "super torturer of Turkey."

The hearing was conducted to call attention to the trial in Adana of Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TIHV) members on May 10. "The IRCT was behind the foundation of [the TIHV] centers [in Turkey] and has a close collaboration with our colleagues in Turkey concerning rehabilitation of torture victims," Genefke said.

Turkish Police Charged with Killing Journalist

Forty-eight policemen have been charged in connection with the death in police custody of a

leftist journalist in a case that has stirred widespread concern at home and abroad.

But human rights monitors are not hopeful the court case will help reduce incidents of police torture against journalists and others.

"A criminal case was opened yesterday against the police," Yavuz Abbasoğlu, chief judge at an Istanbul criminal court dealing with the case, told Reuters. "A date for the first hearing will be set and a court assigned in the coming days."

Istanbul government officials ruled the police — protected from court cases under an antiquated law — could be tried. They named several charges faced by the suspects, which lawyers say carry jail sentences of up to 15 years.

Even Children Are Tortured in Turkey

Carsten Jurgensen, an Amnesty researcher and expert on Turkey, told the Anatolia news agency that systematic and extensive torture existed in Turkey, and that even children were tortured.

"The remand period in Turkey is very long and this makes it easier for incidents of torture to take place. This is because the long time period allows the marks of torture disappear," Jurgensen told Anatolia.

Referring to the incidents in Manisa, where high school students were tortured by police, Jurgensen said that torture was something that people talked about without even being shocked. "Even the deputies openly admit that children were tortured in Manisa," he stressed.

"I know that there are a number of upright prosecutors who try to reveal incidents of torture. However, doctors are afraid to give reports on torture," Jurgensen said.

Police Continue to 'Shoot to Kill'

Anti-terrorism police officers shot dead a 17-year-old in Alibeyköy.

A group of youths including 17-year old Irfan Ağdaş were distributing the leftist weekly magazine "Kurtuluş" when the officers, in an unmarked car, sought to arrest them. The group resisted arrest and tried to escape when the officers, in civilian clothes, opened fire.

Ağdaş was hit by two bullets from behind and was taken to Eyup Hospital, where he died. Later in the evening, police arrested three of those distributing the magazine.

Kurtuluş denounced the police behavior as a typical "summary execution," emphasizing that in the first place their attempt to arrest the distributors of a legal publication was unlawful.

The Human Rights Association (IHD) protested the incident calling it a violation of the essential "right to live." The IHD statement said "we demand that the murderers of Irfan Ağdaş be brought to justice immediately."

Wars Without Rules on Secret Fund

The accusations against former Prime Minister Tansu Çiller have been piling up in recent weeks. Beginning with alleged TOFAŞ and TEDAS wrongdoings, the accusations against the leader of the True Path Party (DYP) currently slated to assume the Prime Ministry on Jan. 1 now involve claims that Çiller had misappropriated funds from secret funds.

There is a power struggle among factions vying for power which is being played out in the corruption charges. But this game does not have any rules, such as not hitting below the belt by publishing very secret documents of the Turkish Republic in the daily papers. Such ploys humiliate the target, and open the way to further humiliation by prompting denials of facts which will be subsequently proven.

This method is seen in all great secret fund scandals, which accumulate to precipitate a state crisis by targeting figures of opposing factions and parties. This kind of operation plays for keeps, seeking to finish off the victim's political life.

The public watches a new part of this game with surprise: that is a debate on the secret fund spending which targets the former prime minister. This debate reminds observers of a similar event in recent history, in which the starring role was taken by former Istanbul Governor Hayri Kozakçioğlu in the place of Tansu Çiller.

The date was September of 1993. The daily mass circulation newspaper Milliyet, which was featuring scandalous secret accounts of Istanbul Governor Kozakçioğlu, said on Sept. 8 that "behind this conflict, there is secret fighting between President Süleyman Demirel and PM Tansu Çiller as well as conflict between two opposing cadres — those of Istanbul Governor Hayri Kozakçioğlu and Istanbul Police Chief Necdet Menzir on the one side and, General Head of Security Mehmet Ağar and super-governor of the emergency rule region Ünal Erkan on the other."

Milliyet described the event as a "civil war within the state." At the time in question, former super governor Hayri Kozakçioğlu was Istanbul governor, after which he turned the office over to Ünal Erkan. According to the claim, which was also supported by Kozakçioğlu himself, Kozakçioğlu and the front of his powerful friend Necdet Menzir were supported by President

Demirel, and the opposite front of Mehmet Ağar and Ünal Erkan was supported by Prime Minister Çiller.

That being so, new super-governor Erkan exposed his bitter political enemy Kozakçioğlu's secret misdealings, leaking to the press that Kozakçioğlu had transferred TL 2 billion to Istanbul before leaving from emergency rule region. The

money was sent to governor of emergency rule region by the United Nations to be spent for the care of Kurdish refugees.

Kozakçioğlu claimed that he had already spent TL 2 billion for Kurdish refugees from different funds before the United Nations sent the money, so that when the U.N. money arrived that money was put back to the funds. According to him, the claim was suggested by Ünal Erkan, who had wanted to become Istanbul governor in his place.

But in the following days journalists discovered other bank accounts of Kozakçioğlu's amounting to TL 7 billion, and the debate led to crisis of state. As question followed question, an investigation was mounted to determine if there had been any corruption or not. But at that point President Demirel stepped in, explaining that the TL 7 billion in question was sent to Kozakçioğlu by him while he was prime minister from a secret fund for security

spending.

Had Demirel himself not intervened on the beleaguered politician's behalf, according to most informed observers Çiller would have replaced Kozakçioğlu and police chief Menzir with Erkan and Ağar.

As a result, President Demirel's intervention prevented Kozakçioğlu from being finished off, and all the opposing parties of this little contretemps — Kozakçioğlu and Menzir on the one side and, Ağar and Erkan on the other — retreated to fight another day.

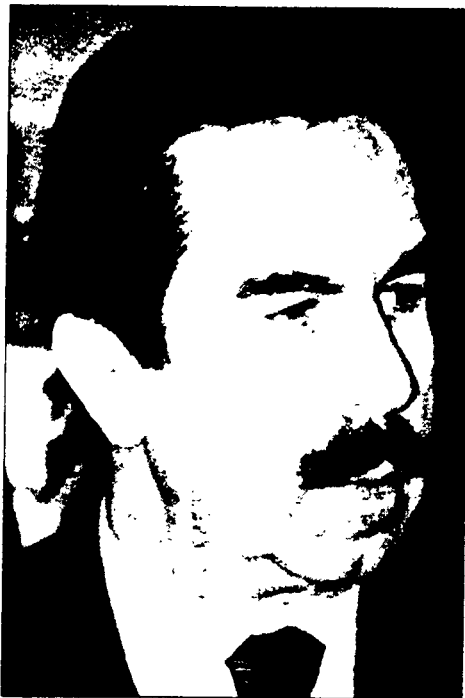
History repeats itself

There are striking similarities between this secret fund scandal of the past and the present one. First of all, both Kozakçioğlu and Çiller were hit unawares with publicized allegations of unauthorized spending from secret slush funds, and pronounced themselves shocked, shocked to find themselves so charged. The nature of the secret fund

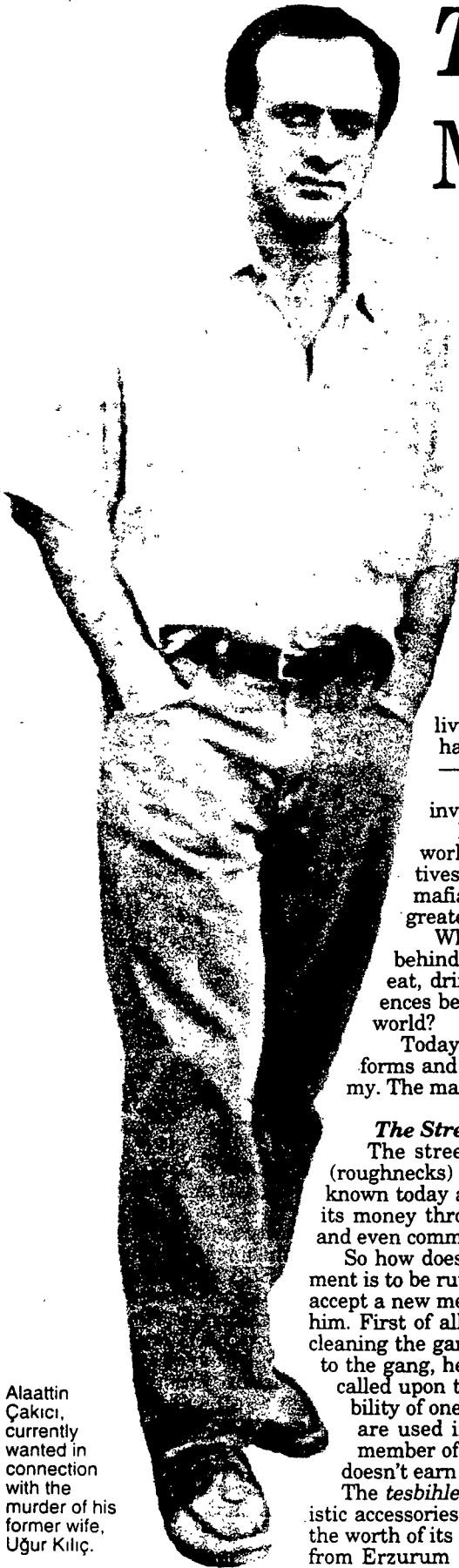
allows it to not be recorded or accounted for, according to the Article 77 of the General Accountancy Law which says that "The secret fund spending for secret intelligence defines security and benefits of the state and aims of governments. It is left to the Prime Minister's discretion to record the spending and accounts of the fund, and hand over to the next prime minister."

But this law also includes prohibition of spending secret funds for such purposes as "the PM and his family's personal needs and for political party's administrative and election needs." The secret fund budget increased dramatically between 1987 and 1996, from TL 536 million to TL 6.1 trillion. Çiller is the record spender, disbursing TL 234 billion in 1994 and TL 610 billion in 1995. This spending is also the highest in dollar terms.

M. Akif Beki



Hayri Kozakçioğlu



Alaattin Çakıcı, currently wanted in connection with the murder of his former wife, Uğur Kılıç.

Turkey: The Mafia Republic

The mafia, which justifies its crimes by claiming to defend the weak and poor people of Turkey, has many branches in Turkey. The reality is that some of those branches have diverged from the streets and, like a cancer or virus, have entered into the organs of the state itself, thus giving the mafia far greater opportunities to garner wealth

The mafia: The name appears behind the debt-collection crimes, the cases of impropriety and scandals that have been gaining greater prominence in the media and in the courts over the last few last years.

Turkey, accustomed to living under the threat of coups d'etat, living with governmental failings and bureaucratic weaknesses, has begun to understand the severity of a new problem in society — the mafia.

Claims about senior state representatives and their staff being involved in irregularities have been dominating the headlines.

Does the mafia, whose name is repeatedly mentioned in rumors, work with the representatives of the state? Or are the representatives themselves a part of the mafia? For many Turkish people the mafia, and the undermining of society that it represents, is one of the greatest problems facing the country today.

What is the mafia? Who are its members? What kind of power is behind it? How far has its reach extended? What do mafia members eat, drink, wear? How do they earn their money? What are the differences between the Turkish mafia and its counterparts in the rest of the world?

Today, Turkey accepts the reality of the existence of the mafia in all its forms and acknowledges the trillions of lira that it sucks out of the economy. The mafia itself has become part of the living tissue of the country.

The Street Mafia

The street mafia, made up of people calling themselves *külhanbeyler* (roughnecks) who started to appear in numbers in Istanbul in the 1930s, is known today as the "gang." The street mafia, which once was thought to earn its money through courage and power, now attacks houses and work places and even commits mass crimes in groups of up to 100 people.

So how does one become a member of the street mafia? The major requirement is to be ruthless enough to kill a man without hesitation. The gang will not accept a new member unless he is close to one of its members who will vouch for him. First of all, the new member is given routine duties such as making tea, cleaning the gang's headquarters, driving the car. If he is able to adapt himself to the gang, he will be assigned a real mission. The first thing that he will be called upon to do is to kill someone. Since the gang would not risk the possibility of one of its experienced men going to prison, the new young members are used in these cases, taking the risk of imprisonment if arrested. A member of the street mafia has to spend some time in prison, otherwise he doesn't earn the respect of his criminal peers.

The *tesbihler* or worry beads of the gang members are their most characteristic accessories. The quality of the *tesbihler*, consisting of 33 beads, also show the worth of its owners. The most precious *tesbihler* are those made of obsidian from Erzurum and embedded with gold or diamonds. His *tesbih* is the only

Turkish Probe May 17, 1996

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Engin Bayata, the gunman who killed Tefvik Ağansoy, who worked as a mafioso for Alaattin Çakıcı until they had a parting of the ways.

thing that a mafia member cannot neglect. Even in death it plays a part, being placed on the coffin.

The second thing in the life of a mafioso, one that is as important as the *tesbih*, is drugs. Members of the Turkish mafia usually smoke hashish. A new member has to know how to make a hashish cigarette called a "couple" or "trio." The hashish cigarettes that are prepared by the new members are smoked by the more senior gang members during discussions. The long-established members of the criminal organizations are especially recognized by their eyes. Their eyes are red and exhausted looking due to the hashish that they so freely use. The older members, who have become weakened by the continuous use of drugs, don't undertake "business" that necessitates great physical exertion.

This is to say the street mafia members are generally retired after they reach 30 years of age. These people have a very active life between 18-30, but age before their time and seem to be in their 50s when they are only 30.

Their clothing is another distinguishing feature and is common to most gang members. In summer they prefer to dress in clothes made of thin, brilliantly colored materials, especially silken shirts decorated with flower patterns. Many have a taste for shoes which are sharply pointed with raised heels. This somewhat extravagant style of dress is complemented by the characteristic attitudes and behavior patterns of mafia members, who like to play the part of the larger than life "filmland mobster."

A preferred form of entertainment for gang members is to send flowers to the singers at casinos and to mingle with the elite of the social and entertainment worlds. Apart from their excessive drug use many like to indulge in drinking whisky. And there is a great danger from wild gun shots once both the drugs and alcohol, so freely used, start to take their toll on temper and judgment.

Mafia members prefer to marry when very young

and to have sons who will follow in their criminal footsteps. Those who become wealthy like to send their children to private colleges and even abroad to provide them with a good education. Despite being married, it is the accepted thing for mafioso to take a lover or lovers. They are not afraid to attend social events with their lovers. It is part of this male-dominated world that their wives have no right to object to this behavior.

What Do They Do?

The mafia, which justifies its crimes by claiming to defend the weak and poor people of Turkey and not to make money, has many branches in Turkey. The reality is that some of those branches have moved from the streets and, like a cancer or virus, have entered into the organs of the state itself, thus giving the mafia far greater opportunities to garner wealth.

The street mafia earns money in the following ways:

● **Debt Collection**

Members of the mafia who are engaged in debt collection intervene when there are problems in collecting money in the trade sector and are known for their ruthless methods. The underworld takes 50 percent of the amount that has to be collected as well as a payment from the creditor to cover the gang's "expenses." So, for the collection of a debt, gang members get up to two-thirds of the total sum of the money owed.

The mafia members use the name of some powerful and famous mafia leader with whom they are associated to threaten their target in order to extract money. Should this threat be insufficient to motivate the debtor to pay, the mafia resorts to violence and guns. They are in action every day and their activities are often featured in the newspapers, making them the most well known branch of the mafia in the country.

Turkey today accepts the reality of the existence of the mafia in all its forms and acknowledges the trillions of lira that it sucks out of the economy. The mafia itself has become part of the living tissue of the country

● *Gambling*

The mafia was involved in gambling in Turkey long before the opening of the big casinos, which gave new life to an old profession. In the gambling world, where huge amounts of money circulate, mafia members are known by their wealth and their luxurious life styles.

Members have invested their earnings in Switzerland and in the United States and are renowned for their dislike of news of their activities appearing in the media. A mafia member who hears that his activities will be featured in the papers or on radio or television is never loath to use the threat of mafia intervention to kill the story. There is also a rumor that huge amounts of money play a role when the threat of mafia intervention is not effective enough.

● *Sale of State-Owned Land*

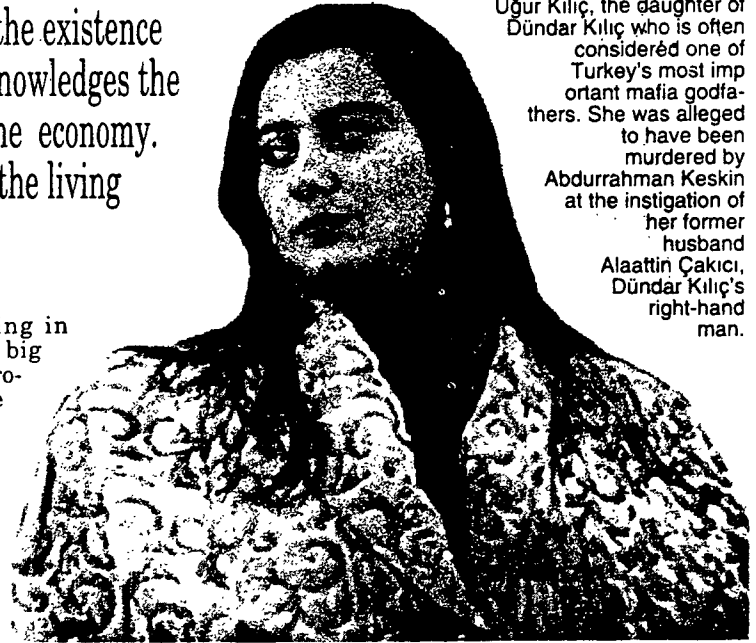
The mafia has branches within the state agencies in cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Bursa and Adana. It sells state-owned land to encourage the development of shanty towns and manages its business without using guns. Members are known to be close to the municipal representatives of their region and are known for giving bribes.

● *Parking Lot Operations*

A new mafia activity, stemming from the sale of



Abdurrahman Keskin, the gunman who killed Uğur Kılıç; he reportedly carried out the shooting at the behest of Alaattin Çakıcı, her former husband who is on the run outside the country.



Uğur Kılıç, the daughter of Dündar Kılıç who is often considered one of Turkey's most important mafia godfathers. She was alleged to have been murdered by Abdurrahman Keskin at the instigation of her former husband Alaattin Çakıcı, Dündar Kılıç's right-hand man.

state-owned land, which is most prevalent in the big cities and run by migrants to the major centers involves parking lots. The occupation of the streets by these people, their extortion of money from car owners, and their expansion to nearly all the streets of the big cities lead to questions of whether the municipal officials and the police are also associated with this branch of the mafia. Members of the parking lot mafia don't hesitate to damage the cars of those who fail to give money. Car owners who lodge complaints with the authorities are ignored, strengthening the belief that the municipality and police may be involved with organized crime.

● *Running of Tea Gardens and Market Places*

Tea gardens and market places are dominated by the famous names of the world of crime and are big money earners. The mafia transforms every empty location on the shores of the Bosphorus in Istanbul into tea gardens or market places without any legal lease. This branch of the mafia is well known for its close relations to officials at every level of government. These gang members are able to maintain their illegal way of life due to their friends in the government and they determine the prices of the products in their marketplaces on their own. For example, the price of a cup of coffee in a tea garden with a beautiful view can amount to TL 250,000. The nonintervention of the municipal authorities again brings to mind the same question. Are they partners in crime?

● *Inside Information*

Some mafia members make their living by informing people of state property that is to be put on sale or when bids are to be invited for a contract before it is officially announced. These people are usually elegantly dressed and frequently appear in official circles, carrying on the business of their bosses who do not appear in public.

They hold meetings with members of Parliament, ministers and bureaucrats in the luxurious hotels of Ankara and especially like to take part in the construction of highways and plaza buildings as well as of the parking lots and gardens belonging to the city municipalities.



Ahmet Özal, who has been implicated in connection with the Engin Civan scandal in which Uğur Kılıç, Dündar Kılıç and Alaattin Çakıcı were reportedly involved.



Engin Civan, who is believed to have escaped abroad although prohibited from leaving the country, after he completed a prison sentence. He was convicted of taking a bribe while general manager of Emlakbank. His crime came to light when he was shot, supposedly at the instigation of Dündar Kılıç.

● *Inside the Judicial System*

There is a rumor that various branches of organized crime are also interfering with Turkey's judicial system. Their influence on some lawyers and judges concerning serious cases of corruption or cases concerning famous families and their interests have been receiving much attention in the media of late.

● *Obtaining Visas*

Active in the streets where foreign embassies and consulates are located, these mafiosi help obtain visas for Turkish citizens to allow them to enter countries that demand visas. These members approach people who want to get a visa, ask them to follow the procedures they outline, and give guarantees to them that they will receive the required documents.

The charge varies according to the country; they can ask DM 2000 for Germany and \$3000 for the United States. A person who enters into an agreement with the mafia pays half of the sum in advance and the rest after he or she gets the visa.

They are frequently robbed by the mafia member who can easily disappear after taking the money.

The mafia is expanding its activities throughout society in order to strengthen its hold on the economy and on power and has become a reality that has to be faced. The mafia is developing daily and is draw-

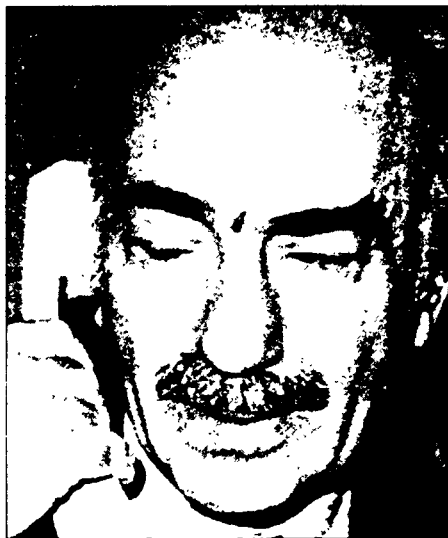
ing to its ranks many young people who are attracted to the potentials of a life of crime due to the lack of opportunities in the work place and the inadequate educational system that offers little hope of gainful employment for many. The mafia's activities appear attractive to the young and enrich those who become involved in them.

In a society where the acquisition of wealth is becoming more of a central focus for many, especially the young, the mafia is a heaven-sent fast track to the goals to which they aspire. In a country where the population has the improprieties of the rich and powerful paraded before it daily in the media, where corruption is seen as an acceptable way of life, where crime and injustice are seen to go unpunished and indeed rewarded, is it any wonder that the ranks of the mafia are being swollen by eager recruits?

Members of organized crime are known for their blind courage and willingness to take any risk. They do not fear being killed and do not quit their job until the end of their lives. The mafia is a way of life rather than a way of making money,

and it is a way of life that is being adopted by more and more people in Turkey. We will see in the coming days how successful Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz will be in keeping his promise to eliminate the mafia.

Hakan Aslaneli



Dündar Kılıç, whose name cropped up in the Emlakbank bribery scandal and who is reported to be involved in any number of mafia-type activities.

Saturday, May 18, 1996

Turkish Daily News



REUTERS
TURKISH PM IN GERMANY- Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz (L) and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl listen to national anthems during a welcome ceremony.

Yilmaz discusses EU and Kurds in Bonn

Turkish Daily News

BONN- Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz met with German President Herzog and Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Friday to express Turkish concerns about bottlenecks in Turco-European Union ties and Ankara's concerns about the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Leaving behind a political crisis in Turkey, Yilmaz landed at Cologne's airport, an airport spokesman said. His official program

started Friday, when he met Chancellor Kohl, President Roman Herzog and other leaders.

As Yilmaz went in for talks with Kohl, two groups of demonstrators held separate demonstrations, shouting PKK slogans. Surrounded by tight security measures, they waited for one-and-a-half hours on the route which Yilmaz was supposed to take, but the prime minister arrived at Kohl's office by another route.

Talking to the press after his contacts in Bonn, Yilmaz said he had held useful talks.

Indicating that they had touched on all issues with Chancellor Kohl in an open and frank manner, Yilmaz said that while Turkish-German relations appeared fragile on the surface they were based on very solid foundations.

Characterizing President Herzog as a statesman who has contributed greatly to the efforts to integrate Turks living in Germany into German society, Yilmaz said he had conveyed an invitation to visit Turkey to Herzog from President Suleyman Demirel. Referring to his talks with Chancellor Kohl, Yilmaz said he had explained the security concerns of the two million Turks living in Germany.

Yilmaz said that the majority of Turks living in Germany legally were there to stay and added that there was a need for concrete steps to meet the educational, economic and social needs of these people.

Yilmaz went on to indicate that Turkish-EU relations were the most important item on the agenda of his talks with Kohl. He said he had thanked the Chancellor for Germany's continuing support for Turkey's bid to forge closer ties with the E.U. "Now the important thing is for the customs union between Turkey and the E.U. to be successful. Turkey has fulfilled her obligations in this regard. The fact, however, that the customs union has not been put in force in all its facets because of the obstructions by Greece is unacceptable. I was pleased to observe that Chancellor Kohl is of the same opinion as us on this matter," Yilmaz said. EU member Greece blocked a 375 million ECU (\$490 million) aid package to Turkey in March after the two countries nearly came to blows in a dispute over deserted Aegean islets.

In an interview this week with a German newspaper, Yilmaz said he would try to win support from a reluctant Germany for Turkey's goal

of joining the EU.

He told the weekly *Die Zeit* that German opposition was the biggest barrier to Turkey's plans for full EU membership, not objections thrown up by archrival Greece.

"Our goal is Turkey's full membership in the EU. We hear everywhere that Germany's attitude is the biggest obstacle, not that of Greece," Yilmaz said.

Yilmaz explained at his press conference in Bonn after his talks with Herzog and Kohl that he had made a call for peace with Greece on March 24 and added that Turkey wants to normalize its ties with Athens.

Yilmaz said he had provided Chancellor Kohl detailed information about his call for unconditional talks on March 24. He pointed out that the question of separatist terrorism by the PKK and Turkey's Southeast problem had become a determining factor in Turkish-German relations from time to time. Before beginning his first visit to Bonn as Turkey's prime minister, Yilmaz told reporters he would convey his concern about the outlawed PKK's activity in Germany.

"I will communicate to German officials Turkey's unease about the terror organization PKK continuing its activities, despite being outlawed in that country (Germany)," he said. Around half a million Turkish Kurds live in Germany out of a total Turkish population of some 2.2 million. Yilmaz said at his press conference after his contacts in Bonn that he had told Chancellor Kohl that a definite distinction must be made between the PKK and Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin.

"The majority of citizens of Kurdish origin living in Germany want to live in peace. But the PKK is using a small and militant element to create disturbances and disrupt public order in Germany" Yilmaz said.

He went on to argue that the solution to the Southeast question was based on retaining Turkey's unitary nature and territorial integrity.

"Apart from anything else, this is a question of developing the individual's democratic rights in Turkey," Yilmaz said. Yilmaz went on to declare that there was a broad parity of views between the sides on the international and regional issues he had taken up with Chancellor Kohl.

Yilmaz flies back to Ankara today, where his minority government has been rocked by a constitutional court ruling that its March vote of confidence was illegal.

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1996

Freedom House survey: Turkish bureaucracy is powerful and corrupt

Limited freedom: 'Workers in the petroleum, security, and sanitation industries as well as teachers are prohibited from striking'

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Freedom House, a 'non-partisan, nonprofit organization devoted to the strengthening of free societies,' in its annual survey of economic freedoms in 82 nations around the world, has confirmed what many Turks already know: "Corrupt practices within the (Turkish) bureaucracy are pervasive." The Parliament is currently looking into two corruption cases brought against former prime minister Tansu Çiller. "The Turkish bureaucracy remains powerful and state influence is pervasive," the survey also added.

Turkey, with Greece, is classified as having a "partly free" economy in Western Europe. Israel and Jordan are the "partly free" economies of the Middle East.

There are no totally free economies in Middle East. Three of Turkey's neighbors, Iran, Iraq and Syria, are classified as "not free" economies by Freedom House. The Azerbaijani economy also got a "not free" score in the same survey.

Iraq, Syria and Azerbaijan also were accorded the dubious distinction of being on the list of "the worst of the worst" for having "total or near total absence of economic freedom." Burma, Iraq and North Korea are termed "absolute worst of the worst this year," by Richard Messick, coordinator of the Freedom House survey.

A detailed analysis of Turkish economy is carried out in following categories.

■ Freedom to hold property.

Score: 2 out of 3.

Except in "the provinces where the government is fighting Kurdish insurgents ... Turkish citizens are able to own property and there are no restrictions on selling, transferring or struc-

turing private property." Copyright piracy is still a problem, comprising 20 percent of all recorded music sales. The \$150 fine for each fraction and \$2 fine for each impounded copy is not enough according to Freedom House.

■ Freedom to earn a living.

Score: 2 out of 3.

"Turkish citizens are free to enter whatever occupation they are qualified for" and "wages are set by market conditions." Turkish workers are free to form unions and bargain collectively. Unions are independent from the state and political parties. But "workers in the petroleum, security, and sanitation industries as well as teachers are prohibited from striking."

■ Freedom to operate a business.

Score: 2 out of 3.

All sectors of the Turkish economy are open to private business and establishing a business is not difficult for either domestic or foreign entities. Prices are not controlled by the government. "Occasionally, bidders are faced with tenders being opened, closed, revised, and opened again over a period of years without a selection being made, causing many complaints of bid-rigging."

■ Freedom to invest one's earnings.

Score: 2 out of 3.

"Turkey is rapidly establishing itself as a major international finance center in the Middle East, although recent financial crises have somewhat tempered enthusiasm." Yet 60 percent inflation, fueled by high public-sector debts, continues to be a problem.

Turkish citizens are able to invest freely abroad and hold foreign currency and securi-

Turkish Daily News

ties. As a matter of fact, "Turkish citizens' savings accounts are currently higher in foreign denominations than in lira, the national currency."

■ Freedom to trade internationally.

Score: 2 out of 2.

"There are no export taxes or quotas... Foreign investment laws are liberal and investors receive national treatment. However, all incoming foreign investments require prior authorization and licensing" — a process which is "routine and nondiscriminatory."

"Turkey has few capital controls and foreign exchange is easily obtained. Travel abroad is unrestricted."

■ Freedom from unreasonable governmental interference in the economy.

Turkey is moving towards "full participation in the EU." But the privatization drive has slowed down. "Thirty-one enterprises were privatized in 1992 and only 17 in 1993. Currently, there are 41 major State Economic Enterprises involved in everything from shoe-making and tea to mining and airlines."

"The Turkish bureaucracy remains powerful and state influence is pervasive. State subsidies to agriculture and industry persist." Monopolies and cartels are not prohibited, "though the new Companies Law makes such arrangements illegal."

■ Freedom to participate in the market economy. Score: 1 out of 2.

"In general, there are no legal barriers to women or minorities entering any occupation, running a business, or owning property."

"Although Kurds who assimilate and do not agitate for a separate cultural or linguistic identity generally face little discrimination, the 1991 Anti-Terror Law has provided the government with the means to jail, harass, or shut down businesses owned by anyone who supports the Kurdish separatist movement," the survey said.

"The legal system is functioning and contractual agreements are secure. However, obtaining and enforcing court orders in commercial matters can take a long time. The Çiller government has been rocked with several corruption scandals, and corrupt practices within the bureaucracy are pervasive," the Freedom House survey concluded.



Bundeskanzler Kohl und Ministerpräsident Yılmaz schreiten die Ehrengarde ab. (Bild Reuter)

Besuch des türkischen Regierungschefs in Bonn *Der Wunsch nach einer Aufnahme in die EU im Mittelpunkt*

Der türkische Ministerpräsident Yılmaz hat am Freitag der deutschen Regierung einen Arbeitsbesuch abgestattet und bei seiner ersten Auslandsreise überhaupt Gespräche mit Bundespräsident Herzog, Bundeskanzler Kohl und Aussenminister Kinkel geführt. Im Dialog mit den Bonner Verantwortlichen wie auch vor der Presse unterstrich er den Wunsch seines Landes auf Vollmitgliedschaft in der Europäischen Union. Besonders gegenüber Kohl erläuterte er seine Pläne zur Lösung des Kurdenproblems im eigenen Land.

Ko. Bonn, 17. Mai

Der türkische Regierungschef Yılmaz hat am Freitag der deutschen Regierung einen Besuch in Bonn abgestattet. Dabei war ihm nicht anzumerken, dass sich in Ankara die Probleme innerhalb der Koalition zwischen Mutterlandspartei und der Partei des rechten Weges häufen. Yılmaz wurde von seinem Gastgeber, Bundeskanzler Kohl, mit den üblichen militärischen Ehren empfangen. Über zwei Stunden konferierten die Regierungschefs miteinander. Vorher schon hatte Yılmaz Bundespräsident Herzog, den er bei dieser Gelegenheit im Auftrag des türkischen Präsidenten Demirel zu einem Staatsbesuch in die Türkei einlud, eine Höflichkeitsvisite abgestattet. Ein Gespräch mit Aussenminister Kinkel rundete den Terminkalender des Gastes ab.

Zurückhaltung auf deutscher Seite

So sehr sich Yılmaz auch bemühte, für die Aufnahme der Türkei als Vollmitglied in die EU zu werben, so zurückhaltend blieben doch seine Bonner Gesprächspartner. Bundeskanzler Kohl setzte sich im Gespräch mit dem Gast aus Ankara zwar ausdrücklich für die volle Umsetzung der Zollunion der Türkei mit der Europäischen Union ein, weil sie den Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland und der Türkei einen weiteren Aufschwung verleihen könne. Kohl sprach aber darüber hinaus nur von seinem Interesse an einem weiteren Ausbau der Beziehungen zwi-

schen der Türkei und der EU, «aufbauend auf der bestehenden Assoziierung und der Mittelmeerpolitik der Europäischen Union». Er vermied jedenfalls jede Zusage im Blick auf die Vollmitgliedschaft. Yılmaz hatte demgegenüber immer wieder darauf hingewiesen, dass die Zollunion nicht Selbstzweck sein dürfe, sondern von ihm nur als Vorstufe zur späteren Vollmitgliedschaft betrachtet werde. Die Türkei brauche schliesslich eine Perspektive für alle die Opfer, die sie im Zusammenhang mit der Zollunion bringe. Die Vollmitgliedschaft dürfe nicht ausgeschlossen bleiben.

Ausserst scharfe Töne schlug Yılmaz vor der Presse gegenüber Griechenland an und berief sich dabei auch auf das Verständnis des deutschen Bundeskanzlers. Er erneuerte in diesem Zusammenhang sein Verhandlungsangebot an Athen, unterstrich jedoch mehrfach, wie hoch der Schaden sei, der durch die griechische Behinderung der Zollunion entstehe. Die Türkei sei auch bereit, sich einem Urteil des Internationalen Gerichtshofs zu unterwerfen. Gleichermassen deutlich äusserte sich Yılmaz zu den Beziehungen seines Landes mit Syrien. Feindselige Haltungen, wie sie in Syrien mit der Unterstützung der PKK zum Ausdruck kämen, könne die Türkei nicht mehr lange tolerieren.

Yılmaz' Gastgeber Herzog und Kohl hatten ihrerseits die Kurdenfrage vorbehaltlos angesprochen. Kohl betonte, keineswegs stelle Deutsch-

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land das Recht der Türkei in Frage, den Terrorismus im rechtsstaatlichen Rahmen zu bekämpfen. Er betonte jedoch laut Angaben des Bonner Presseamtes die Bedeutung der strikten Beachtung der Menschenrechte in allen Teilen der Türkei. Dies sei wichtig auch für das Bild der Türkei in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit.

Heikle Kurdenfrage

Yilmaz seinerseits versprach, die türkische Demokratie weiter zu entwickeln und dabei jegliche Diskriminierung wie Privilegierung ethnischer Gruppen auszuschließen. Bei Herzog wie bei Kohl sah er in der Kurdenfrage vordringlich jedoch ein ökonomisches und soziales Problem, das er jetzt mit Beschäftigungsmassnahmen in Südostanatolien angehen will. Seinen deutschen Gastgebern empfahl Yilmaz wiederholt, streng zwischen der terroristischen PKK und der breiten Mehrheit friedlicher Kurden zu unterscheiden. Er ermahnte die deutschen Spitzenpolitiker, die Integration von Türken in Deutschland zu erleichtern. Zugleich beklagte er die fehlende Sicherheit für seine Landsleute in der Bundesrepublik. Aus dem Kanzleramt nahm er daraufhin die Versicherung mit, dass die Bundesregierung alles tun werde, um die in Deutschland lebenden Türken und deren Einrichtungen vor Übergriffen zu schützen; eine Änderung der Politik gegenüber der in Deutschland seit drei Jahren verbotenen terrori-

stischen PKK sei nicht geplant. Yilmaz nannte das deutsch-türkische Verhältnis zwar empfindlich, es stehe aber auf einer stabilen Grundlage. Der Ministerpräsident, der in Köln studierte und fließend deutsch spricht, verabschiedete sich mit der türkischen Redewendung, wer einen wahren Freund habe, brauche sich vor nichts mehr zu fürchten. Seine Gespräche mit Kohl seien äusserst nützlich gewesen.

LE MERIDIONAL - 18 mai 1996

700

L'opposition kurde en Irak a affirmé que la police irakienne avait arrêté le 13 mai 700 civils kurdes dans la ville de Kirkouk (nord de l'Irak), à la limite de la zone contrôlée par Bagdad. Dans un communiqué reçu hier par l'AFP à Nicosie, l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK de Jalal Talabani), une des principales formations de l'opposition kurde irakienne, précise qu'"un nombre très limité des 700 civils arrêtés ont depuis été relâchés et que les autres, soupçonnés d'entretenir des liens avec l'opposition kurde, sont soumis à des interrogatoires, sous la torture". Selon le communiqué, "ces arrestations font partie des mesures de harcèlement et d'intimidation décidées par Bagdad contre les habitants kurdes de Kirkouk".

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Allemagne-Kurdes

Le chef du PKK fait son autocritique

BONN, 19 mai (AFP) - Le chef du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), Abdallah Ocalan, se livre à une autocritique en règle et reconnaît avoir commis des "erreurs" en menaçant l'Allemagne d'attentats suicides, dans un entretien au quotidien Die Welt à paraître lundi.

"Plusieurs de nos attitudes et certains de mes propos étaient des erreurs", reconnaît-il. "Nous nous sommes conduits comme si l'Allemagne était comparable à la Turquie. C'était une erreur", a-t-il renchéri, offrant un "dialogue à tous les niveaux" avec l'Allemagne.

Il s'engage "à ce que ce genre de choses ne se reproduise plus en Allemagne", faisant allusion aux violents affrontements entre policiers et manifestants du PKK qui avaient fait plusieurs blessés en mars.

Ocalan dément toutefois avoir "déclaré la guerre à l'Allemagne", affirmant qu'il n'a "jamais considéré ce pays comme un ennemi". Il critique au passage "l'étroitesse des relations entre Ankara et Bonn".

Le gouvernement allemand avait estimé "parfaitement insupportables" les menaces d'Ocalan et a durci en mars sa législation sur les étrangers pour pouvoir expulser plus rapidement les fauteurs de trouble. Le PKK, considéré comme une organisation terroriste, est interdit en Allemagne.

Le Premier ministre turc, Mesut Yilmaz, a achevé samedi une visite de trois jours en Allemagne, au cours de laquelle il a notamment dénoncé la Syrie pour son soutien présumé au PKK.

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Human rights issues await Gönensay in Washington

Helsinki Commission asks
Christopher to raise the issue

By Uğur Akinci / *Turkish Daily News*
WASHINGTON - The Operation Provide Comfort, Ankara's military cooperation agreement with Israel, the Bakü-Ceyhan pipeline and the release of ten Super Cobra helicopters will be among the top agenda issues of the talks Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay will be having here with American officials on Monday and Tuesday.

Yet, there is one more item that might confront Gönensay and his team during their short visit to Washington: human rights in general, and the prosecution of certain Turkish Human Rights Foundation (HRFT) members in particular.

Some non-governmental human rights organizations are preparing to make sure that their voices will be heard while Gönensay holds a series of meetings with Secretary Christopher as well as with Secretary of Defense William Perry, National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, and Deputy Secretary of Treasury Larry Summers.

Sources say that the case of those doctors and centers that treat human rights abuse victims in Turkey will certainly be raised with Gönensay if Assistant Secretary for Human Rights, Democracy and Labor John Shatuck accompanies Secretary Christopher during the meeting on Monday.

A State Department official told TDN that the Administration preferred to raise such sensitive issues privately, and resolve them without any publicity, "as long as they [i.e. Turkish government] do the right thing."



Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay

Helsinki Commission to Christopher
US Helsinki Commission, the Congressional arm of OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), sent a letter on May 17 to Secretary

Christopher urging him to protest during his meeting with Gönensay "the campaign against the Human Rights Foundations of Turkey and medical professionals who treat victims of human rights abuses."

The letter signed by Chairman Christopher Smith (R - NJ); Ranking Minority Commissioner Steny H. Hoyer (D - MD); and Commissioner Benjamin L. Cardin (D - MD), claimed that "rather than seeking to eliminate torture and to punish those responsible, the Government of Turkey instead attacks those who expose torture and torturers ... In fact, the United Nations and Council of Europe have documented torture in the Ankara police station commanded by Turkey's newly appointed Justice Minister, Mehmet Ağar."

OSCE letter related the cases of Dr. Tufan Kose and Mustafa Çinküle, who both work with Adana center of HRFT and were prosecuted "for refusing to comply with Government demands to reveal the names of patients and the health care professionals treating them."

Official Turkish view

A Turkish official told TDN that the reason why such names were demanded was not to punish the victim but actually to prosecute the torturer who victimized the patient in question.

"Turkish Penal Code 530 prohibits giving information on any patient when such notification will lead to legal proceeding," the official said. "Patients are fully protected under the Turkish law."

Similar suits filed against Ankara and Izmir HRF centers were canceled "since prosecution investigation showed that no such 'torture treatment centers' existed," the official told TDN. "When such centers do not exist, then there can't be any crime committed in such non-existent locations either," the official said.

According to the Turkish penal code, not to report a crime is a crime in itself as well — reportedly carrying a "penalty" of only 30 (thirty) Turkish Liras. (Seventy five thousand Turkish Liras are equal to one US Dollar.) The official added that the existence of the alleged torture treatment center in Adana could also not be established by Turkish prosecutors.

A TDN source said that the above official views were again conveyed by the Turkish government in a letter sent last week to Senator Bob Graham (D) of Florida, a member of the Helsinki Commission.

Kızılkan

Helsinki Commission also asked Christopher to raise with Gönensay the case of Dr. Seyfettin Kızılkan, head of medical services at a state hospital in Diyarbakir and the President of the Medical Council for five southeastern provinces, who on May 5 was arrested and reportedly held incommunicado.

"Known for his humanitarian efforts and support for non-violence, Dr. Kızılkan has denounced torture and the conditions facing tens of thousands of Kurdish peasants in Diyarbakir who fled Turkish military operations," Smith, Hoyer and Cardin told the US Secretary of State.

"Turkey's position as a strategic and economic ally make it all the more important that our government encourage the Turkish Government to eliminate the use of torture and other practices which undermine its democratic institutions," the Congress members concluded their letter.

Twenty NGOs

TDN learned that twenty non-governmental (NGO) human rights organizations are currently drafting a letter on Turkey's alleged mistreatment of Human Rights Foundation and the doctors who treat the victims of human rights abuses. The letter is expected to be delivered both to Gönensay and Christopher on Monday.

Among those who will sign the letter are the following human rights organizations: Amnesty International; Human Rights Watch; Physicians for Human Rights; American Psychological Association; American Associations for the Advancement of Science; New York Academy of Sciences; Amigos de Los Sobrevivientes Inc.; Lawyers Committee for Human Rights; Heartland Alliance for Human Needs and Human Rights; Program for Victims of Torture; and Margery Covler Center for Treatment of Survivors of Torture.

These groups can be joined by Committee of Concerned Scientists (CCS) as well who on March 7, 1996 and again on May 2, 1996 wrote two letters to President Süleyman Demirel concerning the trial of Yavuz Onen and Fevzi Argün, both executive board members of HRFT.

Co-chairmen of CCS told President Demirel that they were "disappointed that we have received no reply from you" to their letters and appeals to have the criminal charges against Onen and Argün be dismissed.

La Turquie va doubler ses échanges commerciaux avec la France

ISTANBUL

de notre envoyé spécial

Profitant de l'entrée en vigueur de l'union douanière entre la Turquie et l'Union européenne à partir du 1^{er} janvier 1996, la France s'est lancée dans une opération de séduction à l'égard du monde économique turc, qui n'attendait que cela. Plusieurs milliers de visiteurs professionnels se sont rendus à Istanbul, du 24 au 28 mai, à l'exposition française Fransa 96 regroupant 200 entreprises de l'Hexagone et inaugurée par Suleyman Demirel, président de la République, et Yves Galland, ministre français délégué aux finances et au commerce extérieur.

Au fil des nombreux séminaires organisés par le patronat turc du DEIK et par le CNPF français, l'impatience turque a dominé. Quand M. Galland a souhaité, le 24 mai, dans son discours inaugural, que les échanges franco-turcs doublent en dix ans, M. Demirel lui a répondu que ce résultat était souhaitable en cinq ans.

Car la Turquie est pressée. Elle doit faire face, sans grands moyens financiers, à un exode de plusieurs centaines de milliers de ruraux vers les grandes cités chaque année. Elle souffre d'une congestion de ses infrastructures routières et aéroportuaires. La panne énergétique guette. Sa balance commerciale avec l'étranger est déficitaire de 13 milliards de dollars (67 milliards de francs) par an. Les responsables économiques et politiques sont persuadés que seule l'union douanière avec l'Europe des quinze et la croissance qui en résultera éviteront au Parti de la prospérité (islamiste) d'améliorer le score de 21,32 % des voix qui en a fait le premier parti turc aux élections législatives de décembre 1995.

La Turquie joue la carte française pour deux raisons. La première est que la France de Jacques Chirac a pesé de tout son poids, en 1995, pour vaincre les réticences grecques à l'égard de l'union douanière avec la Turquie. Cet appui est plus que jamais nécessaire, Athènes bloquant l'aide financière de 800 millions d'écus sur cinq ans promis à Ankara. La deuxième raison est

que la France est le premier investisseur du pays par le biais de ses 180 entreprises installées en Turquie.

Sur les rives du Bosphore, on aimerait persuader les capitaux français que la République serait un « porte-avions idéal » pour atteindre le monde arabe proche et l'Asie centrale turcophone. « Les Français ne sont pas assez rapides, critique Ugur Yüce, patron de six entreprises d'électronique et coprésident du Conseil franco-turc des hommes d'affaires. L'importance du secteur public chez vous a engendré un manque d'audace, l'élévation de votre niveau de vie vous a rendus conservateurs. Nous sommes parvenus à convaincre les Américains et les Japonais de visiter, en notre compagnie, l'Ouzbékistan et le Kazakhstan où nous sommes bien implantés. Nous n'y arrivons toujours pas avec les Français... »

La France est le premier investisseur du pays par le biais de 180 entreprises

Ce n'est pas que ceux-ci n'y croient pas. Bien au contraire. Les attentats des Kurdes du PKK ou ceux de groupuscules gauchistes les effraient à peine. Les querelles de sérail interminables entre les frères de droite ennemis du Parti de la Mère patrie et de celui de la Juste voie les laissent de marbre. Ils oublient sans peine les 78,9 % d'inflation de l'an dernier quand ils constatent la réactivité d'une économie chutant de 5,5 % en 1994 pour rebondir de 7,3 % en 1995.

Il n'est donc pas étonnant qu'au palmarès des pays émergents, la confiance forte et constante qu'inspire la Turquie lui vaille une place éminente. Cette confiance s'est traduite par une aide publique française qui se classe au deuxième rang des aides bilatérales à la Turquie, derrière celle de l'Allemagne. Yves Galland a détaillé les quelque 4 milliards de francs d'aide

versés en dix ans : 1,7 milliard sont allés au secteur énergétique, 730 millions à l'environnement et 480 millions au médical.

Les entrepreneurs venus de France froissent souvent leurs *alter ego*, qui ont conservé de l'époque ottomane une grande susceptibilité. Ils s'énervent des copiages des modèles et des technologies de leurs partenaires locaux. Ils oublient que, dans ce pays très commerçant, il vaut mieux contractualiser les devoirs et les droits des deux parties.

MGI-Coutier, équipementier auto dans l'Ain, a surmonté ces obstacles. Avec la bénédiction d'Oyâk-Renault, il a pris un tiers du capital d'une société créée avec l'entreprise turque DORT-EL pour produire les réservoirs des essuie-glaces des Renault 9 fabriqués localement. Son investissement s'est élevé à 3,5 millions de francs. Quant à Bernard Lacoste, le patron du groupe Lacoste, il se félicite sans réserve de la bonne santé des 17 boutiques turques qui vendent 200 000 vêtements par an à la griffe du crocodile (+ 30 % prévu en 1996). Les lois sur les contrefaçons adoptées par le Parlement d'Ankara lui donnent entière satisfaction. « Si j'avais dans tous les pays du monde un partenaire de la qualité de mon licencié turc, je n'aurais pas de cheveux blancs ! »

Reste l'inconnue politique. L'instabilité gouvernementale turque ralentit les indispensables réformes dans les domaines de la fiscalité et des privatisations. Elle fait le jeu des islamistes qui profitent de la crise identitaire des plus démunis et de l'immobilisme des structures kémalistes. Mais les politiques et les entrepreneurs français n'y accordent pas une importance démesurée. Les plus pessimistes d'entre eux pensent que l'armée préviendra les dérapages des islamistes. Les plus optimistes jugent que, même parvenus au pouvoir, ceux-ci seront contraints de respecter une démocratie laïque tant l'élan vers l'Europe et la modernité est entretenu par une économie d'une étonnante vigueur.

Alain Faujas

UNDER STRECKET

Är kulturell autonomi lösningen på kurdfrågan?

Det framförs från olika håll tre förslag till lösning av kurdfrågan i Turkiet: att kurderna bryter sig ut, att de ingår i en federation och att de erhåller kulturell autonomi. Det sista förslaget förefaller vara det mest realistiska.

Av KAJ FALKMAN

Stormen i Sverige kring utvisningen av de kurdiska familjerna Sincari och stormen i Tyskland kring den väntade utvisningen av hundratal kurder som nyligen deltagit i våldsamma demonstrationer har ånyo aktualiserat kurdfrågan i Turkiet, men i den svenska pressbevakningen har jag inte sett någon beskrivning av frågans innebörd, än mindre någon diskussion om utsikterna till en lösning. Av denna anledning är det angeläget att redogöra för några av de lösningsförslag som framförts från olika håll. Dessa personliga anteckningar bygger på samtal nyligen med statsvetare och journalister i Istanbul och har ingen som helst officiell anknytning.

Det första och mest radikala förslaget är *utbrytning*. PKK (Parti Kerkari Kurdistan, Kurdistans arbetarparti) anger i sitt politiska program från 1983 som mål att upprätta en kurdisk stat i sydöstra Turkiet som ett led i bildandet av ett enat Storkurdistan, omfattande också kurdbefolkade områden i grannstaterna.

Det kurdbefolkade området i sydöstra Turkiet omfattar ca 230 000 kvadratkilometer, nära 1/4 av landets territorium. Här bor uppemot hälften av Turkiets kurdiska befolkning, dvs cirka 6 miljoner av totalt cirka 12,5 miljoner kurder. Om området i sydöst skall avskäras från Turkiet och bilda ett självständigt Kurdistan, flyttar kanske kurder från andra områden dit, men förvisso inte alla, i synnerhet inte de som är väl integrerade i det turkiska samhället, t ex flertalet av de 2,5 miljoner kurder som bor i Istanbul.

Problemet med utbrytning kompliceras av att det kurdbefolkade området i sydöst är det fattigaste i landet och saknar goda försörjningsmöjligheter. Migration från området började redan på 1950-talet, då kurder sökte sig till industristäderna i västra Turkiet. Med den ekonomiska boomen i början av 80-talet ökade migrationen, som sedan påskyndats av stridigheterna mellan PKK och säkerhetsstyrkorna under 90-talet.

I de sydöstra och södra grannstaterna bor totalt lika många kurder som i Turkiet: i Iran 7 miljoner, Irak 4,5 miljoner och Syrien 1 miljon. Då statsledningarna i dessa stater är lika ovilliga som statsledningen i Turkiet att avstå territorium till en självständig kurdisk statsbildning, synes utvägen att samla alla kurder i en stat vara oframkomlig under överskådlig tid. Dess-

utom har de kurdiska politiska partierna i Irak, KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party), lett av Barzani, och PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan), lett av Talabani, inte anslutit sig till PKK:s mål att bilda ett Storkurdistan utan deklarerat att de vill bilda en federation inom ett demokratiskt, parlamentariskt Irak.

Även om Turkiet stöder Operation Provide Comfort, som efter Gulfkriget upprättade ett skyddsområde för kurderna i norra Irak, så att de inte åter behöver söka skydd i Turkiet (två miljoner flyktingar över gränsen 1991), fruktar Ankara att skyddsområdet kan utgöra embryot till en självständig kurdisk stat. I området har uppstått ett militärt vakuum som PKK utnyttjat för att upprätta baser och därifrån angripa Turkiet. Den turkiska militärinterventionen med 35 000 man i norra Irak i mars-april 1995 syftade till att förstöra dessa baser. I utbyte mot gränshandel och ekonomiskt bistånd söker nu Turkiet få KDP och PUK att förhindra PKK:s närvaro i området.

DET ANDRA FÖRSLAGET avser bildandet av en *federation*. PKK-ledaren Aop Öcalan har förklarat sig beredd att diskutera en federal lösning med den turkiska regeringen. Få turkar tror emellertid att PKK tagit till vapen 1984 och offerat många tusen anhängares liv för att förmå Ankara att acceptera en federation i Turkiet med långtgående autonomi för en kurdisk provins. Hur skulle Ankara kunna acceptera en marxistisk provins inom Turkiets territorium? Hur länge skulle det dröja innan provinsen förklarades som befriad zon och utropades som självständig? Skulle en kurdisk provinsledning kunna överlämna ansvaret för försvar och utrikespolitik till centralmakten i Ankara och inte frestas till en självständig politik i förhållande till kurdbefolkade områden i grannstaterna? Spänningar skulle uppstå i området och sannolikt äventyra säkerheten i hela regionen.

Ingen turkisk politiker, inte ens de mest liberala och prokurdiska, har uttalat sig för en federationsbildning, även om många anser att idén bör få diskuteras. Till och med förra premiärministern Tansu Ciller har sagt att Baskien kan vara ett exempel värt att diskutera för Turkiet. Men sedan de konservativa inom hennes parti upprest sig mot tanken med argumentet att ETA fortsätter med terrorism trots att baskerna fått både skolundervisning och TV-sändningar på baskiska och långtgående politiskt självstyre, och sedan en framstående affärsman hotats med åtal för att han aktualiserat den baskiska modellen, förefaller den tills vidare avförd från den politiska debatten. Den misslyckade federationsbildningen på Cypern har inte främjat

federationstanken, ifråga litet som misslyckandet i före detta Jugoslavien.

DET TREDJE alternativet är *kulturell autonomi*. Om territoriell autonomi framstår som ett orealistiskt alternativ, ter sig kulturell autonomi som en mer realistisk möjlighet. Denna innefattar framför allt undervisning på kurdiska i skolorna och radio- och TV-sändningar på kurdiska. Dessa rättigheter skulle tillförsäkra kurderna en "kurdisk identitet", ett begrepp som to m president Demirel diskuterat, men med tillägget att sådana rättigheter först kan övervägas när terrorismen besegrats.

Kulturell autonomi tillerkänns redan kurderna när det gäller sånger och publikationer på kurdiska språket och i hög grad också när det gäller att fira det kurdiska nyåret, Newroz, även om turkarna nu försöker assimilera Newroz som en urgammal turkisk tradition. Kurdiska sångare är mycket populära i Turkiet och i alla musikaffärer i Istanbul kan man köpa kurdiska kassetter. När det gäller radio- och TV-sändningar på kurdiska har tekniken redan triumferat över lagarna: Från London sänds dagligen kurdiska program via satellit till TV-mottagare i Turkiet (tom intervjuer med PKK-ledaren Öcalan). Liberala kritiker menar att statsledningen skulle vinna på en mera flexibel hållning: Varför tar inte Ankara initiativ till radio- och TV-sändningar på kurdiska, som man själv kan styra i enighetens syfte? Socialdemokratiska partiet (SHP) förordade vid partikongressen 1993 såväl skolundervisning som radio- och TV-sändningar på kurdiska, men i koalition med Demirels och fru Cillers Rätta vägens parti lyckades socialdemokraterna inte genomföra något av detta. Också den nuvarande konservativa premiärministern Yılmaz har som oppositionsledare ventilerat dylika lösningar vid framträdande i USA, och pådriven av turkiska näringslivet, som vill få slut på det kostbara kriget i öster, kommer regeringen sannolikt att inom en inte alltför avlägsen framtid tillerkänna kurderna en hög grad av kulturell autonomi.

ATT DEFINIERA DEN "kurdiska identiteten" försvaras av att många kurder är uppblandade med turkar, armenier, turkmener, greker etc. Forskarna talar om "multiple identity" och multikulturella individer. Eftersom individer av blandat ursprung finns över hela Turkiet - forskarna räknar med 49 etniska grupper - vore det naturligt att ett multikulturellt samhälle utvecklas, där olika etniska kulturer får blomma och samexistera. Det skulle främja framväxten av en "kurdisk identitet", menar forskarna.

Kärnan i kurdproblemet är att Turkiet inte erkänner etniska minoriteter. Varje turkisk medborgare är turk oberoende av etniskt ursprung. Kurder kallas därför bergsturkar. Turkiet erkänner endast religiösa minoriteter, vars rättigheter garanteras i Lausannefördraget år 1923.

Eftersom kurderna är muslimer, kan inte dessa garantier åberopas. Det segrande partiet i decembervalet 1995, islamiska Välfärdspartiet (Refah), söker överbrygga klyftan genom att driva tesen att turkar och kurder är förenade i ett islamiskt brödraskap. Refah vill liksom socialdemokraterna upphäva undantagstillståndet i östprovinserna och avskaffa byvaktssystemet.

"Turkarna har inte ett kurdiskt problem utan ett turkiskt problem, därför att turkarna inte vill återge kurderna de rättigheter vi tog ifrån dem för 70 år sedan", hävdar ledaren för liberala New

Democracy Movement, affärsmannen Cem Boyner. Efter Osmanska rikets fall 1922 röstade det nybildade parlamentet i Ankara med stor majoritet för "upprättandet av en autonom administration för kurdiska landsmän i överensstämmelse med nationella seder". Lagen upphävdes två år senare strax efter republikens införande och samtidigt förbjöds kurdiskt skriftspråk och kurdiska skolor. Ett kurdiskt uppror nedslogs med fast hand av Atatürk, som lät avrätta 40 upprorsledare. Rädsla att anklagas för att svika Atatürks principer tycks fortfarande låsa den politiska debatten.

MED VEM SKALL statsledningen diskutera kurdproblemet? Med ingen, svarar Ankara, eftersom inget kurdproblem finns. Även de som menar att ett kurdproblem finns, håller mestadels före att Ankara inte skall diskutera det med någon kurdisk organisation eller förhandlingspart utan inom statsapparaten, dvs i parlamentet. Men hur skall det kunna ske när kurdiska parlamentsledamöter fräntas parlamentarisk immunitet och sätts i fängelse? Det hände med Leyla Zana och sex andra DEP-parlamentariker i mars 1994, som anklagades för att ha brutit mot landets lagar genom att uppmuntra till separatism, dvs en kränkning av Turkiets territoriella integritet. Inget förbjuder prokurdiska partier, men Ankara hänvisar till att kurder finns inom alla politiska partier och att inget särskilt parti bör upprättas för att exklusivt driva en fråga. Det kan noteras att partiet Hadep, DEP:s prokurdiska efterföljare, fick bara fyra procent av nationens röster i decembervalet trots höga procentsiffror i några östprovinser. Detta visar att den stora befolkningsandelen kurder i västra Turkiet inte vill identifiera sig kurdiskt i partipolitiskt hänseende.

Många frågar sig varför kurdiska och prokurdiska parlamentsledamöter inte bättre utnyttjat sin ställning för att vinna gehör för kurdfrågan. I stället för att provocera parlamentet genom att vägra svära eden och hålla anföranden på kurdiska kunde de ju sökt vinna kollegornas förtroende genom att inleda en mjuk dialog. Förklaringen till de kurdiska ledamöternas agerande uppges vara, att de omedelbart ville visa nationen vad de stod för, så att kurdfrågan uppmärksammades och så att deras väljare fick bekräftelse på att de inte svek dem.

Undantagstillstånd infördes 1987 i 10 provinser (av landets 76) och förnyas var fjärde månad av parlamentet. Det innebär att godtagna mänskliga rättighetsprinciper kan sättas åt sidan, vilket turkiska mänskliga rättighetsorganisationer hävdar att statsmakten inte har rätt att göra. "Rätten till liv är den främsta av alla mänskliga rättighetsprinciper", framhåller regeringen, "och denna princip respekteras inte av terroristorganisationen PKK." Därför måste staten använda våld för att skydda civilbefolkningens liv. Byvaktssystemet innebär att regeringen förser särskilt utsedda personer, ofta kurdiska klanledare, med pengar och vapen för att försvara byn mot PKK-angrepp. Antalet byvakter uppskattas till 60 000. Många vapen överlämnas till PKK under tvång eller frivilligt. Åtskilliga byvakter med familjer har fått sätta livet till. Premiärminister Yılmaz har nyligen lovat att se över byvaktssystemet och rätta till misstag samt att gradvis häva undantagstillståndet.

FORSKARE HÄRLEDER kurdproblemet till

kurdernas nomadiska livsstil och uppdelning i klaner. Redan för över tusen år sedan levde kurdiska nomadstammar i de områden kurderna befolkar i dag. Klämda mellan mäktiga grannar har kurdernas frihet ofta varit relativ, även om flytande gränser i svårtillgängliga bergsområden gynnat deras självständighet. Friheten inskränktes sedan första världskrigets segrarmakter dragit upp gränser som fördelade kurderna mellan Syrien, Irak, Turkiet och Iran. Om kurderna då hade varit eniga, hade ett Kurdistan kunnat bildas, tror flera. Men åtskilda av höga berg och auktoritära feodalherrar har kurderna aldrig kunnat bilda en enad front.

Många förordar en högre grad av lokalt självstyre i Turkiet genom decentralisering. Sedan Atatürks dagar är alltför mycket makt koncentrerad till Ankara, vilket bromsar utvecklingen av demokratin, hävdar man och tillägger, att decentralisering skulle användas som ett led i en process för att ge kurderna större autonomi.

EFTERSOM INGEN invandrare är registrerad som kurd utan som invandrare från Turkiet, Irak eller Iran, är det svårt att fastställa antalet kurder i Västeuropa. Av Tysklands två miljoner turkiska invandrare beräknas 450 000 vara kurder. Mot sin vilja indras mottagarstaterna i kurdkonflikten, vilket gör det angeläget för dem att söka bidra till en lösning. Men varje framstöt till turkiska regeringen tillbakavisas som inblandning i Turkiets inre angelägenheter och Turkiet vägrar att delta i internationella möten som exklusivt diskuterar kurdfrågan, tex Oslokonferensen i september 1995. Vägen går därför via mänskliga rättighetsfrågor, som turkarna kan ställas till svars för som medlemmar i Europarådet, OSSE, tullunionen med EU etc.

I de förslag som framläggs i internationella fora är eld-upphör alltid första punkten. Eld-upphör, eventuellt under internationell övervakning, sammankopplas ofta med rätten till förenings- och yttrandefrihet i Turkiet, inklusive för PKK, så att en politisk lösning kan främjas. ESK-rapporten i november 1994 rekommenderar att alla politiska icke-våldspartier skall få delta i Turkiets politiska liv. Avskaffandet av byvaktssystemet och hävandet av undantagstillståndet ingår i förslagen, inklusive kulturell autonomi för kurderna. Flera av dessa förslag har också framförts av Kurdistan Socialist Party, som tar avstånd från PKK:s våldsmetoder och har avstått från att delta i kurdiska exilparlamentet med motivering att det styrs av PKK.

Turkar och kurder som deltar i internationella möten om kurdfrågan brukar framhålla, att Turkiet inte kan anklaga utlandet för inblandning i Turkiets inre angelägenheter, för om dessa angelägenheter hade diskuterats fritt i Turkiet, hade ingen anledning funnits för inblandning.

Forskarna menar, att tiden verkar för en lösning, kanske inom två-tre år. Utlandets påtryckningar anses viktiga, men kan samtidigt framkalla nationalistiska motreaktioner. Dessa bedöms dock bli temporära mot bakgrund av den långsiktiga avsikten hos flertalet turkar att närmare integreras med Europa.

Kaj Falkman

Kaj Falkman är ambassadör och var generalkonsul i Istanbul 1990-95.

Förintelse hotar fördrivna kurder

EU slår dövörat till medan sjukdomar härjar i flyktinglägren, skriver Elisabeth Zila-Olin

● På högslätterna i Kurdistan, där Eufrat och Tigris rinner upp i ett uråldrigt landskap, blommar just nu en vacker vit iris som på kurdiska heter *pirpizik*. Blomman kallas *nevruz* på turkiska, och *nevroz* heter också den stora kurdiska vårfesten som infaller vid vårdagjämningen. Denna högtid har sitt ursprung i sagan om folkets befrielse från tyrannen Dehak på 600-talet fKr och sin starka politiska laddning i parallelliteten med den ojämna striden mellan den turkiska regimen och kurderna i Turkiet.

Ständigt bevakade

Under Newrozveckan har jag för PEN:s räkning rest runt i sydöstra Turkiet i sällskap med ett dussintal andra nordiska observatörer för att studera den rådande politiska verkligheten i ett land som just blivit medlem av EU:s tullunion.

Kelimmattornas tunga ulldoft i basareernas dunkel, kvinnornas blickar under slöjorna, gatustånden med honungskringlor, färska mandlar och sesambröd, fåraherden och hans hjord i bibliska tavlor – och samtidigt de civilklädda polis-männens uttryckslösa blickar, den elektroniska sången från deras walkie-talkies, det ständiga dallret av fara i luften. Inte ett steg utan bevakning tog vi, inte ett samtal fördes utan risk för avlyssning, inte en resa utan kontroll av minsta papperslapp i bagaget.

Ambassaden i Ankara avråder svenska medborgare från att åka hit, och den turkiske supergovernören över regionen, där belägringstillstånd råder, hindrar med alla medel utläningar från att besöka de byar som hundratusentals människor flyr ifrån. Och visst är det farligt. Även den mest försiktige besökare kan råka ut för PKK, hizbollah, byvakter. Dagen efter vår avresa misshandlades en tysk delegation svårt av islamister från Refahpartiet. För den turkiska regimen, som vill vidare in i EU, är det dock framför allt utländska besökare som upplevs som farliga.

Ivriga att berätta

Efter fyra dagars intensiv och påträngande polisövervakning fann vi oss plötsligt utan eskort i vår minibuss och tog då chansen att sticka av från huvudvägen mot de förbjudna bergen.

Längs en lerig väg tog vi oss fram mellan de gröna fälten där vårblommorna, små violetta ranunkler och gula miniatyrkamomiller, just stuckit upp ur den röda jorden, till en by där människorna kom oss till mötes, först ängsliga, sedan ivriga att berätta. Vita hus med risknippor på taket, cirkelrunda bakugnar vid knuten, en liten moské högst upp på torget som saknade stensättning och där man halkade i leran och åsneskiten. Byn rymmer ungefär 500 personer och har hittills undgått förstörelsen.

Via vår tolk talade vi med Remziye, en livlig åttabarnsmor och hennes mo:dsystrar. De utsåktade sig för att de blivit så fattiga att de bara kunde bjuda oss på te och nybakat bröd. "Kriget gör detta med oss", sa de. "Låt oss slippa leva som slavar på vår egen jord! Låt oss få arbeta! Låt oss få tala vårt språk! Låt våra barn få gå i skola!"

Som det nu är kan inga av de yngre barnen läsa eller skriva. På den tiden då barnen gick i skolan fick de inte behålla det namn föräldrarna gett dem utan registrerades med turkiska namn. Det kurdiska språket – som är indoeuropeiskt och tillhör en helt annan språkfamilj än den uralaltaiska turkiskan – är förbjudet i skolan.

Remziyes klara hy och friska tänder, liksom barnens ivriga trängsel omkring oss, talade dock om hälsa och glädje, trots den skräck som alla i byn ständigt lever med.

Följande dag mötte vi en grupp i det jättelika flyktinglägret Seyrantepe utanför Diyarbakir, regionens huvudstad. Vi frågade en av männen hur det hade gått till när hans by attackerades.

Väglar inte återvända

– En massa militärer kom till byn i gryningen. Soldaterna befälde oss män att lägga oss med ansiktet nedåt på marken och så gick man fram och tillbaka över våra ryggar och satte överrispipor i våra nackar. Lyfte någon på huvudet, sköt de honom, så det var inte så många som försökte. Därefter sade befälhavaren åt sina soldater att de fick lov att döda och våldta och bränna och plundra hur mycket de ville. Vi låg där och hörde våra kvinnor och barn skrika. När soldaterna hade gått, flydde de av oss som fortfarande kunde röra sig hit till Diyarbakir. Till vår by kan vi inte återvända. Då skjuter byvakterna oss.

Systemet med byvakter infördes på ett mer omfattande sätt i början av 90-talet, enligt en jurist i stadens advokatförbund. Det var ett strategiskt snilledrag för att hålla folk kvar i flyktinglägren. Byvakterna tvångsrekryteras bland kurderna och utgör en avlönad, halvmilitär organisation.

Diyarbakir hade fortfarande i slutet av 80-talet knappt en halv miljon invånare; nu hyser den bortåt två miljoner. Dysenteri, tyfus och andra tarmsjukdomar beskriver, enligt siffror från turkiska läkarförbundet, brant stigande kurvor. Malaria är på frammarsch, mässling och andra barnsjukdomar tar sin ökande tribut av de småbarn som föds i lägret.

Barfota i Ieran

Många springer barfota i den kalla Ieran, deras huvuden är rakade p g a skabb och löss. Ingen har naturligtvis råd med en läkare i detta läger där ingen av de humanitära organisationerna kunnat eller hunnit lindra nöden. Frågar man männen vad de behöver mest av allt svarar de att gåvor hjälper inte, bara en politisk lösning. Frågar man kvinnorna slår de ut med händerna mot sina barn och säger: "Se på mina barn! Hur tror du jag har det?"

Här mötte jag Irfan, som sa att han var fjorton år gammal, mager och ivrig, med sina två småbröder i ständigt släptåg.

Dessa tre smågrabbar tillhör en generation kurder som utstått de värsta förföljelserna i mannaminne i ett Kurdistan som under tidernas lopp drabbats ovanligt hårt av lidande och död.

I det storpolitiska spelet efter första världskriget missade kurderna – cirka 30 miljoner människor spridda över Turkiet, Syrien, Irak och Iran – sin historiska chans att få en egen nation, när Atatürk grundade Turkiet på det ottomanska rikets ruiner.

Mellan kriget slogs flera kurdiska revolter ned, och alltsedan militärkuppen 1980 har förföljelsen gradvis trappats upp. PKK:s motaktioner har under samma period blivit allt brutalare och även internationaliserats – till all olycka, då gerillan därmed avhänder sig den sympati för kurdernas sak som man möjligen lyckats väcka i mediebruset. Samtidigt har EU blivit allt dövare och till sist så lomhört att man släppte in Turkiet i tullunionen i december 1995.

Det turkiska inbördeskriget rymmer ett gammalt mönster av våldsaktioner och därpå följande repressalier i en ständig spiral. Vad som nu skett är att kriget ytterligare brutaliserats och närmast stigit en kurdernas apokalyps.

PKK lockar

Som så många andra folk i historien står Irfan och hans bröder inför sitt folks förintelse. Vi har i denna stund en möjlighet att genom våra EU-parlamentariker och på andra sätt se till att Turkiet åtminstone inte kommer vidare i korridoren mot EU förrän situationen i sydöstra Anatolien normaliserats.

PKK, som måste kallas en terrororganisation men som för Irfan och hans bröder ter sig som det enda alternativet till förintelse, utlyste vapenvila den 15 december 1995; kanske skall den turkiska militära påskoffensiven i de trakter vi besökte betraktas som ett svar.

ELIZABETH ZILA-OLIN
författare, medlem av PEN:s styrelse

Turkish Daily News — MONDAY, May 20, 1996

Gönensay off to Washington to discuss arms, the Aegean and Provide Comfort

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA. Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay flew to Washington Sunday to discuss delays in U.S. arms deliveries to Turkey, the future of Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) as well as tensions between Turkey and Greece.

Gönensay said he would be discussing the extension of the mandate of Operation Provide Comfort, a U.S.-dominated multinational force which was set up by the United Nations to protect northern Iraqi Kurds from attacks by Saddam Hussein.

Parties represented in the Turkish Parliament have voiced their opposition to the extension of the mandate of Provide Comfort under the current conditions and demanded at least more Turkish control over the force.

Parliament is due to vote in late June for a new mandate for the force which is stationed at the Incirlik airbase near the southern provincial capital of Adana.

Gönensay told reporters the government was working on a new set of rules for Provide Comfort which are similar to a plan proposed by Democratic Left Party (DSP) leader Bülent Ecevit who wants Turkey to have more sway over the command and control of Provide Comfort. Ecevit's proposals also include the creation of a buffer zone in northern Iraq on Turkey's border as well as creating a new democratic environment in Iraq where Kurds can once

again enter the Iraqi Parliament.

The DSP, whose support is vital for the minority government of Mesut Yılmaz, says it is against the extension of Provide Comfort in its current form and wants substantial changes. "I expect some positive results from my contacts in Washington on Provide Comfort," Gönensay said.

The Turkish foreign minister also said he would discuss the delay in U.S. arms shipments to Turkey. He said the long-awaited shipment of ATACAM missiles would start soon after the U.S. administration signed the delivery order on Friday.

He said he expects the United States to clarify the status of the shipment of three frigates which it will supply to Turkey. "Once that is sorted out we will discuss the purchase of Cobra helicopters with the U.S.," Gönensay stressed.

The United States has said it will send the frigates to Turkey soon but congressional sources say the Greek lobby has been active in blocking the delivery claiming the addition of these frigates to the Turkish Navy would upset the balance of power in the Aegean Sea in Turkey's favor.

The sale of the Cobra helicopters has also faced tough resistance in Congress because there are concerns that Turkey may use the 'copters in against Kurdish civilians in southeastern



Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay

Anatolia on the pretext of the fight against terrorism.

Gönensay said he would brief his American counterparts on Turkey's efforts to solve the disputes with Greece. He also said he would raise the issue of Caspian oil and its delivery to the West through Turkey. In recent weeks there have been suggestions that the United States has been turning a blind eye to developments that are

aimed at bypassing Turkey for the delivery of Caspian oil to the West by using Russian pipelines. Gönensay said Turkey and the United States have agreed to enhance their partnership relations and serve regional and global peace. "I am happy to say the political will to maintain relations at the very highest level between Turkey and the U.S. exists in Washington," he concluded.

Die Kurden des Nordiraks warten auf Ölexporte Hoffnungen auf einen wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung

Die Gespräche zwischen der Uno und dem Irak über begrenzte irakische Ölexporte werden von den Kurden im Nordirak aufmerksam verfolgt. Kurdische Politiker glauben, der Export irakischen Öls durch eine von ihnen zum Teil kontrollierte Pipeline stärke ihre Stellung gegenüber Bagdad. Die kurdischen Bürger hoffen, Ölexporte würden ihrer seit fünf Jahren isolierten Region einen wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung bescheren.

it. Dohuk, Anfang Mai

Der Generaldirektor des Zollamts am türkisch-irakischen Grenzübergang, Abdullah Ahmed Abdurrahim, läuft stolz durch die vor kurzem renovierten, mit Spannteppichen belegten Büroräume. Zeitraubende Zollformalitäten würden den Besuchern des Nordiraks künftig erspart, sagt er und zeigt auf drei noch nicht ausgepackte Computer. Künftig werde alles elektronisch erledigt, die handgeschriebenen Formulare gehörten der Vergangenheit an. Die Renovationsarbeiten seien notwendig gewesen; wenn nämlich einmal Öl durch die Pipeline fliesse, werde der Grenzverkehr um ein Vielfaches zunehmen, meint der Generaldirektor.

Illegaler Grenzverkehr

Abdullah Ahmed Abdurrahim ist einer der mächtigsten Männer der Region. Die von seinem Amt erhobenen Zölle bilden die wichtigste Einnahmequelle der von den Kurden kontrollierten Regionen des Nordiraks und stammen hauptsächlich von türkischen Lastwagenfahrern. Rund 1000 türkische Lastwagen passieren täglich die türkisch-irakische Grenze. Von der Türkei bringen sie Nahrungsmittel mit, die sie im Irak gegen billigen Treibstoff tauschen. Dieser Grenzverkehr ist auf Grund der Uno-Sanktionen gegen den Irak illegal. Er wird aber von allen Seiten geduldet, da er in den letzten Jahren die Versorgung der Kurden mit Nahrungsmitteln sichergestellt und die türkischen Südostprovinzen vor dem wirtschaftlichen Niedergang bewahrt hat.

Die Frage, ob Bagdad die Auflagen der Uno für beschränkte Ölexporte billigen werde, beschäftigt zurzeit die Kurden im Nordirak. Die Uno-Resolution 986 vom April 1995 erlaubt Bagdad, innerhalb von sechs Monaten Öl im Wert von zwei Milliarden Dollar zu verkaufen. Vom Erlös müssen Reparationszahlungen an Kuwait geleistet und Importe für die darbenbe Bevölkerung finanziert werden. Rund 300 Millionen Dollar müssen Uno-Hilfsorganisationen für Einsätze in den kurdischen Regionen zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Die Nahrungsmittelversorgung im Nordirak ist allerdings nicht mehr problematisch. Die Landwirtschaft hat sich sichtlich erholt. Zadi Pire, ein Funktionär der Patriotischen Union Kurdistans, erklärt, bereits 50 Prozent der bebaubaren Fläche würden kultiviert und Fleisch könne man im Nordirak billiger erstehen als in der Türkei oder in Iran. Den für die kurdischen Regionen vorgesehenen Anteil an den irakischen Öleinnahmen möchte die kurdische Administration für die Linderung der Medikamentenknappheit und für die Verbesserung der Infrastruktur einsetzen.



Die Gespräche zwischen der irakischen Delegation und der Uno sind bisher ergebnislos verlaufen. An der Frage, wie und von wem die Hilfe im kurdischen Nordirak verteilt werden soll, scheiden sich die Geister. Bagdad besteht darauf, dass die kurdischen Gebiete zum irakischen Territorium gehören und dass deshalb die irakische Regierung die Verteilung der Hilfe im ganzen Land kontrollieren muss. Um die Kurden freundlicher zu stimmen, hat Bagdad das vor fünf Jahren gegen den aufmüpfigen Norden verhängte Embargo teilweise aufgehoben. So wird die Stadt Dohuk wieder regelmässig mit Elektrizität aus dem Süden versorgt. Es werden jetzt auch wieder Schulbücher in den Norden gesandt.

Pipeline am Länderdreieck

Die Bemühungen Bagdads sind vorerst ohne Widerhall geblieben. Die kurdische Verwaltung besteht darauf, dass Bagdad erst dann Öl exportieren darf, wenn es sich genau an den Wortlaut der Resolution 986 hält. Diese Resolution sei deshalb wichtig, weil sie die Kurden als separate Einheit behandle, erläutert Zadi Pire. Die Kurden befürchteten, das irakische Regime könnte die Nahrungsmittel vergiften, wenn es die alleinige Kontrolle über die Verteilung der Hilfe erhalte.

Gemäss Resolution 986 muss ein grosser Teil des exportierten irakischen Öls durch die irakisch-türkische Pipeline fliessen. Es handelt sich um eine doppelte, 986 Kilometer lange Pipeline, die von Amerikanern und Italienern in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren gebaut wurde und eine Kapazität von 1,2 Millionen Fass pro Tag hat. Sie verbindet die reichen Ölfelder des irakischen Kirkuk mit der türkischen Mittelmeerküste. Noch in den achtziger Jahren hatte das irakische Regime geglaubt, die Pipeline gebe ihm ein Mittel zur Erhebung der europäischen Märkte in die Hand. Nun macht sie es zur Geisel. Ein rund zehn Kilometer langer Teil der Pipeline verläuft nämlich durch das von den Kurden kontrollierte Gebiet. Sie könnten den Hahn jederzeit zudrehen.

Die Pipeline erreicht das kurdische Gebiet bei der Ortschaft Bagditmeri. Der Fluss Habur bildet hier eine natürliche Grenze zwischen der Türkei, Syrien und dem Irak (beziehungsweise dem kur-

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dischen Nordirak). Hinter den Hügeln stehen sich die Soldaten dieser Nachbarn gegenüber. Vor zwei Monaten konnte der irakische Energieminister; Amir Mohammed Rasheed, erstmals seit langem wieder den kurdischen Abschnitt der Pipeline besichtigen. Rasheed reiste weiter zu einem offiziellen Besuch nach Ankara. Dass er durchs Kurdengebiet reisen durfte, führt die kurdische Führung auf eine Anfrage Ankaras zurück.

Das Interesse Ankaras

Ankara bemüht sich schon seit längerem darum, die Pipeline wieder in Betrieb zu nehmen. Die Türkei hat seit dem Golfkrieg Einnahmehinhalte in der Höhe von rund 20 Milliarden Dollar hinnehmen müssen. Darüber hinaus suchen die momentan populärsten türkischen Politiker, der nationalistische Ecevit und der Islamist Erbakan, aus ideologischen Gründen und aus Furcht vor den Kurden die Annäherung an Bagdad.

Der irakische Energieminister brachte bei seiner Durchreise ein Technikerteam mit, das Reparaturarbeiten bei der Pumpstation «Nergesia» ausführte. Diese Station war während des Golfkriegs von den Amerikanern bombardiert worden. Etwas weiter nördlich hatte die Kurdische Arbeiterpartei einen Teil der Pipeline gesprengt. Die Reparaturarbeiten seien mittlerweile beendet.

sagt der Chef des irakischen Teams. Nun hoffe er, bald die Pipeline in Betrieb nehmen zu können.

In Erwartung eines Aufschwungs

Der Markt von Dohuk wirkt erstaunlich lebendig und hat im Vergleich zu den letzten Jahren ein reiches Angebot an Waren. Frisches Gemüse liegt farbig abgestimmt auf grossen Gestellen. Es gibt ein grosses Angebot an Haushaltgeräten, die entweder aus der Türkei oder aus Iran stammen. Zu finden sind auch chinesische Fernsehantennen, Fernsehgeräte aus Korea und Nähmaschinen aus der ehemaligen Sowjetunion.

Wegen der Uno-Sanktionen würden seine Waren auf illegalem Weg aus der Türkei, Iran oder Syrien importiert, sagt ein Händler. Seitdem die Gespräche in New York über die beschränkten Ölexporte begonnen hätten, sei die Nachfrage deutlich zurückgegangen. Händler und Konsumenten warteten auf eine Entscheidung, denn jede Nachricht aus New York verursache grosse Währungsschwankungen beim irakischen Dinar gegenüber dem Dollar. Die Händler von Dohuk hoffen, dass Bagdad die Resolution 986 akzeptiert und dass die Ölexporte ihr isoliertes Gebiet endlich aus der wirtschaftlichen Sackgasse herausführen.

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ONU-Irak-pétrole

L'accord ONU-Irak: un demi dollar par jour pour chaque Irakien...

NEW YORK (Nations Unies), 20 mai (AFP) - L'accord entre l'Irak et ONU sur la formule "pétrole contre nourriture" ne représente, au mieux, pour chaque Irakien que la modique somme d'un demi dollar (deux francs cinquante) par jour, a indiqué lundi un responsable de l'ONU.

Selon l'accord, l'Irak est autorisé à exporter, chaque trimestre, du pétrole pour un milliard de dollars afin d'acheter de la nourriture et des médicaments à sa population exsangue après cinq ans et demi d'embargo.

Mais, sur cette somme, 300 millions sont destinés à une commission de compensation des Nations Unies chargée des dédommagements après l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak en 1990.

Environ 130 à 150 millions de dollars des 700 millions restants sont destinés aux Kurdes du nord de l'Irak. Le reste (environ 550 millions) est utilisé pour régler les salaires de divers fonctionnaires de l'ONU appartenant à la commission spéciale chargée de vérifier le respect par l'Irak des résolutions des Nations Unies sur son désarmement.

Ainsi, selon les calculs de l'ONU, les trois millions de Kurdes au nord de l'Irak, vont recevoir l'équivalent d'un demi dollar par jour et par personne tandis que chacun de quelque 17 millions qui habitent le reste de l'Irak recevront 32 cents.

ap/dkb/aje

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Aktan tells Shattuck TIHV treatment centers don't exist

Congressmen claim Turkey is 'obliged' to provide such centers

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- While Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay was busy discussing a wide spectrum of bilateral and multilateral issues with his U.S. counterparts, Ambassador Gündüz Aktan, deputy undersecretary at the Turkish Foreign Ministry, had an hour-and-threequarter-long meeting with John Shattuck, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights, democracy and labor — verifying earlier speculation that the United States would bring up the human rights issues during Gönensay's visit. While Shattuck did not ask anything from the Turkish delegation, he listened with interest to Aktan's presentation, a TDN source said.

Concerning the recent negative publicity the treatment centers of the Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TIHV) received in the U.S. Congress, Aktan said there was a lot of "misinformation" going around in Washington on the issue. The centers simply did not exist, he said.

"There is a lot of disinformation in the United States concerning the Turkish Human Rights Foundation. They claim that Turkey has shut down the foundation's rehabilitation centers [for torture victims] or that Turkey applies pressure on such centers. We explained to Shattuck that the TIHV does not have any such rehabilitation centers," Aktan said.

"The cases that went to the court have been turned down by the judges because there are no such centers physically. The thing they call a 'center' is the local branch of the foundation itself. That's what they call a 'center.' The auditors of the Ministry of Health cannot find a clinic when they visit these 'centers.' There are no personnel in such 'rehabilitation centers.' All they have is a list of doctors that they refer people to," Aktan continued.

"They again insist that we are interposing ourselves in between doctors and their patients. There is no such thing. But if there is really torture in Turkey, and the TIHV is working to eliminate that, then when somebody applies to the foundation saying that he has been tortured, then naturally the foundation has to get in

touch with the [state] prosecutor, saying: 'Here we have somebody who says he has been tortured.' They are obligated to report torture to the prosecutor, like anywhere else in the world. Again, as elsewhere in the world, an entity that operates as a clinic has to get permission and a license from the Ministry of Health. It has to operate under the supervision of the Ministry of Health. We are not even sure if the person who claims to be a 'doctor' in these 'centers' knows what he is doing or not. You don't know that either," he said.

"There is something else: All such centers around the world treat victims of human rights violations from other countries, not their own citizens. The reason is, it is against the law to do so," Aktan added.

He also said he had discussed with Shattuck the inconsistencies they had observed in the State Department's reports concerning the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). For example, reports said there were "armed clashes" with the PKK. If Turkey is in a "war" with the PKK, as the State Department claimed, then Turkey could not be asked to release those arrested within a month, since no human rights law would apply to a war situation. The Turkish government does not accept that there is a "war" with the PKK.

"Again, if he uses the human rights law as a framework, then one has to criticize PKK's actions as much as one criticizes Turkey's behavior," Aktan said. "It has to give details of how the PKK operates. The PKK fights with civilians. That's totally illegal. On the one hand the U.S. State Department says that the PKK employs 'part-time guerrillas' [Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1995, p. 52], then it does not say anything to condemn the practice. It is against the law to conduct a 'war' with 'part-time guerrillas.'"

"Then one must choose which legal framework one should employ in writing these reports. If you employ both legal systems, as is done now by the U.S. State Department, then it is tantamount to supporting the PKK. It looks like choosing those aspects of both jurisprudence systems that support the PKK," he said.

"In these reports it is also alleged that the Super Cobra helicopters are used against civilians. I told Mr. Shattuck that that has never been the case," he concluded.

Congress to Gönensay

Four members of the U.S. Congress, on the other hand, circulated a letter among their colleagues on May 17. The letter, addressed to Gönensay, protests the treatment of TIHV rehabilitation centers — which the Turkish government says don't even exist.

After noting that according to the Turkish government such centers are not legal, the four congressmen said: "Under both the European and the United Nations conventions against torture, states are obliged to provide treatment services for victims of torture."

Reps. Frank Wolf (Republican, Virginia); Christopher Smith (Republican, New Jersey); John Edward Porter (Republican, Illinois); and Steny Hoyer (Democrat, Maryland) called on their colleagues to co-sponsor the letter to Gönensay and oppose the practice of torture in Turkey.

"Because Turkey is an American ally and a large recipient of foreign assistance, these actions should not be allowed to occur without strong condemnation by the United States," the four congressmen said.

19 NGOs to Gönensay

Another letter on the topic of torture in Turkey, dated May 20, 1996, was sent to Gönensay and was signed by 19 human rights NGOs ranging from Amnesty International to Amigos de los Sobrevivientes, Inc. Mentioning the continuing case of two workers related to the Adana branch of the TIHV, who are charged with "operating an unlicensed health center" and "negligence in denouncing a crime," the NGOs told Gönensay: "We are shocked by such charges against members of a well-established, deeply-respected human rights organization, who carry out humanitarian and ethical work in accordance with internationally recognized standards of international law and medical ethics."

The NGOs urged Gönensay to have all charges against the TIHV dropped. "We ask you, in the spirit of the highest principles of medical ethics and fundamental law, to ensure that all requests for the foundation's medical files and confidential patient information be rescinded immediately."

A copy of the letter was also sent to Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz.

Turkish Daily News

Wednesday, May 22, 1996

Iraqi-UN crude oil deal may lead to new openings for Turkey

It is no secret that the United Nations' sanctions imposed on Iraq after the Gulf War have had a disastrous affect on Turkey which has emerged as one of the net losers in this ordeal. So the deal between Iraq and the U.N. which allows the Baghdad administration to sell some of its oil and spend this on purchases of food and medicine is quite welcome in Turkey. U.N. Security Council Resolution 980 says most of the Iraqi crude will be shipped through the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline, which means transit fees for Turkey to the tune of around \$120 million for six months. Besides this Turkey will be able to extract 3.8 million barrels of oil which it has paid for and which are currently in the pipeline.

But that is not all. It is clear that the Iraqis will also purchase their food and medicines from Turkey, which will bring further revenues to the tune of about \$500 million. We have heard that the Syrians are also trying to court Saddam Hussein and thus sell some of their own foodstuffs to Iraq, bypassing Turkey...

There are also rumors that the Iraqi-Syrian pipeline which has remained dormant for ages will be operational again and the Iraqis will ship their oil through this route instead of through Turkey. Of course all this is wishful thinking. Syria is playing a double game. It is spreading rumors that Saddam and Hafez al-Assad are making amends. This seems to be a message from Damascus to

editorial



By İlınur Çevik

Washington that "if you push us too far, we will go and befriend Iraq which is your arch enemy..."

The U.N. resolution specifies clearly where and how the Iraqi crude will be shipped. The bulk will be exported through Turkey and the rest through Iraq's ports in the Gulf.

Turkey has played silent diplomacy in a rather successful manner over the past year. It has tried to coax the Iraqis into accepting the U.N. resolution for the partial sale of oil while it has also been telling the Americans to be more understanding toward Baghdad.

However, now Turkey has to show its real diplomatic talents. It is a fact that Turkey's relations with the Iraqi Kurdish leaders are far from satisfactory. Turkey has to use its diplomatic skills to win back the trust of the Iraqi leaders like Jalal Talabani and Massoud Barzani. If the current government crisis prevents us from doing this then the president should intervene. Because there is always a limit to what the Turkish Foreign Ministry can do in the absence of real political power in Ankara...

If we fail to do this the oil deal may backfire. If Iraq has been suffering from sanctions the Iraqi Kurds have been suffering even more. The deal allows the Kurds benefits totalling about \$200-300 million in the form of food and medicine. Thus the Kurds may now feel much more secure in their safe haven. The fact that the U.N. agencies will be delivering this aid weakens Baghdad's grip on northern Iraq. Thus if Turkey deserts the Iraqi Kurds they may well start acting more independently and once again the dream of a Kurdish independent state may push them to make mistakes...

Besides all this, Turkey's separatist PKK group, which has bases in northern Iraq, may ask for a cut of the aid from the Iraqi Kurds...

All this depends on how Turkey can project its policies on northern Iraq...

Onsdagen den 22 maj 1996

.. DAGENS NYHETER

Syrien hotar Turkiet

”Israel har infiltrerat den turkiska statsapparaten”

Av NATHAN SHACHAR
JERUSALEM.

De statskontrollerade syrisk nyhetsmedierna fortsatte på tisdagen sina häftiga attacker mot det strategiska samarbetet mellan Turkiet och Israel.

Den syriska radion inledde på måndagen ett formligt bombardemang av hotelser och beskyllningar mot Turkiet. Den yttre orsaken var den turkiske flottchefens besök vid den israeliska flottans huvudbas i Haifa. På tisdagen fick den turkiska regeringen skäppan full också av partiorganet Ba'ath och regeringsorganet Thawra, som bland annat hävdade att Israels spionorganisation Mossad "infiltrerat den turkiska statsapparaten".

Innehållet i Israels avtal med Turkiet är inte närmare känt, men i takt med att allt

fler detaljer sipprar ut ökar Syriens oro för att bli föremål för en diplomatisk kniptångsmanöver. Damaskus, och stora delar av arabvärlden, reagerade med chock i april, då en försvarstalesman i Ankara meddelade att Turkiet givit det israeliska flygvapnet landnings- och träningsrättigheter. Israel och Turkiet har regionens bägge starkaste flygvapen, och det är förstärkt att ett närgånget samarbete mellan dessa Syriens bägge grannländer väcker stort obehag i Damaskus, där flygvapnets moderniseringsprogram genom Sovjetunionens kollaps hamnat flera år efter schemat.

Försvarspakt

Har Israel och Turkiet endast kommit överens om en serie tjänster och gentjänster - underrättelsesamarbete, modernisering av turkiska stridsflygplan i Israel, med mera - eller är det en regelrätt för-

svarspakt som håller på att ta form? Är det på det viset står det klart att de strategiska styrkeförhållandena i området stuvats om ordentligt.

Ett långtgående turkisk-israeliskt militärsamarbete måste oroa inte bara Syrien, Egypten och Irak, utan blir också en kontroversiell stridsfråga inom Turkiet, där den islamiska rörelsen seglade upp som största parti vid det senaste parlamentsvalet. Så sent som i söndags greps en pistolman bara några meter inpå president Süleyman Demirel. Under förhören uppgav mannen att han avsett att mörda Demirel för samarbetet med Israels skull.

Samtal med Irak

Ligger det något i de senaste veckornas envisa rykten om ett sammanträffande mellan de mångåriga fienderna Saddam Hussein av Irak och Hafez Assad av Syrien så torde detta ha att göra med denna

utveckling. I utsikt av en allt tätare strategisk samverkan mellan Israel och Turkiet har Assad inte längre råd med ett spänt och misstänksamt förhållande till grannen i öster, i synnerhet som också Syriens granne i söder, Jordanien, på senare år inlett olika former av samarbete med Israel.

Saddam Hussein är ju själv irriterad och kränkt över de friheter Turkiet tar sig i det demilitariserade irakiska Kurdistan, som invaderats av turkiska styrkor flera gånger på senare år.

Relationerna mellan Turkiet och Syrien har varit ansträngda i flera år. De turkiska dammbyggena vid floden Eufrats övre lopp har fått Syrien att oroa sig för sin vattenförsörjning. Samtidigt anser Turkiet att Syrien bekostar och tränar den kurdiska PKK-rörelsens kämpar, något som Damaskus förnekat. □

Turkish Daily News - Wednesday, May 22, 1996

Syria warns Turkey on ties with Israel

Damascus says it reserves right to take necessary measures "to counter Turkish-Israeli alliance"

Reuters

DAMASCUS- Syria on Tuesday blasted Turkey for boosting its military ties with Israel and said such a step would provoke the Turkish Muslim people and drag Ankara into conflicts. Syrian information officials also accused Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz of adopting hostile policies against neighbouring Syria and said Damascus retained the right to confront any military alliance that threatened its security. "The Turkish-Israeli military deal is in fact an uncordial action by the Turkish government towards Arabs," Mohammed Khair al-Wadi, director-general of the government daily Tishreen, said.

The deal "puts Turkey in confrontation with the whole Arab nation and creates more problems for it with Arab states". Wadi added in a front-page commentary: "The government of Yilmaz has escalated its hostile language against Syria and Arabs and increased the uncordial statements which escalate tension and push ties to more deterioration."

Wadi's remarks came a day after the head of Turkey's navy began a visit to Israel to further boost military ties after both states signed a military cooperation deal in February. Turkish President Süleyman Demirel escaped an assassination attempt on Saturday by a lone gunman who said he was protesting the military agreement, whose articles were kept secret. The would-be assassin was overpowered by Demirel's bodyguards. First word of Turkey's February military deal with Israel, which leaked to Turkish newspapers last month, touched off sharp criticism from Muslim states, charging Ankara with a betrayal of solidarity against the Jewish state.

"The Turkish authorities have brought the Zionist monster, whose teeth and nails are stained with the blood of the innocent people in Lebanon and Palestine into the Turkish society," Wadi said.

"Such a step constitutes a clear provocation of the feelings of the Islamic people of Turkey...It drags Turkey into conflicts that it

has nothing to do with," he added.

The Anatolian News Agency said Navy Admiral Güven Erkaya arrived in Israel on Monday to visit a naval base at Haifa and a munition production centre as guest of his Israeli counterpart, Major-General Alex Tal.

The media said Turkey and Israel would hold joint naval exercises but there was no official confirmation of the report. Another official daily, al-Baath, said Damascus would not allow its territory to be used to attack Turkey but at the same time would not remain idle towards any alliance that endangers its security.

"Syria, which repeatedly affirmed its rejection of the launching of any aggressive action against Turkey from its lands, reiterates commitment to its legitimate right to confront any military alliance that threatens its security," it said. But the same officials said Damascus was keen to have good ties with Turkey and urged Ankara to reconsider its policies and to open dialogue with Syria to solve all problems.

Relations are tense over water-sharing and Turkish accusations that Syria backs separatist Kurds in southeast Turkey.

Syria denies it supports the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), fighting for Kurdish homeland in southeast Turkey and says Ankara wants to use the issue to deprive Damascus of its share of the River Euphrates waters.

Wadi said Syria would not give up its right to a fair share of the Euphrates, which flows from Turkey to Syria and Iraq.

Oil accord is welcomed in Ankara despite 'Kurdish state' concern

Technicians happy over prospect of earning revenues while politicians worry that accord may be prelude to setting up an independent Kurdish entity in N. Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Reactions in Ankara to the news of the oil accord between Iraq and the U.N. ranged from pleasure at the prospect of having the dormant Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline running again to concern that the provisions of the accord relating to northern Iraq represented a prelude to the establishment of a Kurdish state in the region.

Among the first to react to the news were Mustafa Murathan, the general director of the Turkish Oil Pipeline Company (BOTAŞ), and Uğur Doğan, the undersecretary at the Ministry for Energy and Natural Resources, both of whom were contacted by the Anatolia news agency immediately after the news broke. Murathan said that this development would definitely affect Turkey positively, adding that the pipeline running between Kirkuk in northern Iraq and Yumurtalik on Turkey's Mediterranean coast would be reopened after five years, and this would mean the earning of valuable revenue.

Pointing out that there was no problem as far as the Turkish end of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline was concerned, Murathan said that as far as the Iraqi end was concerned there was some minor damage at a pumping station near the border.

He added however that this would not affect the transportation of oil through this pipeline.

Uğur Doğan, the undersecretary at the Ministry for Energy and Natural Resources, characterized this development as "very positive" and "very pleasing."

He pointed out that despite hopes waning from time to time, this was actually the result that had been expected in the end. "We had an impression that this agreement would be signed in September or October. But this is a true newswatch. It is a very positive agreement and we are very pleased," Doğan said. Asked by the Turkish Daily News to comment on the Iraqi-U.N. accord, the former head of BOTAŞ, Hayrettin Uzun, maintained that the accord would put the subject of a "Kurdish state" in northern Iraq back on the agenda.

Uzun, who is currently a deputy from Kocaeli for the Motherland Party (ANAP), cautioned against the establishment of such "statelets" in northern Iraq.

"Turkey must be aware that the establishment of a Kurdish statelet, regardless of what they call it, is in the making," Uzun argued.

He also conjectured that the accord between Iraq and the U.N. would increase the cooperation of the northern Iraqi Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Talabani, and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is waging a separatist war in the Southeast of Turkey and which has bases in northern Iraq. "Despite all this, though, I find the U.N. decision to be a positive development. But it also means that Turkey has to be ready for new developments."

Touching on the positive side of this development, Uzun added that the Turkish side of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline had been made operational in 1994, and confirmed Murathan's comments by saying that Turkey was ready to transport the oil that would come as a result of the Iraqi-U.N. accord.

Pointing out that the biggest advantage of this accord for Turkey would be "psychological," Uzun said:

"Even the partial operation of the pipeline will bring positive advantages with it. For one thing, these positive effects will be felt by people in the region. Turkey spent \$2.5 billion on this pipeline. With the pipeline operational again, this investment will not have gone to waste. Because if the oil in pipelines is not transported it becomes heavy and damages the pipeline through corrosion. The flow of oil prevents this." Uzun said that the pipeline had the capacity to carry 70 million tons of oil per annum, and that since the U.N. embargo was imposed on Iraq five years ago Turkey had suffered losses to the tune of \$200 million a year in transit fees.

He emphasized that the cooperation of the northern Iraqi Kurds would be necessary for the transportation of this oil, adding that this assistance would be most felt in providing for the security of the pipeline and the distribution of aid to be secured from the sale of oil.

Uzun pointed out that the bulk of the aid would be purchased in Turkey, which would mean extra revenues being earned through this channel also.

Contacted by the Turkish Daily News, the deputy chairman of the main opposition Welfare Party, Abdullah Gül, said that the embargo imposed against Iraq had to be lifted in full. He added nevertheless that the permission given to Iraq for limited oil sales was a step in this direction.

Gül said that the money earned from the oil should be used by the Iraqi regime as it saw fit, adding that the U.N. insistence that this be used for humanitarian reasons meant that there could be ulterior motives in the overall arrangement.

He said that many nongovernmental organizations came with the ostensible aim of engaging in humanitarian activities but were later found to be operating in line with the interests of the country from which they originated.

Repeating the concern voiced by Hayrettin Uzun, Gül pointed to the existence of a danger concerning the establishment of a Kurdish state under the guise of humanitarian aid.

He said the Turkish government should take the initiative with respect to developments in northern Iraq. Recalling that Turkey had shouldered the burden of aid to hundreds of thousands of Iraqi refugees after the Gulf War, Gül said that this qualified Turkey to coordinate U.N. aid to northern Iraq.

Asked by the Turkish Daily News to comment on the Iraq-U.N. oil accord, Republican People's Party (CHP) deputy Ali Dinçer said that the reopening of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline was a positive development.

He said the Iraqi Kurds, Iraq itself and Turkey would all come out of this with advantages.

Taking a different line to Uzun and Gül, Dinçer said humanitarian aid would help northern Iraq's re-integration with Iraq proper, and thus the preservation of Iraq's territorial integrity.

POINT SUR LA SITUATION EN TURQUIE

• VISITE DU COMITÉ EUROPÉEN POUR LA PRÉVENTION DE LA TORTURE

Une mission de 5 membres de cet organisme du Conseil de l'Europe chargé de faire respecter la Convention européenne par la prévention de la torture, dont la Turquie est signataire, effectuée depuis le 6 mai une visite d'inspection de 3 jours en Turquie. Cette mission dirigée par M. Claude Nicoloy va enquêter sur les conditions de garde-à-vue dans les commissariats turcs, sur les méthodes d'interrogatoire de la police turque ainsi que sur les conditions de détention pénitentiaire. La mission aura également des entretiens avec le Premier ministre, avec les ministres de l'intérieur et de la Justice ainsi qu'avec le Directeur général de la Sûreté et le commandant en chef de la gendarmerie.

Au cours de son entrevue du 7 mai avec la mission, le Premier ministre turc a notamment affirmé: «malgré tous nos soins, en raison des conditions créées par la lutte contre le terrorisme des cas de torture peuvent malheureusement avoir lieu. Cependant, avec la levée de l'état d'urgence dans la région les cas de torture vont diminuer». M. Yilmaz a également ajouté que le nouveau cabinet n'avait pas de poste de ministre chargé des droits de l'homme car «chaque ministre est désormais en charge des droits de l'homme».

Le rapport élaboré au terme de cette visite reste en principe confidentiel mais en 1992, le comité européen, consterné par l'ampleur et le caractère de routine de l'usage de la torture en Turquie avait décidé de rompre cette règle de confidentialité et de rendre public son rapport. Le Comité européen qui est un organisme officiel nommé par les États cosignataires de la Convention.

• LA FONDATION TURQUE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME POURSUIVIE PAR LES COURS DE SÛRETÉ DE L'ÉTAT

Depuis sa création en 1990, les responsables de la Fondation turque des Droits de l'Homme (IHF) ont, à maintes reprises, comparu devant les Cours de Sûreté de l'État pour leurs activités «gênantes» et «la mauvaise image» qu'ils donnent de la Turquie. Ce jeudi 9 mai, 9 responsables de (IHF) doivent comparaître devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'État d'Ankara pour un article paru dans une des publications de «IHF» et jugé par les autorités comme «insultant les lois de la République turque et les décisions de la Grande Assemblée». En vertu de l'article 159/3 du Code pénal turc, chacun de ces responsables est passible de plus de 6 mois de prison. Par ailleurs, les centres de soins mis en place par la Fondation pour venir en aide aux victimes de la torture en Turquie et qui sont subventionnés par le Fonds volontaire pour les victimes de la torture de l'ONU et par l'Union européenne, sont également mis en cause par les autorités turques. Le 10 mai, deux responsables du Centre de soins des victimes de la torture de la ville d'Adana doivent comparaître devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'État de cette ville accusés de «désobéissance aux ordres des autorités officielles» et de «négligence en dénonçant un crime».

• UNE NOUVELLE INCURSION TURQUE AU KURDISTAN D'IRAK

Les troupes turques fortes de 35 000 soldats ont pénétré, dans la nuit du dimanche à lundi, de 10 Km au Kurdistan d'Irak «pour poursuivre les militants du PKK» selon le communiqué de l'état-major turc. Cette incursion fait suite à «la campagne

du printemps» lancée, le 6 avril dernier, par l'armée turque contre les militants du PKK. Des hélicoptères Cobra, de fabrication américaine, participent activement à cette incursion. A ce jour, le bilan de cette opération militaire, selon les autorités turques, est de 16 morts parmi les maquisards du PKK. Par ailleurs en parallèle avec cette incursion, des affrontements armés ont opposé forces de sécurité turques et militants du PKK dans la province kurde de Dersim (Tunceli): 4 soldats turcs et 9 militants du PKK y ont trouvé la mort. Commentant l'incursion de l'armée turque, M. Safeen Dizay représentant du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan d'Irak à Ankara a déclaré que «des dizaines de familles kurdes irakiennes furent les bombardements turcs dans une zone habitée par des civils». 3 Kurdes irakiens du village Tirvanis ont été tués à la suite des bombardements turcs.

• LA MAFIA TURQUE DISPOSERAIT DE 23.000 TUEURS À GAGES

La mafia turque est un véritable État dans l'État en Turquie affirme le quotidien Milliyet du 10 mai qui établit la liste de 40 domaines d'activité où elle sévit. Selon le quotidien, la Pieuvre a un budget annuel de 200 trillions de livres (environ 15 milliards de FF.) et elle emploie dans l'ensemble du pays 23.000 tueurs à gages. Le journal publie également les tarifs en vigueur en 1994: blesser quelqu'un à la jambe ou le blesser avec un couteau est facturé 2000 FF; le passage à tabac avec brisure d'un bras ou de doigts: 1000 FF; simple menace verbale: 400 FF. Quant au meurtre, il coûte environ 200.000 FF. La mafia turque tire la majeure partie de ses ressources du trafic de stupéfiants et de l'obtention, par menace ou corruption, de marchés de construction ainsi que du paiement des chèques

et créances non honorés des entreprises ou des particuliers. Pour obtenir son dû, il est courant en Turquie de s'adresser à la Mafia qui, en échange de ses services, retient 50% de la somme recouvrée. La mafia entretient également des relations suivies avec la classe politique à tous les niveaux ainsi qu'avec la police, la justice et la haute hiérarchie militaire. Les relations ne sont pas toujours occultes. İnci Baba, l'un des parrains

illustres de la Mafia turque, a accompagné à plusieurs reprises M. Demirel dans ses voyages à l'étranger et à sa mort le président turc a un moment songé à publier un décret gouvernemental pour autoriser sa famille à ériger un mausolée à la mémoire de cet Al Capone local qui avait porté aide financière et «protégé» M. Demirel après le coup d'État militaire de 1980.

Turkish Daily News - Thursday, May 23, 1996

Freedom of thought on trial again

By Erdinç Ergenç

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- A second group of intellectuals who published the book "Freedom of Thought and Expression" were tried Wednesday at the 3rd State Security Court of Istanbul.

1,088 intellectuals who had put their names as publishers of the book are charged with Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code and the infamous Article 8 of Anti Terror Law are the defendants. The articles are punishing "spreading hatred among people through publication on the basis of racial, religious and linguistic differences," but the lawyers stated that only 186 of the signees were to be tried.

During the yesterday's trial only 10 of the 86 publishers were heard. Most of the intellectuals said that they willingly became the publisher of the book and are ready to face any penalty to expand the borders of freedom of

thought and expression. The prosecutor objected that the basis of the defense was freedom of expression, saying that the defendants were charged with threatening the integrity of the state.

But the lawyers remarked that their clients are aware of the charges and that they would carry on with the defense. Ayşegül Devocioğlu said while giving evidence that everybody was aware of what the crime meant and emphasized that there were no need for other people to make forbidding rules.

Muhsin Kızılkaya stated that he would continue to take part in every attempt to defend freedom of thought, while Ali Yılmaz emphasized that the main quality of mankind were the ability to think. Necmettin Çobanoğlu the chairman of Sine-Sen Trade Union described himself as a cog in the factory of thought and he cannot separate

himself from this chain by stopping thinking only because a prosecutor does not like his ideas.

Muzaffer Hiçyılmaz, a lecturer, stated that he always taught his students to think without taking care for racial, language and belief differences. Nazmiye Güçlüoğlu told the judge that she had problems in explaining her 8 year old child, how thinking could be a crime.

The trial has been postponed by the court to 22 July. The case of the first group of 99 intellectuals was heard last month, which attracted media attention and witnessed to humorous scenes. Mahir Günşiray read passages from Franz Kafka at the courtroom. In the first group of 99 people Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Pamuk, Münir Ceylan, Zülfü Livaneli and many other famous artists and intellectuals are included. The second hearing of this first trial will be held in 31 May.

Disaster at Habitat plateau kills one

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The collapse of two buildings yesterday in Taksim, at the center of Istanbul and part of Habitat plateau, has left one person dead.

At 11.00 a.m. in Hocaçade street, one of those streets being prepared and cleaned for Habitat, a building collapsed, leaving an adjoining building seriously damaged.

It was reported that one building, No 15, a historical structure collapsed due to inept renovation work and the demolition of the neighboring

building. The collapse of this building also damaged the fronting building that was inhabited by squatters.

Of the six people were pulled from the debris, one was dead, two injured and three miraculously received no injuries. The people, in their 20s, living in the old building were saved from the collapsed building after hours.

The 25-year old young man who was dead under the collapsed building was reportedly named Mustafa.

The injured ones were Muharrem

Pehlivan, born in Trabzon in 1969 and Yaşar Aslan, born in Adiyaman in 1973. The injured were taken to Taksim Hospital. The three people, Firat Karabulut, İsmail Akçam, Hacı Ökkeş who were saved without any injuries, said they could not believe what had happened and started to cry once they were taken out to the day light.

Istanbul once again revealed its two faces: The tarted-up facade for Habitat covering over the neglected and demolishing buildings.

Turkey protests pro-Kurdish remarks in Russian parliament's meeting

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey protested statements by some Russian government officials that appeared to be supporting the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) during a meeting in the Russian Parliament. Turkey, pointing out that the PKK propaganda in Russia has increased, asked Russia whether its policy regarding the PKK had changed, the semi-official Anatolia news agency reported. The

protest was made by a representative of the Turkish Embassy in Moscow, following a meeting organized by the Duma's Geopolitical Affairs Committee. Participants in this meeting were members of the Russian government, some of whom made statements that supported the PKK. Alexander Nevzorov, a director for the Federal Security Service, said that the PKK was not a terrorist organization and that Russia should make use of the Kurdish problem in Turkey.

Ankara denies it is unhappy with Israeli accord

Turkish Daily news

ANKARA- Turkey on Wednesday denied reported remarks by Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz that a recently concluded military accord with Israel could be reviewed and said there were no problems concerning this accord.

The Foreign Ministry made this announcement in a statement following reports in Wednesday's press that said Yilmaz had told his parliamentary group the day before that the accord had "brought more harm than good."

The accord has been strongly criticized by traditionally anti-Israeli Islamist groups in Turkey and by a host of Arab countries.

The military establishment, which negotiated the accord, however, is reported to be firmly behind the arrangement with Israel.

High ranking military officials are said to be assessing the success of the accord by the disturbance it has created in countries such as Syria which Ankara says use underhand methods against Turkey such as supporting separatist Kurdish terrorism.

The Foreign Ministry statements said that the prime minister had not uttered the words attributed to him in the press.

Contacted by the Anatolia news agency, Israel's ambassador to Ankara, Zvi Elpeleg, also said that the accord was working well and indicated that they had not received any signs from Ankara to date to suggest that it was unhappy with this arrangement.

Indicating that Turkey "is a mature enough country to know where its interest lie," Elpeleg also said that Ankara was sovereign enough to conduct its own business without interference from the outside.

Libération — 22 mai 1996

Murat pour le Kurdistan

Curiosité scénique annoncée de la semaine prochaine: un concert militant de Murat. Entre deux séances d'enregistrement de son prochain album, attendu pour l'automne et dont on ne divulguera pas le probable titre espagnol, le créateur du *Manteau de pluie du Singe* chantera le 28, à la Maison du Peuple de Clermont-Ferrand, au profit de l'association franco-kurde et du Secours Populaire. Les fonds réunis (85 francs la place) devraient financer un convoi humanitaire à destination du Kurdistan. On ose espérer de l'indit (*Mieux, Presque rien, Vania du Mont d'Or...?*) mêlé aux réminiscences de la dernière tournée, et on peut se rappeler que le chanteur bougnat, sur l'un de ses duos en BO de *Mademoiselle Personne*, avec Elodie Bouchez, parlait déjà des Kurdes.

THE INDEPENDENT • THURSDAY 23 MAY 1996

'No light at end of tunnel'

Istanbul - Western diplomats believe the number of people being tortured and "disappearing" in Turkey has been decreasing and that affairs have improved since the early 1980s.

But Akin Birdal, head of the Human Rights Association, refused to see light at the end of the tunnel. "There is no sign things are getting better. In fact, they are getting worse. People in charge of atrocities are being rewarded by seats in parliament and even ministries," said Mr Birdal, who is also a left-wing politician.

Earlier this year the government initiated action against branches of the Human Rights Foundation after they offered counselling to torture victims.

Amnesty campaigns in the past depressed Turkey's trade and tourism. Letter-writing seems to have more impact on those doing the torturing, however, and diplomats defend the principle of training police forces. "They already know how to torture," said one. "The point is to teach them forensic methods that will allow them to dispense with the need for a confession in the first place."

Hugh Pope

'They tortured me, invited me to tea'

A Turkish torture victim, Ali Ekber Kaya, did not know he was about to feature in the latest campaign by Amnesty International, writes Hugh Pope.

From eastern Turkey, he said it was likely to be a mixed blessing. "Once the police said to me: 'If we knew you had this many foreign friends, we'd have simply got rid of you.' So I'm naturally a bit worried ... But one thing is for sure. If it hadn't been for Amnesty International ... I would not be living now."

Mr Kaya lives in Tunceli, which means "Bronze Hand", a name bestowed on the town of Dersim by the Turkish authorities after a Kurdish uprising was crushed there in 1938. The town is still plagued with ethnic-religious strife and killings.

"I'm both Kurdish and an Alevi, so I'm for the chop on both counts," Mr Kaya said. Alevis are heterodox Shia Muslims, often in conflict with the Sunni majority. He was first arrested in 1994 and tortured on suspicion of belonging to the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party before being acquitted. He was rearrested in March 1995 and tortured for a confession that he was in the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

Amnesty said he was hosed down, had two ribs broken,

was not allowed to sleep and was hung from the ceiling to be given electric shocks through his fingers and genitals. "The police think they are protecting their country, that they are protecting Islam. When the muezzin starts, they even stop for prayers," said Mr Kaya, who could still laugh at the absurdity of some of his experiences.

The group of 17 suspects was brought to court, where all but two were acquitted. A woman prosecutor had pity on them, shocked at their state but the police rearrested him and imprisoned him for two more months, although he was not harmed any more.

But release from jail did not free him from his torturers, who visited him at work in the municipality, once even asking him to call for tea. Mr Kaya, who has since brought a case against the police, said he believed their goal was to close the local branch of the Human Rights Association in the town.

"They have succeeded. They have confiscated everything," Mr Kaya said. "They even asked me what I thought of the fact that they had tortured me. I said: 'What would you think if I had done that to you?' That kept them quiet for a while."

Irak

La guerre du Golfe n'est pas finie

L'accord, conclu lundi à New York entre l'ONU et l'Irak, sur la résolution « pétrole contre nourriture » n'entame en rien la volonté de Washington d'« accélérer la chute de l'actuel régime irakien »

La guerre du Golfe n'est pas finie. Cinq ans et dix mois après l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak, les États-Unis, puissance tutélaire au Moyen-Orient, ne sont toujours pas parvenus à leurs fins : installer un régime « ami » à Bagdad. L'accord intervenu, lundi à New York, sur la résolution 986 dite « pétrole contre nourriture » (nos éditions du 21 mai) s'inscrit dès lors toujours dans un contexte de confrontation entre Washington et Saddam Hussein.

Pour Washington, la résolution 986 poursuit un objectif strictement humanitaire que le chef de l'État irakien ne doit en aucun cas être en mesure d'exploiter politiquement. L'objectif ultime des résolutions de l'ONU est de s'assurer que Bagdad n'a plus les moyens de produire des armes de destruction massive. Or, des doutes subsistent en matière d'armes chimiques. Dès lors, Saddam Hussein ne saurait bénéficier d'aucune faiblesse occidentale. C'est pourquoi, par exemple, le dispositif onusien maintient le statut particulier des régions kurdes du nord du pays, autogérées



Dans la région autonome kurde, au nord de l'Irak, l'assistance humanitaire — qui sera de facto occidentale — devrait permettre de contrer l'influence de Téhéran et de Damas.

depuis le printemps 1991 et où l'ONU distribuera directement l'aide humanitaire.

Washington ne fait aucun mystère de sa volonté de renverser Saddam Hussein. Le 6 février dernier, le secrétaire à la défense américain, William Perry, affirmait publiquement que son pays coopérerait dans ce but avec la Jordanie : « Je pense qu'il y a des choses que nous-mêmes, la Jordanie et d'autres nations dans la région peuvent entreprendre pour accélérer la chute de l'actuel régime irakien. » L'Irak, soulignait-il, possède toujours la première armée de la région et « ne montre aucun signe d'abandon de son attitude belliqueuse et agressive envers ses voisins ».

Les États-Unis soutiennent à bout de bras le principal rassemblement d'opposition à Saddam Hussein, le Congrès national irakien (CNI). Miné par des divisions internes, le CNI dispose néanmoins de relais dans certaines institutions étatiques et militaires irakiennes. Washington encourage également le roi de Jordanie qui se pose depuis près d'un an en « parrain » de l'opposition sunnite irakienne.

Coopération avec la Jordanie

Une place éprement disputée avec la Syrie, l'Irak contrôlant la principale organisation de résistance chiite, l'Asri. Le roi Hussein tente d'organiser depuis plusieurs mois un sommet de l'opposition irakienne. Le 20 mars dernier, il a enregistré avec satisfaction la déflection d'un ancien chef d'état-major de l'armée irakienne, le général Nazir Khazraji, qui a immédiatement rallié Amman.

Les Américains, enfin, entendent maintenir solidement fixé le coin enfoncé depuis cinq ans au nord de l'Irak : la région

autonome kurde. Depuis avril 1991, les États-Unis, la France et la Grande-Bretagne font respecter au nord du 36° parallèle une interdiction de survol de la zone à tout aéronef irakien. Cette surveillance permet à deux chefs locaux, Massoud Barzani et Jalal Talabani, de tenir hors de portée l'armée irakienne.

Dans cette région, la situation se gâte d'un point de vue occidental. Deux nouvelles formations s'affirment, dont les parrains sont respectivement la Syrie et l'Iran : le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), mouvement de guérilla très actif en Turquie, et le Mouvement islamiste du Kurdistan. Cette évolution inquiète les chancelleries européenne, américaine et turque. Dès lors, l'accord signé lundi à New York survient à point nommé. L'assistance humanitaire — qui sera de facto occidentale — devrait permettre de contrer l'influence de Téhéran et de Damas. C'est en Irak du Nord sans doute plus qu'en Jordanie que se joue l'avenir du pays.

Jean-Christophe
PLOQUIN

LE MONDE — 23 mai 1996

L'opposition irakienne craint que l'accord avec l'ONU ne renforce le pouvoir de Saddam Hussein

Washington voudrait empêcher Bagdad de tirer des bénéfices « à des fins illégitimes »

Le Comité des sanctions de l'ONU contre l'Irak, ou « Comité 661 », s'est réuni, mardi 21 mai à New York, pour examiner l'accord « pétrole

contre nourriture », dont il devra superviser la mise en œuvre. De leur côté, les Etats-Unis ont affirmé qu'ils « empêcheraient » le président

irakien, Saddam Hussein, d'utiliser les bénéfices de la vente du pétrole « à des fins illégitimes ».

DIRE QUE LES OPPOSANTS irakiens de tous bords se réjouissent de l'acceptation, par le régime de Bagdad, de la résolution 986 du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU serait enfoncer une porte ouverte, n'étaient les craintes que les intéressés nourrissent quant aux bénéfices que pourrait en tirer Saddam Hussein.

Malgré une étrange sélection, qui, en vertu de la résolution, veut que le statut spécifique, accordé aux trois provinces du Kurdistan échappant au contrôle de Bagdad, ne soit pas appliqué aux populations chiites du sud de l'Irak - qui subissent de la part du régime un ostracisme quasi similaire à celui dont sont victimes les Kurdes -, ce qui sont vixtes aux yeux des opposants, c'est que soient allégées les souffrances de la population. Dans des communiqués séparés, le Congrès national irakien, qui groupe plusieurs formations de l'opposition, l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) de Jalal Talabani et l'Assemblée supérieure de la révolution islamique en Irak, se sont félicités de la signature, lundi 20 mai, d'un mémorandum d'accord entre l'Irak et l'ONU.

Farouchement attachés à l'unité territoriale et à la souveraineté du pays, les opposants baliaient l'argument de souveraineté invoqué, pendant des mois, par le gouvernement, dans un premier temps pour refuser purement et simplement la résolution 986,

puis pour en contester les dispositions relatives à la distribution de l'aide au Kurdistan. Leur argument tient en ceci : la souveraineté de l'Irak a été bafouée par la résolution 687, qui, en imposant un embargo pluriel au pays, l'a pratiquement placé sous tutelle. Saddam Hussein peut donc difficilement, selon eux, invoquer la souveraineté de l'Irak, dans le seul but de se maintenir au pouvoir, il l'a déjà bafouée en acceptant la résolution 687.

INTERROGATIONS

Le traitement spécifique appliqué au Kurdistan, indique, pour sa part, le représentant à Paris de l'UPK, Mohamad Ismaïl, tient au fait que cette partie de l'Irak est soumise à un double embargo : les sanctions de l'ONU, mais aussi les privations imposées par Bagdad au gré des humeurs des autorités. De ce fait, les besoins des trois provinces du Kurdistan qui bénéficient d'un parapluie aérien multinational ne sont pas exactement les mêmes que ceux du reste du pays. Il faut aussi, ajoute M. Ismaïl, empêcher Saddam Hussein de continuer d'user des besoins de la population kurde comme d'un moyen de pression sur ses dirigeants pour les amener à résipiscence.

Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, explique un économiste. Les ventes limitées de pétrole apporteront un léger mieux à la population, mais elles ne rétabliront pas le

cycle économique normal, pas davantage au Kurdistan que dans le reste du pays. Alors, s'il faut parler de privilège à propos des trois provinces du nord de l'Irak, c'est d'une faveur limitée à la seule distribution des produits qu'il s'agit.

Tous font une lecture nuancée des conséquences politiques possibles de l'accord conclu entre les Nations unies et l'Irak. Ils craignent que ce dessein, si limité soit-il, de l'état international ne soit mis à profit par le régime pour renforcer son emprise. Ils redoutent aussi que la levée provisoire et partielle de l'embargo pétrolier soit le prélude à une réhabilitation du régime aux yeux de nombreux pays, qu'elle encourage les sociétés étrangères, dont les représentants se bousculent déjà à Bagdad dans la perspective de l'après-embargo, à relancer les transactions avec le pouvoir.

A leurs yeux, il faut donc tout faire pour que Saddam Hussein soit maintenu au ban des nations, qu'il soit tenu comptable des multiples violations des droits de

l'homme dont il s'est rendu coupable. Le président irakien a sans doute été acculé, plus d'un an après l'adoption de la résolution 986, à l'accepter sous la pression internationale et intérieure, et parce qu'il a, lui-même, suscité des espoirs tels au sein de la population qu'il lui aurait été difficile de faire marche arrière. Pour autant, soulignent-ils, il faudra surveiller de près l'application de cette résolution.

Les opposants s'interrogent aussi sur l'avenir : comment réagira la population à la constante valse-hésitation du pouvoir, qui commence toujours par refuser en bloc les contraintes et résolutions de l'ONU pour finir par les accepter ?, se demandent-ils. Assistera-t-on à un sursaut populaire et l'allègement des souffrances de la population créera-t-il une nouvelle dynamique ? Ou M. Hussein saura-t-il, au contraire, récupérer à son profit ce léger mieux ?

Mouna Naïm

TURKISH PROBE MAY 24, 1996

Yılmaz and Öcalan Wage Media Wars

On the eve of Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz's visit to Germany, two interviews appeared in *Die Welt* — one with Yılmaz himself and the other one with Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Öcalan said in his interview that the PKK did not want a separate state, but wanted to live within Turkey in a federative and democratic system.

"We want to have a German-style federal state system," he said, adding, on a softer note, that he regretted the PKK attacks against Germany, which banned the organization in 1993.

Not surprisingly, the Kurdish question was one of the major items on the agenda between Mesut Yılmaz and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Even before starting his visit, Yılmaz announced that he would convey his concern about the activities of the PKK.

"I will communicate to German officials Turkey's unease about the terror organization PKK continuing its activities, despite being outlawed in that country (Germany),"

Yılmaz said. True to his word, he warned Germany to think twice before granting asylum to Kurds from Turkey, most of whom he said were working undercover for the PKK.

As he carried out his talks with German officials, protests were made by Kurdish and some human rights groups over Ankara's treatment of ethnic Kurds.

"I told (German) Chancellor (Helmut) Kohl that he must differentiate clearly between the separatist PKK and (Turkish) citizens of Kurdish origin seeking asylum," Yılmaz told a news conference after meeting Kohl.

"The overwhelming majority of citizens of Kurdish origin living here want peace. But the PKK is using a small, but militant group to disrupt public order in Germany," he said.

On the other important item, Turkey's ties with the European Union, Yılmaz urged Kohl to help the country's efforts to join the European Union. That definitely sounded softer than earlier statements, attributed to the prime minister, that Germany was obstructing Turkey's membership of the Union ■

Focus on Human Rights

Turkish rights group says ministry pressures court

Turkey's Human Rights Foundation accused the Foreign Ministry of trying to influence the outcome of court investigations into its torture rehabilitation centers by denouncing them as illegal.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Nurettin Nurkan said the centers were illegal because the foundation had not applied officially to establish them. He said the matter was being passed to the public prosecutor for investigation.

"Nurkan... is putting himself in the place of the judge and making judgements on us in an effort to exert influence and pressure on the courts when an investigation is underway," the foundation's chairman, Yavuz Önen, said in a statement.

Turkish police break up human rights protest

Turkish police arrested dozens of people, including a senior French trade unionist, taking part in a candlelit vigil in Istanbul for missing people, human rights activists said. The Anatolia news agency said 20 people had been arrested at the protest on Friday, but a French human rights group put the number at about 40.

The left-wing Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Between Peoples (MRAP) said in Paris that police "brutally attacked" a ceremony organized by mothers and spouses of people who had disappeared.

It said those arrested included Frenchman Vincent Raynal, a senior official of the Communist-linked CGT union, and an unidentified British woman teacher. Raynal and others were injured by police, it added.

Freedom of thought on trial again

A second group of intellectuals who published the book "Freedom of Thought and Expression" were tried Wednesday at the Third State Security Court of Istanbul.

A total of 1,088 intellectuals who had given their names as publishers of the book are being charged under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code and the infamous Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law. These articles punish "spreading hatred among the people through publication on the basis of racial, religious and linguistic differences," but lawyers said only 186 of the signatories would be tried.

During yesterday's trial only 10 of the 86 publishers were heard. Most of the intellectuals said that they had willingly become publishers of the book and were ready to face any penalty to expand the borders of freedom of thought and expression.

In Turkey, the Tug of History Is Loosening the Glue of Ataturk

By Celestine Bohlen
New York Times Service

ANKARA — Few countries honor their gods the way Turkey reveres Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, whose military skills and authoritarian hand reassembled parts of the crumbling Ottoman Empire and fashioned them into a modern Turkish state.

Fifty-eight years after his death, Mr. Ataturk's cool blue eyes stare down from the walls of every public building in Turkey, and statues of him dominate thousands of central squares.

Here in Ankara, the capital, his mausoleum, which is visited by thousands of Turks each year, displays a sublime arrogance that even Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, never achieved. It is still a crime in Turkey to allude to Mr. Ataturk's personal weaknesses, like his heavy drinking. His philosophy of statehood, *Kemalism*, is required reading for all students.

For all the public reverence, Turkey long ago slipped out of the mold that Mr. Ataturk created. To be sure Turkey, NATO's strategic anchor in the eastern Mediterranean, is still the West's loyal partner. And as a Muslim country in a region full of Islamic dictators, it is still committed to secularism and democracy.

But Mr. Ataturk's plans for creating a new Turkish man — a Westernized creature with a new

identity, new clothes, a new alphabet and a language purged of alien elements — did not succeed, any more than the *Homo sovieticus* of Lenin's imagination did.

Paradoxically, as the tug of Westernization gets stronger, older and deeper currents have risen to the surface, revealing a nation with not one identity, but many.

The breakup of the Soviet Union, the Gulf War and the war in the Balkans have only added new pieces to the mosaic, as ethnic groups in Turkey from Kurds to Abkhazians reach across borders to renew old bonds, and Turkish Muslims find themselves drawn to the side of their warring brethren in Bosnia and Chechnya. It had been Mr. Ataturk's hope that a new Turkishness would replace Islam and the bonds of the old Ottoman Empire as the glue binding the 14 million people who lived in Turkey in 1923, when the republic was founded.

Now, with a population that has grown to more than 60 million, Turkey is more heterogeneous than ever.

But Islam is also more in evidence than ever — more mosques, more religious schools, more women wearing scarves on their heads. In the last elections, a record number of people voted for the anti-secular Welfare Party, which is promoting a closer alliance with Turkey's Muslim neighbors.

In the back streets of Istanbul, men like Zekariya

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MAY 20, 1996



The Associated Press

President Suleyman Demirel being led away by bodyguards after the attempt against his life in Izmit, Turkey.

Yilmaz, 27, a currency trader whose grandparents came south from the Russian-ruled Caucasus a century ago to find a haven for their Muslim faith, have begun to wonder whether Mr. Ataturk's efforts to turn Turkey westward were worth the sacrifices.

"Mr. Ataturk did a lot of ridiculous things," Mr. Yilmaz said, noting the law that forced men to stop wearing the traditional fez, and another that dropped the Arabic alphabet for the Latin one.

"Secularism in Turkey, for instance, is something that is hard to understand. I feel myself to be a Muslim and today is Friday, when I should go to pray, but I can't; I have to work. There should be more freedom of religion."

Some explain the rise of the Welfare Party, which won 21.6 percent of the vote in the last election, to the pent-up indignation at the restrictions placed on religion by Mr. Ataturk's brand of secularism.

Others see it as the consequence of conciliatory policies, enacted after the 1980 military coup, that allowed religious instruction back into the public-school curriculum, and gave the green light to religious schools for imams. The

schools for imams, Islamic religious leaders, have seen the number of their graduates increase fourteenfold, compared with a tripling of graduates from secular state schools.

Perhaps the most prevalent explanation for the Welfare Party's success has to do with the failure of Turkey's traditional parties to deal with the social and moral problems of a society that is bursting at the seams.

Population growth continues to confound planners: by one estimate, 60 percent of the population is under 20. Cities big and small are exploding in size, breeding a new underemployed, underhoused urban class that has become the Welfare Party's biggest source of support.

In 1950, 30 percent of Turks lived in cities; by 2000, it will be 70 percent. Istanbul's population, estimated at 10 million, is growing 4.5 percent a year.

"The Kemalists have failed to produce a secularist moral code," said Murat Belge, a Turkish historian. "Nothing has been done in 70 years to replace the old Muslim code. And through Islam, many people are reaching for a larger community."

As the old Kemalist taboos and restrictions continue to fall away, Turkey

is in many ways discovering itself, peering back into its history, at its modern society and at its culture with new eyes.

"The bridge between past and present was broken with Mr. Ataturk, and Turkey had to do everything from scratch," said Latif Erdogan, spokesman and biographer of Fatullah Hoja, a spiritual leader who preaches a message of tolerance and humanism, with none of the harsh anti-Western language of the Welfare Party. "Now we feel the need to focus on the gaps in Turkish society."

Other changes have chipped away at the controls that once bound the nation to Mr. Ataturk's dream. Half a dozen privately owned satellite television channels, which burst on the scene in 1992, now beam competing versions of the news to citizens who in the past had only one.

Commercialization has replaced propaganda on the airwaves. In a spoof of the military coups that have periodically interrupted Turkey's democracy, one satiric show recently showed a Turkish general going on the air to announce a military takeover, only to have the announcement interrupted so frequently for commercials that in the end he walks off stage in disgust.

Turkish Daily News — Wednesday, May 22, 1996

Turkey may buy attack helicopters from Eurocopter after US reluctance on Cobras

By Burak Bekdil

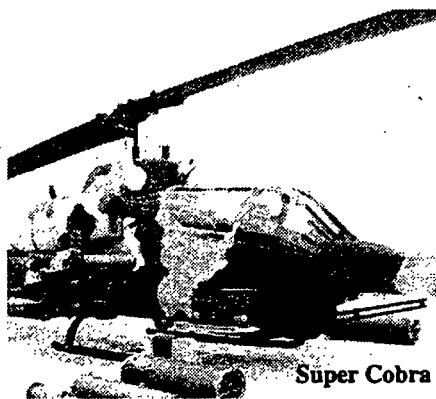
Turkish Daily News

MARIGNANE/PARIS- The Turkish defense authorities are now considering buying a batch of attack helicopters from the Franco-German helicopter manufacturer Eurocopter S.A., after Washington's reluctance to deliver an earlier agreed fleet of 10 Super Cobra 1W platforms.

Eurocopter officials said here at the company's main manufacturing unit that the Turkish authorities had recently expressed their interest in purchasing an unknown number of Tiger helicopters, the combat model developed by the world's second-largest helicopter manufacturer.

"We had talks with the Turkish authorities on a possible deal for Tigers. There has been a presentation to the (Turkish) Ministry of Defense," said Jean-Pierre Dubreuil, director of the Eurocopter board's executive cabinet.

Dubreuil said although Eurocopter had not yet made a formal proposal to supply Tigers to Turkey, talks were underway. Apparently, the U.S. decision to freeze shipments of Super Cobras manufactured by Bell Textrom, the world's number three, has pushed the Turkish authorities into a search for alternatives. There have been reports that the Clinton administra-



Super Cobra



Tiger

tion, under strong pressure from anti-Turkish lobby groups, made the decision in order to maximize its chances at the 1996 polls.

"During talks on a co-production program (of utility Cougar helicopters), the Turkish officials said they were interested in Tigers. We then arranged a presentation for them," said Arnaud Hibon, Eurocopter's communications director.

"When a customer comes to your shop, you do not refuse," he added.

The Tiger program is being developed jointly by Eurocopter's French and German partners,

state-run Aerospatiale and DASA. The partners each have a 50-percent stake in the program. Overall, France's Aerospatiale has a 70-percent stake in Eurocopter, to the German partner's 30 percent.

Would there be any political obstacles to an (official) licence to supply Tigers to Turkey, the TDN asked. "For such a deal we shall need to win approval from a governmental commission. Although there are no guarantees, I would believe there should not be any licence problems with Tigers," said Eurocopter's Dubreuil.

Demirel Attacker Angry At Turkish-Israeli Deal

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ANKARA — A would-be assassin who shot at President Suleyman Demirel has admitted that he acted to protest a defense agreement between Turkey and Israel, the police said Sunday.

Ibrahim Gumrukcuoglu, a 48-year-old pharmacist and father of four, made his confession late Saturday, said the regional police chief, Memduh Oguz.

The military agreement, signed in February, allows for Turkish and Israeli air force pilots to train in each other's airspace, for cooperation between defense industries and for an exchange of information and personnel.

It was condemned by Islamic militants in Turkey and the pro-Islamic Welfare Party. It was also criticized by Iran, Iraq and Syria.

Mr. Demirel, 71, escaped unhurt in the incident in the western city of Izmit, 50 kilometers (30 miles) east of Istanbul, where he inaugurated a shopping mall.

The president had just finished a speech when Mr. Gumrukcuoglu fired a

single shot with a handgun, injuring a journalist. A police officer was also hurt.

Mr. Gumrukcuoglu, who local journalists said was well known in Izmit as an Islamic fundamentalist, was detained by anti-terrorist police.

Mr. Oguz said Sunday that Mr. Gumrukcuoglu had previously undergone treatment for psychiatric problems and had a criminal record.

Press reports here said Mr. Gumrukcuoglu spent three years in prison for killing a cousin in 1971. He was freed in 1974 in a general amnesty and arrested again in 1978 for injuring two students.

Mr. Gumrukcuoglu was twice questioned over the possession of illegal firearms before obtaining a license in 1993. Mr. Oguz said it was not necessary to present a full medical report in order to be granted a gun license in Turkey.

Mr. Oguz said Mr. Gumrukcuoglu's action Saturday was not premeditated and that he was attracted by the crowd

gathering to see Mr. Demirel.

Mr. Gumrukcuoglu's was not the first attack on Mr. Demirel, whose nose was broken by an assailant in Ankara in May 1975 when he was prime minister.

Mr. Demirel, surrounded by bodyguards, had just spoken at the opening of the shopping mall and had left the podium when an undercover guard spotted a man pointing a gun at the president, the semiofficial Anatolia news agency reported. Guards overwhelmed the assailant, and one shot was fired in the scuffle, the agency said.

Television footage showed Mr. Demirel being rushed from the chaotic scene as a Milliyet newspaper reporter, Ihsan Yilmaz, lay on the ground with a gunshot wound above the knee.

Mr. Demirel has been on the Turkish political scene for more than 30 years. He rebounded after being ousted from politics following military takeovers in 1970 and 1980, and served a record seven terms as prime minister before becoming Turkey's ninth president in 1993.

Mr. Demirel is the second Turkish leader to survive an assassination attempt in the past decade. The late president Turgut Ozal was shot in the hand during an assassination attempt when he was prime minister in 1988.

(AFP, WP)

Le président turc Suleyman Demirel échappe à un attentat

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Déjà paralysée par le conflit au sein de la coalition gouvernementale, la Turquie a évité de justesse un désastre supplémentaire, samedi 18 mai, lorsque le président Suleyman Demirel a échappé à une tentative d'assassinat dans la province d'Izmit, à une centaine de kilomètres d'Istanbul.

Son assaillant, un pharmacien islamiste de 48 ans, père de quatre enfants, apparemment mentalement instable, semble avoir agi seul pour protester contre l'accord de coopération militaire conclu en février entre la Turquie et Israël. Ibrahim Gumrukcuoglu, attiré par la foule, avait écouté le discours du président, qui célébrait la prospérité de la province avec un programme chargé d'inaugurations et de visites d'usines, avant de sortir son arme pour la pointer contre le chef de l'État. Une balle, tirée alors que l'homme était plaqué au sol par un camionneur et un garde du

corps, a traversé la main du chef de la sécurité présidentielle avant de se loger dans la jambe d'un journaliste.

Les dossiers de police révèlent que Gumrukcuoglu était en possession d'un permis de port d'arme légal, malgré un lourd passé. Le meurtre de son cousin lui avait valu une condamnation, il y a vingt-cinq ans. Au cours des turbulentes années 70, lorsque la gauche et l'extrême-droite s'entre-tuaient, il avait à deux reprises blessé des étudiants de gauche. Plus récemment, il avait été interpellé pour avoir produit son arme dans des lieux publics.

Le rôle du président Suleyman Demirel, vétéran de la scène politique, âgé de 71 ans, est particulièrement important en cette période d'instabilité politique. Bien que les pouvoirs qui lui sont conférés par la Constitution soient limités, sa position quelque peu en retrait des disputes quotidiennes — même si ses détracteurs l'accusent parfois

de prendre parti — en fait un arbitre crucial. Si la fragile coalition au pouvoir prenait fin, il devrait désigner un nouveau premier ministre.

Pour l'instant, le gouvernement reste en place, bien que la Cour constitutionnelle ait invalidé, le 14 mai, le vote de confiance de l'Assemblée nationale. L'actuel premier ministre Mesut Yilmaz, soulignant que la décision n'est pas rétroactive, nie la nécessité d'un nouveau vote, mais les islamistes du Parti de la prospérité (RP), principal parti d'opposition et premier groupe parlementaire, affirment que le gouvernement actuel n'est pas légal et menacent de boycotter le Parlement s'il ne se soumet pas à nouveau au vote de l'Assemblée.

SECRET D'ÉTAT

Les semaines à venir seront donc tendues, d'autant plus que les relations entre les deux partenaires de la coalition s'enveniment de jour en jour. Le retrait, par Tansu Ciller, de 6,5 millions de dollars d'un fonds secret à la disposition du premier ministre, généralement utilisé pour des opérations spéciales, est au cœur de la dispute qui l'oppose depuis plusieurs jours au

/ LE MONDE / MARDI 21 MAI 1996

premier ministre. Mesut Yilmaz exige qu'elle révèle où l'argent a été versé. De son côté, la dirigeante du DYP, dans une situation de plus en plus précaire, s'est retranchée derrière le secret d'État.

Déjà confrontée à deux enquêtes parlementaires sur des irrégularités qu'elle aurait commises, Tansu Ciller ne baisse pas les bras. Son parti a contre-attaqué en déposant une motion, approuvée par l'Assemblée, pour l'ouverture d'une enquête sur les liens entre le RP et Suleyman Mercumek, un ancien membre du parti, condamné pour avoir détourné des fonds récoltés pour la Bosnie.

Le gouvernement est au point mort, mais ni M^{me} Ciller ni Mesut Yilmaz ne souhaitent mettre un terme à la coalition dans l'immédiat. Le 2 juin auront lieu des élections municipales partielles qui permettront d'évaluer l'impact de la dispute au sommet sur l'électorat, avant les congrès du DYP et de l'ANAP, au cours desquels Tansu Ciller et Mesut Yilmaz espèrent être réélus à la tête de leurs partis respectifs.

Nicole Pope

Iraq Accepts UN Accord Allowing Limited Oil Sales

By Barbara Crossette
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Iraq and the United Nations signed an agreement Monday that allows Baghdad to sell oil for the first time since its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. The sales will be used to pay for the urgent needs of a civilian population suffering from six years of tight international sanctions.

Oil is not expected to begin flowing for a number of weeks, perhaps months, because some operational details remain to be made final. But diplomats and UN officials believe that the Iraqis mean business this time.

A similar plan collapsed four years ago. Since then, hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have become malnourished or ill, with many dying from lack of medication, UN agencies estimate.

Oil prices plunged initially but recovered quickly.

Brent North Sea crude oil fell to \$17.20 a barrel in London, 33 cents below the opening price of \$17.53 a barrel and 35 cents below the closing price on Friday of \$17.55. But prices quickly stabilized in New York, with light sweet crude for delivery in June rising \$1.81, to \$22.48.

"This resolution is based on one of the most important objectives of the United Nations, which is to alleviate the problem of poverty — and the poorest of the poor were suffering in Iraq," Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali said after announcing the agreement to the Security Council, which adopted the plan in Resolution 986 in April 1995.

The White House called the deal between an "important victory" for UN efforts to persuade Iraq to meet the humanitarian needs of its people.

The White House spokesman, Michael McCurry, said Iraq's agreement to follow the terms of the post-Gulf War Security Council resolution was "long overdue."

Madeleine K. Albright, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, has accused President Saddam Hussein repeatedly of using what money he had available to build palaces and indulge in other luxuries, while holding out for a lifting of sanctions, which the tightly written accord does not do.

"The whole point here is that Saddam Hussein has been using his people as pawns in order to try to get a change

Details of the Oil-for-Food Deal

Agence France-Presse

Following are the main provisions of the oil-for-food agreement reached between the United Nations and Iraq as set by Resolution 986, adopted by the Security Council in April 1995:

- Iraq is allowed to export up to \$2 billion dollars' worth of oil for an initial six-month period to buy food and medicine, which must be equitably distributed among the Iraqi people.
- International control of the oil sales is ensured by the opening of an

escrow account. Of the \$1 billion dollars per quarter from the oil sales, \$300 million must go to the United Nations compensation commission set up to handle claims for "damage, depletion of natural resources or injury to foreign governments, nationals or corporations" arising from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

- The United Nations sanctions committee must approve details of each purchase of Iraqi oil, including the price, the export route and other financial issues.

Iraq's Oil Sector and the Route for Exports

Reuters

Following are a few details of Iraq's oil sector, provided by the Iraqi Oil Ministry and other industry sources:

Oil Reserves: Iraq's proven reserves officially stand at more than 112 billion barrels, some 11 percent of the world's total reserves.

Oil Fields: Iraqi oil officials say

the country's fields could produce 2.5 million barrels a day if UN sanctions were lifted. Iraq now produces around 550,000 barrels a day..

Export Routes: Under the plan, exports will be moved from the Turkish port of Ceyhan on the Mediterranean through a pipeline from Iraq's northern fields. Iraqi oil will also reach the market from its own ports in the Gulf.

in the sanctions regime." This resolution will "remove that blackmail," she said. "The sanctions will stay in place until he abides by all the resolutions."

If the agreement goes into effect reasonably quickly and oil prices go down, the agreement could provide something of a windfall for the Clinton administration, which is under political pressure to keep gasoline prices low.

Under the plan, accepted by Mr. Saddam after several months of off-and-on negotiations, Iraq may sell up to \$2 billion in oil over a six-month period, renewable if Baghdad meets all the conditions of the agreement, which will be monitored by the United Nations. Compliance with the accord will be checked by the Security Council every 90 days. Its Iraqi sanctions committee will be involved in all phases of the operation.

The agreement would add about 700,000 barrels a day of Iraqi oil to world supplies at current prices. Before the 1990 embargo, Iraq supplied about 3 million barrels daily, or about 4 percent of world supplies.

The agreement does not change the broad sanctions still in place against Iraq. To have those lifted, and be free to sell oil in unrestricted quantities for purposes of its own choosing, Iraq will have to prove that its weapons of mass destruction have been destroyed. It will also have to return stolen Kuwaiti property and account for 600 Kuwaitis still missing after the invasion and the 1991 war in the Gulf.

The accord, in the form of a memorandum of understanding signed by Iraq's negotiator, Abdul Amir Anbari, and the United Nations' legal counsel, Undersecretary-General Hans Correll of Sweden, leaves a few procedures still to be finalized, including how food, medicines and other goods will be distributed.

Over the last two weeks, prodded by objections from the United States and Britain, negotiators turned down an Iraqi request for greater authority over how those supplies are delivered to rebellious Kurds in the north of Iraq.

Iraq also lost a bid to choose the bank



Jamal Nasrallah/Agence France-Presse

Iraqis selling watches and jewelry Monday in Amman, Jordan, where they had gone to escape the poverty of home.

to be used for an escrow account to be handled by the United Nations. The bank will now be chosen by officials here, who will also check to see that Iraq cannot divert money or obtain credit for other purposes beyond humanitarian relief.

The United States intends to hold Iraq's feet to the fire to assure that this agreement is not violated," an American diplomat said. He added that in the final rounds of negotiations Iraq had tried to reduce the scope of monitoring by UN

observers who will determine if food and other goods are reaching the right people.

Emilio J. Cardenas, Argentina's envoy and a Security Council member who worked with the United States to draft the initial version of Resolution 986, said in an interview that Mr. Saddam accepted the plan only after realizing that he would not be able to win a lifting of sanctions in the near future.

Although some countries, notably Russia and France, had argued for some relaxation more than a year ago, revelations last summer of the extent to

which the Iraqis had been lying about their weapons programs lost them virtually all support here.

But there was always a sense that something had to be done to relieve the suffering of the Iraqis, Mr. Cardenas said.

"The general feeling by last year was that this was pretty much overdue," he said. "The reports we were operating with indicated that there was a lot of suffering in Baghdad and a number of other Iraqi cities. There was a prevailing mood all last year and this year that something had to be done."

Saddam on a Leash

A second Gulf war, after the first that pried Iraq out of Kuwait, has been fought at the United Nations. It is the effort to compel Iraq by broad economic sanctions to yield special weapons, return looted Kuwaiti property and account for Kuwaitis missing in action. Saddam Hussein, by meeting these terms, could have eased Iraq's punishing isolation. Instead he stonewalled and attempted an end run — by exhibiting his people's great and growing distress, he sought removal of all sanctions. The United Nations responded by offering him a loophole permitting closely monitored exports of oil and imports of food and medicine. This is the offer he now grasps.

It is first a boon to the Iraqi people, who, unlike the elite, have had to pay in malnutrition, sickness and death for a policy they had no part in approving. It is also a humiliation to Saddam Hus-

sein. He could have had this deal years ago and now stands revealed as a leader who inflicted great and needless suffering upon his people. There is further humiliation in accepting terms that, as he complains, violate Iraqi sovereignty. The terms let foreigners intrude deeply in disposition of oil revenues, distribution of relief and direct access to the northern Kurdish region. In effect, a degree of international intrusiveness that centered on Iraq's military sector is now extended to its civilian sector.

Granted, Saddam Hussein is an ideal villain; a year ago, when he had got up some momentum to break the sanctions, he lost it all in new revelations of cheating on his disarmament obligations. Still, the United States can fairly take satisfaction in organizing and keeping together a broad international coalition to check a certified

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1996

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,

despoiler of the law.

The sanctions posture that the United Nations is now in, moreover, is one it has a good chance of sustaining. Saddam Hussein gets to sell a quarter as much oil as Iraq used to, but he cannot exploit his people's hardship in the old way, and he can use the new revenues only for purposes internationally approved. The United Nations — a bulldog in hunting for Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological arms — must show the same tenacity in monitoring the new accord.

Senator Bob Dole's first reaction was that the accord throws a "lifeline" to Saddam Hussein. A second look may convince him that it tightens a leash and is consistent with a bipartisan policy of encouraging a predator's departure from power.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Proche-orient

Les Irakiens devront encore attendre une amélioration de leur sort

Les effets de l'accord « pétrole contre nourriture » sur la situation humanitaire ne se feront pas sentir avant deux mois

La joie des habitants de Bagdad aura été de courte durée. Dès mercredi, le prix des produits alimentaires et le taux de change du dinar irakien se sont mis à remonter. Après l'accord conclu lundi avec l'ONU sur la formule « pétrole contre nourriture », une grande partie de la population, à bout de patience après six ans d'embargo, avait cru à une amélioration immédiate de ses conditions de vie.

Les Irakiens risquent de déchanter assez vite : non seulement l'accord signé par l'Irak ne couvre qu'une partie des besoins mais ses effets ne se feront pas sentir avant un ou deux mois.

Dans un rapport publié l'hiver dernier, la FAO, l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture, soulignait qu'« à Bagdad, une société urbaine très avancée, la fréquence des enfants d'un poids insuffisant (29 %) s'est accrue jusqu'à un niveau comparable à celui du Ghana (27 %). De son côté, le ministre irakien de la santé évalue à près de 110 000 par an le nombre des décès imputables à l'embargo.

Toutes les antennes de l'ONU présentes en Irak, de l'Unicef à la FAO en passant par le PAM (Programme alimentaire mondial), s'accordent pour souligner l'ampleur des besoins dans une série de secteurs clés : nutrition, santé, eau potable, éducation. À la fin de 1994, en raison notamment de récoltes médiocres, le gouver-



La population irakienne s'attendait à une baisse rapide des prix après l'accord signé avec l'ONU mais elle a dû rapidement déchanter.

nement irakien avait réduit les quantités des rations alimentaires distribuées à la population à des prix subventionnés pour les produits de première nécessité comprenant la farine, le riz, l'huile, le sucre et le thé.

L'aide de l'ONU reste modeste

À terme, l'impact de l'accord « pétrole contre nourriture » devrait se refléter dans une amélioration du taux de change du dinar local et, par conséquent, sur le pouvoir d'achat de la population. Le dinar avait atteint un record de dépréciation en janvier dernier, s'échangeant à 3 000 IQD (dinar irakien) pour le billet vert, mais l'annonce par Bagdad de l'ouverture des négociations avec l'ONU, en janvier, avait ramené le dollar au-dessous

de la barre des 1 000 IQD depuis février. Le salaire moyen qui tourne autour de 3 500 IQD, a sextuplé en valeur, passant de 1 dollar (5 F) début janvier, à 6 dollars (30 F) actuellement.

L'accord autorise des exportations pétrolières irakiennes pour 1 milliard de dollars (environ 5 milliards de francs) par trimestre, mais 300 millions de dollars (1,5 milliard de francs) doivent en être déduits pour alimenter le fonds de compensation créé pour les victimes de l'invasion du Koweït, et une autre partie pour couvrir les frais des opérations de l'ONU en Irak.

D'après les estimations de l'ONU, les Irakiens ne recevront en définitive que l'équivalent de 32 cents (1,60 F environ) par tête et par jour en aliments, médica-

ments et autres produits de première nécessité s'ils vivent dans les régions contrôlées par Bagdad, et 50 cents (2,50 F) dans les régions kurdes du nord, sous contrôle des formations hostiles à Saddam Hussein.

Avant l'invasion du Koweït, les revenus pétroliers de l'Irak, qui exportait plus de 3 millions de barils de brut par jour, étaient estimés à 13 milliards de dollars (65 milliard de francs) par an. Par rapport à cette manne, le milliard de dollars débloqué chaque trimestre par l'ONU ne représente qu'un modeste acompte, un ballon d'oxygène pour une société désarticulée par cinq années d'embargo, une guerre du Golfe et huit années de guerre contre l'Iran.

F. A.

In Oil Deal, a Windfall for Saddam's Army

By Robin Wright
Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had planned to resist the United Nations deal to resume Iraqi oil sales to feed his suffering population and had even drawn up plans to make huge cuts in his military to free resources, senior American officials say.

Mr. Saddam reluctantly relented only when it appeared he would soon have to begin carrying out cutbacks in the military machine that is the most powerful in the Gulf region — and is the prop that has kept him in power.

“The military was for the first time really feeling the pinch,” a senior Pentagon official said this past week. “Saddam had to disband a division of Republican Guards last year and now he was looking at cutbacks of up to 50 percent of the Iraqi military across the board.”

But by agreeing to the oil-for-food deal Monday, Mr. Saddam not only can maintain his military at current levels, but also will effectively be able to free money now being used to pay for food and medicine. And the funds will be in hard foreign currency, not fluctuating Iraqi dinars.

Now that the long-delayed agreement is complete, the broad implications of the oil sales — the first of Iraqi oil since the 1991 Gulf War — are the subject of intense analysis in Washington and throughout the region.

Some close U.S. allies are likely to face problems because of the deal. In particular, Jordan, which only last year turned on Baghdad after supporting Mr. Saddam during the war, now faces major economic and political challenges.

The oil-for-food deal allows Iraq to sell \$2 billion worth of oil in the next six months. Iraq is to spend \$1.4 billion of that sum on humanitarian aid and the other \$600 million on war reparations, assistance for the Kurdish minority, some United Nations costs and its own oil export expenses.

After the deal was signed, U.S. officials claimed that Iraq effectively was becoming a UN trusteeship, because its economy will come under UN control, much as Iraq's military has been heavily supervised by UN monitors since the war.

Yet Clinton administration officials and Middle East experts now concede that the deal liberates a windfall of funds for Mr. Saddam.

James A. Placke, director of Cambridge Energy Research Associates in Washington and a former U.S. diplomat in Iraq, said, “To the extent that the new oil revenues are able to provide basic necessities for Iraqis, other resources will effectively be freed up, which Saddam Hussein will be able to use in ways of his own choosing — and which the United States and the United Nations may not be able to monitor.”

King Hussein of Jordan has been appealing to the Clinton administration for months not to let the deal go through, U.S. officials said. The kingdom could lose the 60,000 barrels per day of Iraqi oil — at reduced rates — that it has been able to buy for transportation and industrial uses. Since Jordan recently has become headquarters of the Iraqi opposition, Iraq has little incentive to continue selling oil to the kingdom.

“Jordan will be the most exposed,” an administration official said. “Iraq has several options. It could cut off the oil spigot completely, cut it back or make it more expensive.”

Saudi Arabia might be willing to make up the oil to Jordan but probably not at reduced prices, U.S. officials said.

Islamists Prepare Bid To Oust Turkish Leader

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ANKARA — Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz insisted Sunday that he would not resign despite his coalition partner's decision to abandon the government.

Former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller's True Path Party withdrew from the center-right coalition late Friday after Mr. Yilmaz's Motherland Party stepped up corruption charges against Mrs. Ciller.

The development increased the Islamist Welfare Party's chances to get to power. It planned to seek a no-confidence vote in Parliament that could topple the government, formed in March to block the Islamists, who led the December elections but were not strong enough to rule alone.

But Mr. Yilmaz said the coalition protocol signed between True Path and Motherland was no longer valid. The pact included a power-

sharing plan to give Mrs. Ciller the prime minister's post next year.

Mrs. Ciller's party appeared supportive of the Islamists' initiative.

The process of the no-confidence vote would take one to three weeks. The votes of True Path and the Islamic Welfare Party would be sufficient to topple Mr. Yilmaz.

Some political analysts suggested that Mr. Yilmaz's resistance to resigning was linked to his expectation that Mrs. Ciller would face an uprising in her own party and would be forced to step down.

“We will continue to be the government” until a “new government formula becomes clear,” Anatolian news agency quoted Mr. Yilmaz as saying.

“I am not going to resign, he told the agency. “Let all the ministers resign, or let them table a censure motion.”

(AP, Reuters)

Damning health report from the Southeast

By Jan Pacal
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The Southeast Domestic Migration Discussions and Health Level Report, prepared by the Diyarbakir, Mardin, Batman and Şirnak Physicians' Chamber is very remarkable. The report gives a very pessimistic viewpoint of the conditions in Turkey's southeastern provinces as opposed to the official figures and data.

According to the report, many health clinics and hospitals, officially open and active on paper, are in fact closed. The level of infant mortality and the incidence of endemic illnesses are much higher than the government statistics indicate.

The report declares that the situation in the southeast and east of Turkey is affecting the whole of the country, with migration the most important and visible effect.

"While urbanization and migration in Turkey were (at one time) in harmony with the developed countries, this percentage has so increased in the last years that some local and central authorities started to talk of city visas," states the report. "The movement experienced in our region today is different from the migration that has been taking place for years. Villages and countries, that were once losing people, are now living through an migration boom. But this migration is neither caused by the development of job opportunities nor by the attraction of the city life. This population increase takes place very rapidly, without any planning or control. "People are forced to leave their land, their villages, against their will in the hope of surviving in an unknown future. For most of the time, they have no chance and no possibility to return, since their gardens and houses are demolished once they leave. People who are considered beggars now were hopeful about tomorrow by producing in their own lands. But they are forced from production to consumption." According to the 1994 report of the Turkish Human Rights Foundation the economic loss caused by village evacuations to the nation has reached TL 12 trillion.

Village evacuations: the reason for leaving

It is believed that nearly 3000 villages were evacuated in the southeast and east of Turkey during the years 1993

through to 1995. The reasons given for this are:

- Lack of protection, lack of guards and the claim that the villagers help the separatist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) in its war against the Turkish state, resulting in the villagers being driven from their homes.
- Those who are scared of the fighting between the village guards and the PKK, left their villages.
- Unknown murders, persons going missing, executions without any trial, threats to take money by force, fear of torture, arrests and false imprisonment.
- Being prevented from using open lands for farming and grazing.
- The loss of work opportunities in the agriculture sector and no job security.
- Lack of basic services such as education, health and transport.
- Official food embargoes put in place to starve out the PKK also affecting the health and well being of civilians. While the reasons of migration are listed like this, its results are given in the report as follows:
 - The big cities already having employment and settlement problems, faced new and more important ones. Unemployment has reached considerable levels and the number of beggars, pedlars and hawkers considerably increased.
 - Education is completely lacking. Those who had a chance to have a minimum education in their villages have lost all such chances in the big cities. The disharmony within the population and the uncertainty has also worsened the situation.
 - Families, becoming poorer in the big cities, are obliged to force their children to work in the streets to contribute to the economic situation of the family. And people trying to survive, start to neglect education completely, blighting the future of the next generation.
 - People are considered potential criminals just because they have left their villages and are facing too many problems in their everyday lives and when looking for a job. All these differentiations have started to threaten the very fabric of society and concepts like racism and ethnic discrimination have increased in the cities as a result of migration. This danger is like a bomb ready to blow up and threatens all the country.
 - With the evacuation of the villages, the population

increase has given way to chaotic urbanization.

Cities have been transformed into big villages due to the lack of infrastructure and the expansion of the shanty towns.

Unhealthy region

According to the report, the effects of the unnatural conditions are observed in every level of the health sector, in such a way that the right to a healthy life is completely forgotten.

According to 1993 data from the Health Ministry, in Diyarbakir there are 204 clinics and 54 infirmaries. But of these clinics only 14 are active, the others being closed down because of the lack of personnel or as a result of security measures. Ten of the 54 infirmaries were closed down for these reasons and those which are open are not able to give the necessary service due to personnel shortages.

Child and infant deaths in Diyarbakir and all the southeastern regions are much higher than the national average. Data from 1990 indicates that while 60 out of 1000 newborn babies died in their first year throughout the country, this number was 87 for Diyarbakir. And when the negative conditions of the last five years are taken into account, this number reaches higher levels.

The birth rate of the region is very high and a contributing factor in the excessive fatality levels is that 70 percent of the births take place without the help of any health personnel. Malaria is considered a normal illness in the region.

Thirty seven percent of the total malaria cases in Turkey have taken place in Diyarbakir alone and cases in the southeastern region represents 70 percent of the total malaria cases in Turkey.

There are similar figures for typhoid and amoebic dysentery, with 40 percent of all reported typhoid cases in Turkey, or 51,005 patients, in 1994 occurring in Diyarbakir alone while in 1993 a quarter of all amoebic dysentery cases in the country were treated in the southeastern city.

All in all the report paints a grim picture of the decay and collapse of the health infrastructure of a substantial proportion of the nation, a collapse that, like a disease itself, is spreading throughout Turkey.

Tansu Ciller porte le coup de grâce à la coalition gouvernementale en Turquie

La fin de l'alliance entre les deux partis conservateurs fait le jeu des islamistes

Onze semaines seulement après la poignée de main scellant l'union forcée entre le Parti de la mère patrie (ANAP) du premier ministre Mesut

Yilmaz et celui de la Juste Voie (DYP) de M^{me} Ciller, la méfiance, les accusations réciproques de corruption et les échanges d'insultes ont finale-

ment eu raison de la fragile coalition formée par les deux partis conservateurs rivaux pour empêcher l'arrivée au pouvoir des islamistes.

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

A l'issue d'une longue réunion de l'exécutif de son DYP, Tansu Ciller a porté le coup de grâce à la coalition, du moins dans sa forme actuelle. « L'exécutif du parti a décidé de retirer son soutien au gouvernement, qui est de toute manière un gouvernement minoritaire, incapable de légiférer et d'offrir au pays et à la population les services qu'ils attendent », a déclaré M^{me} Ciller, samedi 25 mai, ajoutant que son parti se mettrait au travail immédiatement pour obtenir la formation d'un gouvernement majoritaire.

Le premier ministre Yilmaz n'ayant pas démissionné, la coalition est cependant officiellement en place. M^{me} Ciller a confirmé que ses collègues poursuivraient leurs tâches gouvernementales jusqu'à ce que le divorce soit pro-

noncé. Une réunion du cabinet, composé de ministres des deux partis, devrait avoir lieu dimanche à Diyarbakir, la capitale de la région à majorité kurde.

La coalition entre l'ANAP et le DYP avait été formée le 6 mars sous la pression de la « Turquie institutionnelle », un terme discret qui désigne l'armée, les institutions étatiques et le secteur privé, qui tous voulaient éviter l'arrivée au pouvoir des islamistes du Parti de la prospérité (RP, Refah), vainqueurs des élections de décembre 1995. Les deux partenaires, qui se déclaraient « condamnés à réussir » et qui portaient les espoirs de ceux qui sont résolument opposés à toute participation du Refah au gouvernement, loin de remplir leur tâche, n'ont fait que confirmer l'influence puissante des islamistes du RP. En obtenant le soutien de l'ANAP pour l'ouverture

d'enquêtes sur des irrégularités qu'auraient commises M^{me} Ciller, les islamistes ont exploité avec succès l'hostilité latente entre les deux formations rivales.

Dans une semaine, des élections municipales partielles permettront de mesurer l'atmosphère politique du pays, mais il est déjà clair que le comportement irresponsable des hommes politiques, les disputes rocambolesques qui ont paralysé le gouvernement, n'ont fait qu'accélérer l'érosion des partis conservateurs. De nouvelles élections générales risqueraient de profiter avant tout aux islamistes.

Quelle sera la réaction des « cercles influents », qui avaient insisté sur la formation de la coalition ? C'est actuellement une question débattue dans les milieux de l'élite turque. Un article, publié mardi 21 mai dans le *Turkish Daily News*, affirmait que le

chaos politique poussait certaines membres de ces « cercles » à envisager des solutions non-démocratiques pour pallier la vacance du pouvoir.

Dans l'immédiat, la recherche d'une solution « politique » sera privilégiée. Au cours des derniers jours, M^{me} Ciller et plusieurs membres de son parti ont mentionné la possibilité de renégocier l'alliance avec l'ANAP en ajoutant un troisième parti – soit le Parti démocratique de gauche (DSP), qui jusqu'à présent avait accordé un soutien conditionnel à la coalition, soit le Parti populaire républicain (CHP) avec lequel le DYP avait cohabité pendant quatre ans – pour former un gouvernement majoritaire capable de s'attaquer aux problèmes du pays.

Fragilisée par des accusations de corruption, abandonnée par ses partenaires et même par le Président de la République, qui l'avait introduite sur la scène politique en 1991 mais a maintenant pris parti pour son rival Mesut Yilmaz, M^{me} Ciller lutte pour sa survie politique. Elle s'est récemment rapprochée des islamistes, avec lesquels elle s'est même alliée pour obtenir la fermeture du Parlement jusqu'aux élections municipales du 2 juin. Va-t-elle jouer son va-tout en formant une coalition avec le RP, ou espère-t-elle utiliser cette carte pour obtenir des conditions plus favorables – et des garanties personnelles – au sein d'une nouvelle alliance des partis conservateurs ? Un nouvel épisode du feuilleton politique turc est sur le point de commencer.

Nicole Pope

AGENCE ECONOMIQUE ET FINANCIÈRE — 28 mai 1996

La coalition d'Ankara est sapée par la brouille entre conservateurs

Le Parlement turc pourrait avoir à se prononcer dès le 3 juin sur une motion de censure déposée par le parti Refah (islamiste) et vraisemblablement appuyée par celui de la Juste Voie (DYP), pourtant associé au gouvernement dirigé par Mesut Yilmaz (Mère Patrie ou Anap). Le DYP de Tansu Ciller conteste le leadership

du Premier ministre et pourrait soit s'allier avec le Refah, soit faire entrer le Parti républicain du peuple (CHP) de Bulent Ecevit dans la coalition. Cette instabilité déplaît manifestement aux militaires, garants de la laïcité, ainsi qu'aux marchés (la Bourse d'Istanbul a perdu 3,91 % vendredi et 3,88 % lundi), vu l'ampleur des problèmes budgétaires – avec un déficit public de quelque 10 % du PIB –, des incertitudes régionales (problème kurde) et du regain de tension dans les relations avec Athènes.

Turkish Daily News

Tuesday, May 28, 1996

Two more cases against Turkey referred to ECHR

By Orya Sultan Halisdemir

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- The European Commission of Human Rights has accepted two more cases against Turkey as "admissible" and referred them to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), the Turkish Daily News has learned.

Sources who asked not to be named said that two cases were referred to the court by the commission on April 17, but had not been revealed to the public. The European Court of Human Rights is expected to schedule hearings on the two cases. "It might be within a month or two," the same sources indicated. The commission's reports on the two cases, obtained by the Turkish Daily News, revealed the following facts:

The first case, "Aziz Menteş and others vs. Turkey," involves allegations on the part of four women that Turkish soldiers burned their homes on June 25, 1993. The report said that according to the applicants, Turkish security forces had arrived the day after an attack on the village of Sagoze in Bingol province by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) on June 23. "Again according to the applicants, the security forces burned their homes the following day on the basis that the villagers had helped the PKK separatists."

"The burning of the applicants' homes is consistent with a practice of burning houses as part of the policy by the security forces to combat the PKK, especially where the authorities view villages as giving support to the PKK," the commission's report underlined under the "facts as presented by the applicants" section.

Meanwhile the Turkish government's "presentation of facts" read as follows: "Since 1993 the PKK has sought to use the applicants' village as a place of shel-

ter and a supply base. The villagers under the incursions of the terrorists were forced to leave the village. The terrorists used the houses from time to time and when the security forces took action against them, the terrorists fled, setting the houses on fire."

The government also defended itself on the grounds that there had been no operation by the security forces in that area on June 25, 1993. "In fact, the applicants had been absent from the village for 6-7 years by that point. They are close relatives of the six named individuals who are suspected of being members of the mountain branch of the PKK," the Turkish government testified in the report.

"The commission has declared admissible the applicants' complaints that on June 25, 1993, state security forces burned their homes, destroying their property and forcing them to evacuate their village and causing, in the case of Suriye Uvat who was pregnant at the time, the premature delivery of twins, who died shortly afterwards," the report declared in the section headed "opinion of the commission." The commission found Turkey in violation of Article 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights, which assures the right to respect for family life.

The report also cites Turkey as being in violation of Article 3, which protects from torture and inhuman or degrading treatment. According to the report, Turkey is also in breach of law in regard to Articles 6.1 and 13, which call for effective domestic remedies. "Turkey's decision not to pursue the cases of these women in the domestic legal system is fundamentally flawed," the report argued.

The second application that was accepted as "admissible" by the commission is Sukran Aydin's complaint that she was raped while in custody.

"In the early hours of June 29, 1993, the applicant, her father Seydo Aydin and her sister-in-law Ferahdiba Aydin were taken from their village Tasit, in Derik district, by the village guards and gendarme officers. They were taken to Derik gendarme headquarters. During her detention, the applicant was blindfolded. She was taken to a 'torture room' where she was beaten, stripped naked, placed in a tyre and hosed with pressurized water. In another separate room, she was stripped and raped by a member of the security forces. She and the other members of her family were released after three days on or about July 2, 1993," the report said, quoting the applicants' alleged complaints.

The report quoted the Turkish government's reply to the complaint: "They submitted that the custody record for the Derik gendarme headquarters indicated that the applicant and other members of her family were not held in detention as alleged, and that intelligence reports and other evidence revealed that the applicant had been engaged in intimate relations with two members of the PKK."

According to the report, the commission has found Turkey in violation of Article 3, considering Aydin's treatment while in custody to be so severe as to amount to torture. It further stated that the right to a fair hearing by the judicial system (as defined in Article 6.1) was also violated.

The reports on both cases also said that the statements taken both by the Turkish Human Rights Association, for the purpose of applications to the commission, and by the public prosecutors, in the context of domestic investigations, did not appear to record strictly the independent recollections of the applicants or witnesses concerned, but often appeared to recite stereotyped and preconceived assumptions to suit the purpose of the document in question.

The decision of the court regarding the two previous applications against Turkey, which the court heard at the end of April, is still not clear and is expected to be revealed in the coming weeks, the same sources indicated.

MONDAY, MAY 27, 1996

US Helsinki Commission renews effort for Kurdish resolution

Measure aims to stop 'Kurdish conflict'

By Uğur Akinci

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. Helsinki Commission, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) representative on Capitol Hill, has circulated a "Dear Colleague" letter dated May 22, 1996 in Congress to garner new support for H. Con. Resolution 136 which "advocates a peaceful end to the conflict between the Government of Turkey and Kurdish militants."

The letter signed by Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) and Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ), the chairman of the OSCE commission, said "for more than a decade, Turkey's citizens, especially those residing in the

Southeast, have suffered the horrors of terrorism and the excesses of a government committed to eradicating terrorism at any cost."

After giving a long list of human rights violations by Turkish troops, and noting that "the PKK guerrillas fueled the cycle of violence by killing civilians, mining locals roads and setting off bombs," the OSCE commissioners said: "This ongoing conflict undermines the very foundations of both the Turkish state and our bilateral relations and its persistence challenges the desires of both governments to establish a secure, long-term relationship. We believe that resolution of the conflict will strengthen Turkish democracy, help eliminate the scourge of terrorism, resuscitate a shaky economy and promote regional stability."

The Helsinki Commission has circulated at least one

similar "Dear Colleague" letter since Jan. 25, 1996 when the Resolution 136 was first introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives. Since then only 25 House members (out of a total of 435) have signed up as co-sponsors of the measure which, among other things, asks the Turkish government to declare a cease-fire, allow Kurdish-language schools, radio and TV, and repeal the state of emergency in the Southeast.

Among the cosponsors are Toricelli; Frazer; Porter; Berman; Slaughter (representing Rochester, NY, a Turkish-American stronghold); Torres; Wolf; Roybal-Allard; Hoke; Pelosi; Funderburk; Lipinski; Bryant; Cardin; Calvert; Rofnero-Barcelo; and Lowey. In the U.S. Congress, 218 votes are needed to bring a resolution to the House floor for debate and voting.

Negative American attitude hurting ties with Turkey

Chilly winds are blowing from Washington these days despite the advent of spring... It is no secret that the Clinton administration is going out of its way to court the Greek-American votes. The red carpet treatment accorded to the Greek president recently at the White House and the statements made during and after his visit were just some of many indicators of how the Americans will use their preferences when they have to deal with Turkey and Greece... We do not want to compare Demirel's low-key working visit to the White House and the way Clinton went out of his way to welcome the Greek president... We are aware the nature of the two visits were different and it will take several more years before the Americans will host a Turkish president officially at the White House...

But all these are rather superficial. Actions speak louder than words and unfortunately American actions against Turkey and its vital interests are really very noticeable these days... The American administration may try to win as many Greek votes as they can but this should not be at the cost of hurting Turkish-American relations and the vital interests of Turkey. Turkey wants to build up its navy and thus it has purchased three frigates from the United States. Despite repeated promises by President Clinton, the delivery of the vessels has been

Editorial



By İlnur Çevik

Turkish Daily News

Wednesday, May 29, 1996

held up because of objections voiced by some pro-Greek congressmen. They claim the frigates may spoil the balance of power in the Aegean. The same antagonistic attitude is also displayed in the sale of American helicopter gunships to Turkey. Here, too, congressmen feel Turkey will use these 'copters against people of Kurdish origin instead of separatist terrorists... So Turkey is denied American arms these days...

As if this was not enough, the Americans have also altered their policy on Cyprus dramatically and say that Greek Cyprus can become a full member of the European Union even if the Cyprus issue remains unsolved. Before they were saying the Greeks should sort out their differences with the Turks on Cyprus before they can become a member of the EU... This is a blow to the Turks and will only increase Greek Cypriot intransigence...

What the Americans seem to forget is the fact that they could not force Turkey to submit to their demands even during the period in the 1970s when Congress imposed an arms embargo on Turkey and stopped all aid to us. That only increased anti-American sentiment in Turkey.

Today the actions of the United States only serve to strengthen the hands of the anti-American and anti-Western camp in Turkey. These people will now say "this is what you get from being a loyal friend of the U.S."

Turkish-American relations should not be sacrificed for a few votes. Yet it seems there is more to this than mere votes. The United States is also aiming to put pressure on Turkey to convince it to extend the mandate of Operation Provide Comfort... This kind of blackmail will never work on Turkey. On the contrary, this will push the Turks to become more inward looking and will strengthen the position of those who preach anti-U.S. sentiments...

A.F.P. A.F.P.
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Turquie-Kurdes

43 rebelles kurdes tués dans le sud-est anatolien en une semaine

ANKARA, 28 mai (AFP) - Quarante-trois rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires menées depuis une semaine dans le sud-est anatolien, a-t-on annoncé mardi de source officielle.

Vingt-sept rebelles kurdes ont été tués lors d'opérations et combats le long de la frontière avec l'Irak, au sud des zones de Semdinli et de Cukurca, en territoire turc, indique un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir, chargée de la coordination de la lutte contre le PKK depuis 1987.

L'Irak du nord est utilisé par le PKK comme base arrière pour ses attaques contre les intérêts en territoire turc.

Seize autres maquisards kurdes ont trouvé la mort dans d'autres régions du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, selon le document cité par l'agence Anatolie.

Sept autres "terroristes" (ndlr: rebelles du PKK) ont été arrêtés et cinq autres se sont rendus aux forces de l'ordre turques, ajoute le communiqué. Celui-ci ne fait pas état d'éventuelles victimes chez l'armée turque qui poursuivait ses opérations dans la région.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara. Cette rébellion, pour la création d'un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien, situé à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, et les opérations de représailles de l'armée ont fait plus de 21.000 morts en 12 ans.

Depuis début d'avril, l'armée multiplié ses opérations contre le PKK, tuant plus de 500 maquisards kurdes, selon les bilans annoncés par les autorités.

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AFP /AA1234/281212 MAI 96

CONCERT

Une nuit pour le Kurdistan

Coincés entre cinq pays qui leur sont hostiles, persécutés depuis des décennies, les Kurdes fuient leurs terres. Un petit nombre a trouvé refuge en Auvergne. Mais ils n'en oublient par pour autant leurs frères restés dans leur région, qui, souvent, vivent dans le plus grand dénuement. Pour collecter des fonds afin de leur venir en aide, l'Association franco-kurde et le Secours populaire français organisent, à Clermont-Ferrand, un grand concert, ce soir, à la Maison du Peuple, avec notamment Jean-Louis Murat.

DISPERSÉS sur cinq pays, l'Irak, la Turquie, l'Iran, la Syrie et l'Arménie, les Kurdes sont un peuple sans terre, sans pays. Depuis des décennies, ils sont persécutés, comme toutes les minorités, par les pays souverains où ils essaient de vivre. On se souvient de 1988, lorsque les armées de Saddam Hussein avaient procédé à des bombardements chimiques méthodiques, dans le nord du pays. Personne ne peut oublier les images de ces centaines de civils kurdes exterminés délibérément par le dictateur irakien.

C'est à cette époque qu'un certain nombre de réfugiés, fuyant les combats, ont été accueillis en Auvergne, à Bourg-Lastic puis à Vic-le-Comte, Lempdes, Auzon et Sainte-Florine.

Naissance de l'AFK

En 1990, les Kurdes installés à Vic-le-Comte ont créé l'Association franco-kurde, l'AFK. Son objectif est de favoriser les relations amicales entre les populations kurde et française.

L'autre but de l'association est d'aider ceux qui sont restés « au pays ». Pour secourir le Kurdistan, l'AFK a, dans un premier temps, aidé financièrement Pharmaciens sans Frontières pour ses missions sur le terrain. Aujourd'hui, l'association organise ses propres actions en s'alliant au Secours populaire français et en se rendant sur place. Ensemble, ils concentrent leurs efforts sur l'aide à l'enfance et en particulier aux écoliers.

Une première mission s'est déroulée dans la région de Douhok, du 31 août au 15 septembre 1995. Arrivés avec les fonds collectés en France, les deux membres de la mission se sont employés à acheter sur place le matériel scolaire nécessaire à 4.000 enfants pour un an de scolarité.

Fortes de leur succès commun, les deux associations préparent pour l'automne un nouveau convoi, constitué de matériel introuvable au Kurdistan. Ces produits collectés en France : couvertures, produits d'hygiène, jouets, gros matériel scolaire, vêtements... seront acheminés jusqu'à Duhok par une société de transit.

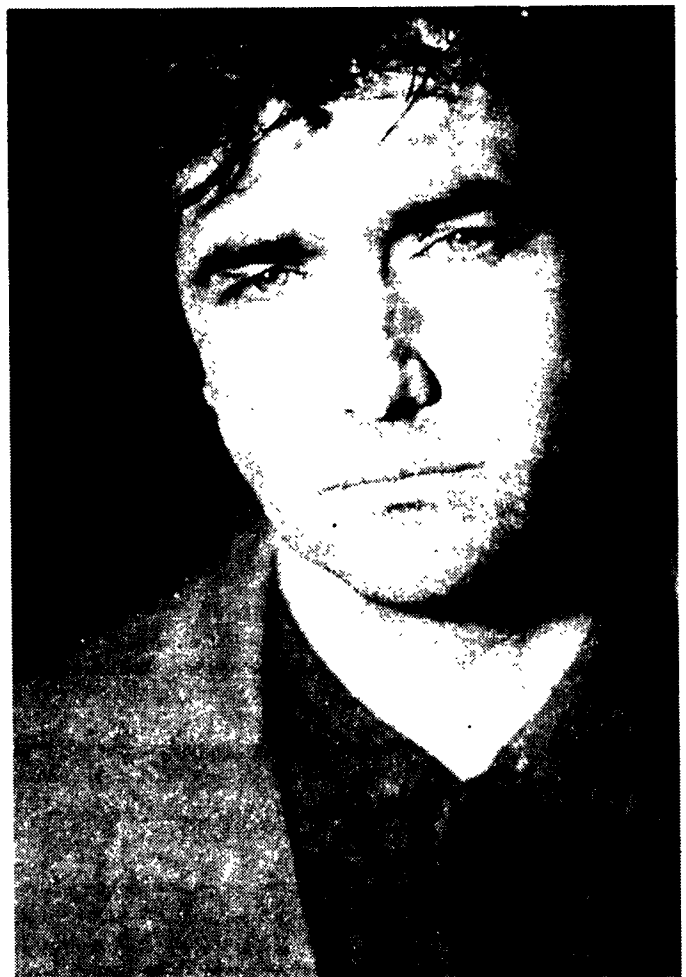
Pour financer ce convoi, l'AFK et le SPF multiplient les initiatives : bons de soutien, appel aux dons, repas kurdes...

Un spectacle unique

Le grand moment sur lequel les deux associations comptent beaucoup est l'organisation d'un concert unique : « Une nuit pour le Kurdistan », avec Jean-Louis Murat, Jack et les Eventreurs et André Agier.

Le concert aura lieu ce soir, à la Maison du Peuple de Clermont-Ferrand. Tous les artistes se produisent généreusement au profit du convoi. Les places sont à retirer aux Secours populaires français, 4, rue Maréchal-Joffre ; à la FNAC, chez Sainte-Cécile, chez Spliff et à l'Espace info jeune, à Clermont-Ferrand.

A tous ceux qui se dépla-

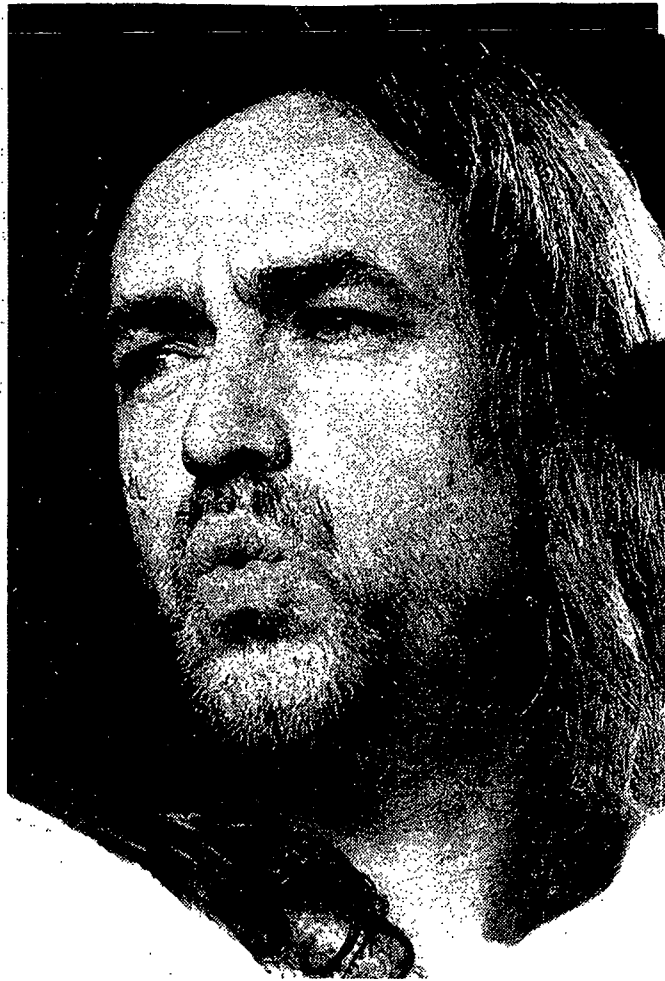


Jean-Louis Murat sera à l'affiche du concert exceptionnel donné ce soir, à la Maison du Peuple de Clermont-Ferrand, au profit des enfants kurdes.

ceront, l'AFK demande d'apporter un produit d'hygiène (savon, shampooing, dentifrice) ou des fournitures scolaires (cahiers, crayons).

C'est l'occasion pour les fans de Jean-Louis Murat et les autres artistes de venir écouter leurs chanteurs préférés et de participer à une bonne action.

LA MONTAGNE — 29 mai 1996



ENGAGÉ

Jean-Louis Murat, pour le Kurdistan.

Murat sort de son silence pour le Kurdistan

Tous ceux qui espéraient découvrir, en avant-première, quelques titres du prochain album de Jean-Louis Murat, n'auront finalement dû se « contenter », hier soir, à la Maison du Peuple de Clermont-Ferrand, que d'anciennes chansons et de reprises. Les bénéficiaires du concert — auquel participaient également André Agier et Jack et les Eventreurs — permettront, eux, de financer l'envoi d'un convoi humanitaire au Kurdistan.

« LES Kurdes, ce sont les Apaches du XX^e siècle! ». Formule choc du chanteur André Agier en ouverture du concert « Une nuit pour le Kurdistan », hier soir, à la Maison du Peuple de Clermont-Ferrand. Le constat est effectivement alarmant : éclaté sur cinq états (Turquie, Iran, Irak, Syrie, Arménie), c'est le dernier grand peuple au monde à ne pas avoir un pays indépendant!

Si l'idée d'organiser une grande soirée au profit de ce peuple déraciné était donc noble, le public n'aura malheureusement pas été à la hauteur des espérances des organisateurs. Quelques trois cents personnes, seulement, ont répondu à l'invitation lancée par l'Association franco-kurde et le Secours populaire.

Les fonds recueillis lors de cette soirée, ainsi que des dons en nature, permettront tout de

même de financer l'envoi d'un convoi humanitaire (1) jusque dans la ville de Duhok (Kurdistan iranien, situé au nord du pays), d'où sont originaires de nombreux réfugiés de l'Association franco-russe créée à Vic-le-Comte, il y a six ans.

Tout comme Bernard Agier, le groupe Jack et les Eventreurs a dédié l'un de ses nouveaux morceaux — en langue anglaise, et que l'on devrait retrouver sur un CD, d'ici septembre-octobre — aux trente millions de Kurdes réunis par une même langue et une même culture : « Nous ne sommes pas tout seuls ».

Le Kurdistan souffre pourtant toujours d'un double embargo : celui des Nations unies contre l'Irak, depuis la guerre du Golfe (ce qui fait, par exemple, qu'il est impossible d'y envoyer des ordinateurs, qui relèvent de la technologie), et celui de Saddam Hussein qui tente de nuire à ce pays de toutes les façons possibles, tuant et terrorisant journalistes ou associations humanitaires...

Membre de l'Association franco-kurde pratiquement depuis sa création, c'est tout naturellement que Jean-Louis Murat a donc accepté de chanter pour cette « Nuit » contre l'oubli. Long cheveux défaits, tout de blanc vêtu et look « messie », il a enchaîné près d'une vingtaine de titres, sortant ainsi du silence dans lequel il s'était enfermé depuis de longs mois.

Pour autant, pas d'avant-première de son prochain album (à paraître à l'automne), mais des valeurs sûres (« Si je devais » ou « Cours dire »), et des reprises originales, comme cette « Marie-Jeanne » d'un certain Jo Dassin, chaleureusement accueillie par le public.

Sa présence sur l'affiche n'aura cependant pas suffi pour rassembler le plus grand nombre autour d'une grande cause. Mais c'est bien connu, nul n'est prophète...

(1) Association franco-kurde, 63270 Vic-le-Comte; tél. : 73.83.35.14.

Demirel adds 7th earring to GAP project

Turkish Daily News

King of Dams: By inaugurating the foundation of the Karkamış Dam 30 years after doing the same for the Keban Dam in 1966, President Demirel has ensured that his uncontested title of 'King of Dams' continues

THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1996

By Kemal Balci
Turkish Daily News / ANKARA

What happens when one of the world's grandest progress projects is realized in one of the world's poorest regions? There are many answers to this question and many choices to every answer. But perhaps the most important fact based on this question is that to force such an advance of progress into 30 years, represents a long period of time for a person but very short for a country. President Süleyman Demirel, being aware of this, has said that the most important thing is to complete the project.

The last link in the chain of the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) has been completed. The seventh earring of the "Bride with seven earrings" as President Süleyman Demirel says, has been put on the Euphrates, which Demirel deems a bride. The foundation of Karkamış Dam, which is 4.5 kilometers from the Syria border, has been laid. The wild Euphrates will have a last rest at Karkamış before starting its "journey through the desert."

The Euphrates and the Tigris will stop seven times in Anatolia. At every stop they will give light and fertility to the Anatolian people. The GAP project, which Süleyman Demirel started on Nov. 12, 1966 with Keban Dam, has reached its last big turn. The construction of the dam lake in the Karkamış district of Gaziantep has started. The project started with Keban Dam in 1966, went on with the Karakaya Dam in 1978, and continued with the Atatürk Dam in 1983. The efforts to restrain the Euphrates, that came close to the Syria border with the Birecik Dam in May 1993, have come to an end with the laying of the foundation of Karkamış Dam. The construction of the Tigris and Kralkızı Dams, which will be used both for irrigation and for electricity production, on the Tigris has started. Süleyman Demirel is proud of the project to which he has given 30 years; yet he emphasizes that the Euphrates and Tigris rivers are behind the achieved success. When he was laying the foundation of Karkamış Dam he thanked the Euphrates. He expressed how grateful we were to the light, energy and fertility giving river.

President Süleyman Demirel showed how important the project was to him at every opportunity he had during the GAP trip he undertook. The president traveled with five planes, two full of journalists and guests, two

of ministers and officials and one of writers. He first came to Gaziantep Airport then passed to Karkamış district.

At the foundation-laying ceremony at Karkamış Dam, Demirel made a speech calling everyone in the region to get together. He emphasized the aim of progress beyond contemporary Turkey by saying "Democratic and secular Turkey will reach its aim." He recalled for the benefit of those who lay claim to the waters of the Euphrates that the river rises in the Turkish provinces of Ağrı and Muş.

"We will not dry the gardens and fields of Syria. But our rights should also be recognized," he said.

"No one should place a stone before us," Demirel added, indicating that Turkey still supports a peaceful settlement to this problem.

Then there were fireworks. Colored smoke drifted toward the skies of Syria. Balloons followed, as did a Turkish flag which drifted in the sky. This was followed by the planting of the first pick in the ground as television broadcast the event live nationwide and telephones beamed news reports to the four corners of the earth.

Description of the project

Karkamış Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant (HEPP) is within the scope of border Euphrates Project comprising a part of the Southeastern Anatolia Project. Karkamış Dam is situated on the Euphrates River forming the provincial border between Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa and is 4.5 kilometers upstream of the Syrian border.

The purpose of Karkamış Dam is power generation. Since no regulation of Karkamış Dam is considered, Karkamış HEPP will operate simultaneously with Birecik HEPP. The dam consist of the energy facilities (housing the power intake and the powerhouse) and the spillway at the right abutment, and the embankment between the concrete structures and the abutments. The central clay-cored-fill type dam is 29 meters high from foundation with a crest length of 1647 meters and a total filling volume of 2.1 million meters³. including the cofferdams. The spillway has sixteen openings designed for a maximum discharge capacity of 17411 m³/s. The power plant having a total installed capacity of 189 MW comprising six units is foreseen to be commissioned at the end of a four-year construction period. The power plant comprises double turbine-generator units each rated at a capacity of 31.5 MW and will be equipped with horizontal axis Kaplan turbines. The three-phase synchronous generators with horizontal axis are of 35 MVA capacity each. The switchyard occupies an area of approximately 150X200 m² at the right bank of the tailrace. Power generated by the units will be transmitted to a 154 kV Birecik transformer center by double-circuit 154 kV transmission lines. When the power plant is commissioned, 652.5 GWh will be produced annual. Construction, the procurement of electromechanical equipment and erection work of Karkamış Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant will be carried out by a consortium formed by Elin EV, J.M. Voith AG, Verbundplan GmbH from Austria and Yüksel İnsaat Inc., Temelsu International Engineering Services Inc. from Turkey under the leadership of Elin EV of Austria on a turnkey basis with full financing provided from Austria.

DSI (Owner) will bear the whole supervising responsibility on the civil construction work and manufacturing and erection activities of the electromechanical equipment.

Birecik Dam

Leaving the inaugural site for Karkamış Dam, President Demirel traveled to the building site of Birecik Dam whose

foundation-laying he attended on 23 May 1993.

At the site, Demirel said that this project would also enable the Euphrates to contribute to the development of the country as a whole.

"My ears know the sounds on this building site well. These sounds will increase and this project will be completed," Demirel said bristling with pride over this project with an estimated cost of \$1 billion.

He point out in an address to those assembled at the site that Birecik Dam was being built under the Build Operate and Transfer (BOT) model and referred to the advantages of this. Demirel then pointed to the inappropriateness of differentiating between "locals and foreigners" when the issue is one that concerns the development of the country, especially given that what is being built would remain in Turkey. "It is not as if foreign capital is going to take this dam away with it," Demirel said half-jokingly.

He said that he was visiting the site this time to see how things were going and said he hoped to actually inaugurate the opening of the completed dam the next time he visited. Dr. Logters, the administrator of the German partner firm Phillip Holzmann, which has undertaken to build the dam, for his part, referred to Demirel as the "King of Dams" and promised they would complete Birecik on time.

The Birecik Dam, when completed, will provide 2.5 billion Kwh of electricity per annum and will provide irrigation for 70,000 hectares of land in the Gaziantep and Araban valleys. It will have six units each with a capacity of 112 MW and is planned to start electricity production in the year 2000.

The construction of the Birecik dam is being undertaken by Turkey's GAMA, the German Philip Holzmann and the Austrian Strabag companies. The power generating plants are being provided by CEG-EL-EC from France. ACEC Energie from Belgium. Sulzer Hydro from Germany and the Turkish GAMA company which collectively comprise the Birecik Company.

The financing for the dam and the power generation plant is being provided by Hermes of Germany, COFACE of France, Ducroire of Belgium, OKB of Austria and a host of 44 international banks. An interesting fact about the Birecik Dam is that so many international companies should have chosen to involve themselves in the project despite various arguments put forward by Syria to stop the project on the grounds that it would deprive it of vital water.

This is particularly important given the delays in financing the Atatürk High Dam because of pressure by Syria on international companies.

When GAP is completed

When the GAP project is completed in full it will have involved a total of 13 subsidiary projects, seven of them on the Euphrates and six on the Tigris rivers. These projects, aimed at irrigation and energy production will be made up of 22 dams and 19 hydroelectric power generation centers. The irrigation capacity will be 1.6 million hectares of land which will all be opened to agriculture.

The largest of the undertakings within the GAP project, the Atatürk High Dam and hydroelectric power generation center, produces 8.9 billion Kwh of elec-

tricity each year with its eight turbines of 300 MW capacity each.

The dams' waters will also be able to irrigate 882,000 hectares of land. Already, 29 billion Kwh of energy have been obtained from the turbines of the Ataturk Dam

Among the unique feature of the GAP region, or the "Rivers Region" as Demirel calls it, are the Urfa Tunnels. The waters being brought to Urfa by boring through mountains are a blessing which cannot be underestimated as far as the parched lands of this part of the country are concerned.

Demirel, referring to the overall GAP undertaking, stressed his own background as an engineer and demonstrates in his grasp of the data that he is in total command of the specifics of this enormous project. The facts and figures with which he colors his remarks, statements and addresses proved to be instructive to the most hardy of professionals involved in the project. In addition to the engineering aspects, Demirel also highlighted the importance of the areas of education, health, infrastructure, urbanization, environment and cultural development within the context of the GAP project.

He referred to an international airport in Urfa, the extension of the railway network to Diyarbakır, and to the Harran University and said that these were even more valuable than the GAP project itself.

During the two-day GAP visit, Demirel's wife Nazmiye accompanied him at every stage. The Demirel family, running around regardless of the extreme heat of the Southeast thus become the symbols of Turkey's race to development. Unable to restrain himself back at the electronic nerve center of the Ataturk High Dam, Demirel said gleefully, "greetings to Syria!"

This was because in order for the eight turbines to operate simultaneously, 1,400 cubic meters per second of water was being sent in Syria's direction. This was in stark contrast to the 500 cubic meters per second that Turkey has committed itself to giving the downstream country.

The amount Turkey is sending now also allows Syria to compensate for the reduced amounts of water during the high summer months caused by the drought conditions that prevail in this corner of the world.

Water scenarios

During the whole of the visit Demirel avoided referring to the water dispute Turkey has with Arab countries. In fact he tried to reduce tension by continually referring to peace and regional development. Asked if the appeal that GAP brings with it may lead to new threats to the region, Demirel merely referred to the fact that there were many plans to this end and added that all he was concerned about at this stage was the completion of the overall project.

As it is, the project is far from being finished. At the same time only a few of the regions that can potentially be irrigated by the waters of the Euphrates are being watered as yet. One of the Urfa tunnels is not yet fin-

ished. The only tunnel that is working now due to a temporary "Bypass line" that was built is not yet integrated into the overall project due to a lack of funds.

The marketing of the agricultural goods that will be produced once the irrigation begins in full is also a problem that is looming. There are insufficient processing plants for the cotton that will be grown here and that will rival the cotton grown in Cukurova. In fact, the truth is that there are 604 new factories but when the massive amount of production that will follow from the GAP project is considered, these are seen as minor investments.

Other problems waiting at the door are diseases that come with the arrival of water, the lack of knowledge in the region about modern irrigation farming, the pollution of good water due to misuse of fertilizers and land erosion. But Demirel's argument here is that "GAP will also be the solution to the problems it creates."

The truth of the matter is that when the gigantic GAP project is finally finished, it will solve many a domestic problem. It will, however, bring new problems requiring even greater solutions with it. The developmental levels of countries bordering the region are very low. This will inevitably lead to Turkey becoming not just a regional power but also a magnet for illegal immigration by the poor in other countries in the region seeking better lives.

We already saw the adverse results of such a flow of humanity toward Turkey during and after the Gulf War, although it was for another reason at the time. In short, Turkey has to prepare itself for the wave of migration that will inevitably follow the completion of GAP. And when it is finally completed, Syria is no doubt going to claim some rights for itself, even if it does not have any fertile land. It can be argued that it has already started to do so but the level of its claims can be expected to increase due to a combination of factors such as political jealousy, and the disadvantage of receiving "used salinated" water.

It is not for nothing that a characteristic of the argument about the future of the region has been and continues to be the prospect of a "war over water."

The wealth that will accompany GAP will also make Turkey's democratic and secular regime an attractive and desirable alternative for people in the region. It is not clear now how the leaderships of the countries in the region that are far from being democratic will handle this situation. But what can be expected is that acts of enmity toward this country in order to destroy its role as an example will mount.

There are also countries which will see the GAP project as a weapon because if the waters of the Ataturk Dam are released in one go — provided you are prepared to give up the Birecik and Karkamış Dams — then it could mean that Syria would be, metaphorically speaking, swept all the way to the Persian Gulf.

Or if the canals carrying water from the dams between Harran and Ceylanpinar are opened at the same time it is possible to turn the whole region into swampland and prevent the possibility of a land war in the region.

Coopération Ankara-Jérusalem

La genèse d'une alliance

Entre la Turquie et Israël,
la complémentarité est totale.
Reste une inconnue : la montée
de l'islamisme à Ankara.

par Steve Rodan

C'est en 1993, avec la visite à Ankara du directeur général du ministère israélien de la Défense, David Ivry, qu'Israël et la Turquie ont commencé à parler officiellement d'une coopération stratégique. En février 1996, les deux pays ont finalement conclu un accord-cadre qui ressemble bien à une alliance, sous le contrôle et avec l'approbation de leur protecteur commun, les Etats-Unis. Des accords bilatéraux de défense existent en effet entre Washington et Ankara d'une part, Washington et Jérusalem d'autre part ; et la Turquie est membre de l'Otan.

L'accord de février 1996 porte notamment sur la coopération entre les deux armées de l'air. On sait ainsi que les Israéliens ont effectué des exercices aériens dans l'espace turc au mois d'avril, puis participé au mois de mai à des vols de reconnaissance turcs le long de la frontière syrienne. On a appris également que douze appareils turcs ont participé début juin à un exercice aérien en Israël. Et qu'Israel Aircraft Industries va mettre à niveau cinquante-quatre chasseurs-bombardiers turcs F-4 Phantom, une opération évaluée à 650 millions de dollars, qu'Ankara est incapable de financer directement.

Mais l'accord — dont le texte intégral n'a pas été rendu public — porte apparemment sur l'ensemble des questions de défense. Les marines israélienne et turque vont effectuer, elles aussi, des exercices

conjointes au mois de juillet. Et il y a lieu de penser que des accords plus anciens de coopération entre les services secrets des deux pays ont été repris et amplifiés.

Seyfi Tashan, doyen de la faculté de sciences politiques d'Ankara et directeur de l'Institut turc de politique étrangère, estime que ce type de coopération est « absolument normal » :

— Israël est un pays avancé en matière technologique. Il peut nous apporter l'aide dont nous avons besoin. Un accord de libre-échange a déjà été signé entre les deux pays. Pourquoi ne pas y ajouter des contrats et des accords militaires, du moment qu'ils ne sont pas dirigés contre des pays tiers ?

Mais précisément, peut-on croire que l'accord-cadre israélo-turc n'est dirigé contre personne ? Des Etats ne prennent pas l'un envers l'autre de tels engagements sans de sérieuses motivations. Si l'accord ne portait véritablement que sur des questions techniques, le président turc Suleyman Demirel n'aurait pas jugé nécessaire de dire au président israélien Ezer Weizmann, lors de la visite que celui-ci a effectuée début juin à Ankara : « Nous sommes un pays souverain et indépendant. Vous êtes un pays souverain et indépendant. Personne n'est autorisé à se mêler de nos affaires. »

L'intérêt à long terme d'Israël dans cette alliance est évident : la Turquie, par son poids démographique, sa profondeur stratégique et

Le président turc
Suleyman
Demirel
a évoqué
publiquement
la possibilité
d'un « changement
de frontière »
avec l'Irak.

Valeurs Actuelles du 29 juin 1996



L'armée turque dans le nord de l'Irak, en

sa proximité géographique, contre-balance largement le monde arabe et l'Iran. Accessoirement, une alliance entre l'Etat juif et une Turquie certes dotée d'un régime politique laïque mais musulmane constitue un précédent que pourraient suivre peu à peu certains pays arabes.

Pour la Turquie, Israël est à long terme un partenaire régional idéal, capable de contribuer à sa modernisation sans menacer son indépendance. Certains pays arabes ou islamiques pourraient en revanche devenir des concurrents dangereux, soit par eux-mêmes, soit en s'alliant à nouveau avec la Russie.

A court ou à moyen terme, d'autres intérêts, plus précis, jouent également :

1. Les deux pays sont en conflit avec la Syrie. Le conflit israélo-syrien, on le sait, remonte à 1948 et n'a toujours pas reçu, en dépit d'une médiation américaine et de quelques pourparlers directs l'hiver dernier, le moindre début de solution. Un autre conflit, non moins ancien, existe entre Ankara et Damas. La Syrie ne



avril 1995. Pour « poursuivre » les séparatistes kurdes du PKK.

pardonne pas à la Turquie de s'être emparée en 1939 du sandjak d'Alexandrette, devenu la province du Hatay. Elle veut participer à l'administration de l'ensemble des eaux de l'Euphrate, fleuve qui naît en Turquie puis transite par son territoire avant de couler en Irak, alors qu'Ankara revendique le contrôle exclusif des sources et du cours supérieur. Elle soutient le mouvement séparatiste kurde de Turquie, le PKK, notamment en lui fournissant l'infrastructure nécessaire à ses opérations terroristes.

Consensus pour soutenir les Kurdes d'Irak

2. Les deux pays se méfient de l'Irak. Israël regarde l'Irak de Saddam Hussein comme l'un de ses ennemis les plus dangereux, notamment s'il parvient à se doter à nouveau d'un potentiel nucléaire ou chimique. Les Turcs, pour leur part, n'ont jamais renoncé — même sous Atatürk — au

nord de l'Irak : le président turc Suleyman Demirel a évoqué publiquement en 1995 un éventuel changement de frontière. Autre convergence : Israël a toujours soutenu les Kurdes d'Irak ; et les Turcs, tout en combattant le séparatisme kurde sur leur propre territoire, ont plutôt tendance à l'encourager chez leurs voisins.

3. Les deux pays redoutent l'Iran. Alors que le chah entretenait des relations étroites avec Israël, la République islamique d'Irak fondée par Khomeiny est un ennemi de l'État hébreu encore plus implacable que l'Irak. Une situation analogue existe, à un moindre degré, entre l'Iran et la Turquie : aux relations de bon voisinage qui existaient jusqu'en 1979 se substitue peu à peu une rivalité à la fois idéologique et ethnique, islamisme de Téhéran contre laïcité d'Ankara, nationalisme iranophone contre nationalisme turcophone. Les Turcs sont donc d'accord avec les Israéliens pour empêcher l'Iran de devenir, au cours de la prochaine décennie, une grande puissance militaire.

4. Les deux pays redoutent une nouvelle « Grande Russie ». Pour Israël comme pour la Turquie, la chute de l'URSS a été un événement extraordinairement bénéfique. A la disparition d'un danger militaire majeur s'est ajoutée en effet l'ouverture économique ou culturelle vers des pays culturellement proches mais jusqu'à interdits. Ankara et Jérusalem redoutent à la fois la reconstitution d'une « Grande Russie » et une percée des Iraniens dans le Caucase ou en Asie centrale.

L'armée turque a plus d'autorité que le gouvernement

Une inconnue plane cependant sur l'alliance israélo-turque : la montée du sentiment islamiste en Turquie même. Le parti Refah, qui a obtenu 158 sièges sur 550 au Parlement d'Ankara au mois de décembre dernier et dont le chef, Necmettin Erbakan, vient d'être chargé à nouveau de constituer le gouvernement, est totalement opposé à l'accord de février. Et les partis laïques pourraient être tentés de lui donner partiellement satisfaction sur ce point, afin de former avec lui une coalition stable.

Fin mai, le premier ministre conservateur Mesut Yilmaz demandait ainsi publiquement si l'accord « était aussi profitable pour la Turquie que pour Israël ». Son ministre de la Défense, Öltan Sungurlu, allait encore plus loin, en affirmant que l'accord « pouvait parfaitement être annulé ».

Dans l'immédiat, cette hypothèse ne semble pas très sérieuse. L'accord israélo-turc a été voulu par l'armée turque, et celle-ci, seize ans après le coup d'État du général Evren, conserve beaucoup plus d'autorité dans le pays que le pouvoir civil. Il est significatif que Yilmaz, par exemple, ait été contraint à la démission après avoir critiqué l'accord de février, et plus encore qu'une publicité accrue ait été donnée, depuis un mois, aux manœuvres conjointes.

Mais si l'armée elle-même évoluait ? Les généraux appartiennent encore à une génération totalement acquise aux idéaux d'Atatürk et à l'alliance avec l'Occident. Les autres officiers ont grandi dans un climat différent, plus ouvert à l'islam traditionnel.

Dans dix ans au plus tard, ce sont eux qui seront les maîtres. ●

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1996

Turk Lays Down Terms for Quitting

Reuters

ANKARA — Turkey's prime minister, Mesut Yilmaz, said Tuesday that he would resign only if the Islamist opposition and his coalition partners agreed to form a government to replace his moribund minority administration.

But he said the way was still open for cooperation with his coalition partner, Tansu Ciller, and her True Path Party.

Mr. Yilmaz told a news conference that if the True Path Party "declares to the public that it will form a coalition with the Welfare Party, I will hand in my resignation." The Welfare Party is Islamist.

"I am not thinking of resigning until an alternative is created or the government is toppled by a vote of no-confidence," said Mr. Yilmaz, who is under increasing pressure to resign since the constitutional court annulled a

March vote of confidence in his shaky coalition with.

Mr. Yilmaz, who has refused to budge so far, said the way was still open for cooperation with his bitter rival, Mrs. Ciller, if she backtracked on her refusal to disclose what she did with \$6.5 million she withdrew from a government slush fund just before she left office as prime minister in March.

The speaker of Parliament, Mustafa Kalemli, a former Yilmaz lieutenant from his Motherland Party, has yet to decide on whether to give in to an Islamist Welfare Party demand for an emergency session of Parliament on Thursday over a censure motion against the prime minister.

Mr. Yilmaz has rejected the motion as illegal.

"The censure motion is illegal," Mr. Yilmaz told the press conference. "It is

against the principle of separations of powers."

Islamists saw power within their grasp as Parliament weighed whether to debate the Welfare Party's censure motion.

"The Welfare Party is now a party of government," the veteran party leader Necmettin Erbakan told a meeting in Istanbul. "It is now not possible for a government to be formed in Turkey without Welfare."

A censure motion differs from a no-confidence vote by targeting individual ministers rather than the government. But if it passes, the effect is the same: the government falls.

Welfare does not have the numerical strength to pose a no-confidence vote, so it had to target Mr. Yilmaz with the censure motion and hope to pick up support from the True Path Party.

THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1996

Turkish Daily News

Sungurlu is patient on Super Cobra sale

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Turkish Defense Minister Oltan Sungurlu, who arrived in Washington for a visit with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry and other American officials, displayed a patient attitude concerning the stalled sale of ten Super Cobra attack helicopters.

"We prefer to wait awhile longer. We are not considering another supplier yet," he said. Sungurlu is accompanied by a Turkish delegation of nine which includes the undersecretary of defense, Lt. Gen. Tuncer Kiliç, and Ambassador Gün Gür of the Foreign Ministry.

He said that they would also discuss the issues of Provide Comfort extension and the frigate "accessory package" which was not delivered to Turkey as well. German News Agency DPA last week reported that the package was stalled at the White House by George Stephanopoulos, senior advisor to President Clinton.

Gen. Bir

Replying to a question by Turkish journalists as to why Gen. Çevik Bir, deputy chief of Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, did not show up in Washington with him as planned earlier, Sungurlu said he did not have a clear idea why



Turkish Defense Minister Oltan Sungurlu

the general had not come. "Upon my insistence he said he would be a part of the visit program. But afterwards, for some reason, he changed his mind," Sungurlu said.

Gen. Bir reportedly told Sungurlu that he could discuss the relevant issues with the Americans in Ankara as well. "The Americans also wanted to see Gen. Bir with me here," Sungurlu said.

The Welfare Party

Also answering questions on domestic politics, Sungurlu said the Welfare Party did not pose a danger for the secular regime since there are strong pro-secular and anti-Shariah articles in the Constitution. "Erbakan Hoca can change things only if he can change the Constitution," he said. "Erbakan Hoca did not change himself. Previously, he had been in power (as deputy prime minister). Our president asked Erbakan if he would deliver the (pro-Shariah) things that he promised to the voters during the (Dec. 24, 1995) electoral campaign. Erbakan said he made those promises in order to win votes."

Sungurlu said he supported a coalition that included Welfare before the current minority government was formed. "Today, both ANAP's and DYP's chances of forming a coalition with Welfare is made harder. But I can't say that it is impossible either," Sungurlu said. Concerning the recent domestic political developments in Turkey, "it is not possible that these are positive developments," he commented. "The message of the 1995 elections is that the citizens do not trust any single party in Turkey. That's my personal interpretation," he added. Sungurlu will leave Washington on Thursday.

Iraq says big trade contract only for 'friends'

Reuters

BAGHDAD- Iraq will grant major trade contracts only to companies and countries which stood by Baghdad against U.N. trade sanctions imposed in 1990, the government newspaper al-Jumhuriya said on Tuesday. "Iraqi people, including their current and future governments, deal with countries and companies on the basis of their stands towards the embargo," Jumhuriya said. "Major and important contracts would be granted to friends." Iraq

hopes an agreement on partial oil sales it signed with the United Nations last week will lead to the lifting of the crippling sanctions imposed after it invaded Kuwait in 1990. The deal allows Iraq to sell \$2 billion worth of oil over six months to pay for food and medicine under U.N. monitoring. Jumhuriya said companies of big countries such as the United States and Japan "would be mistaken if they thought the quality of their products and their low prices would induce Iraqis to deal with them".



Smiles at friends

Iraqi Kurd groups agree parliament term extension

Reuters

ANKARA- Rival Iraqi Kurdish groups have acted to preserve their power-sharing assembly by seeking to extend its mandate for a further year, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) said in a statement on Tuesday.

The assembly's term was initially set for three years, but was extended for a year in 1995 because of fighting between the two parties.

The PUK said it agreed on Monday with the rival Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) "that the Parliament should work to resolve the PUK-KDP dispute and prepare for new parliamentary elections."

A KDP spokesman said the parliament, set up in 1992, must meet before the expiry of its term on June 4 if it is to maintain its legal status.

The PUK and KDP hold 50 seats each and Christian Assyrians have five representatives in the assembly, which in the past met in a mosque in the neutral northern Iraqi village of Daraban.

The feud between the KDP and the PUK has cost about 3,000 lives and split northern Iraq into rival zones. But there have been no serious clashes for

over a year.

The two parties failed to reach a peace agreement last month after they met separately with a U.S. delegation.

The PUK said Monday's talks, which took place at KDP headquarters in Salahuddin as a gesture of reconciliation, are seen as a prelude for further talks "to resolve the internal Kurdish dispute and restore unity and peace to Iraqi Kurdistan".

Senior delegations from the two parties agreed to look at ways of expanding the parliament to include both independent delegates and those from other political groupings.

"This is deemed necessary to overcome the grid-lock that has beset the functioning of the Parliament in the past," the PUK said.

The Kurdish groups began fighting in 1994 over control of the city of Arbil and the distribution of revenues from a makeshift oil trade at the Turkish border.

Northern Iraq has been protected from Baghdad by a Western powers air force based in southern Turkey since shortly after the Gulf War in 1991.

French See Second Copter Deal with Turkey Imminent

BURAK BEKDİL

It was 1992 when Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel met with French President Francois Mitterrand. One minor topic during the meeting, among several hot issues, was the possible sale of Franco-German helicopters to the Turkish army. Yes, said the Turkish leader.

It took several months before the contract was signed on Oct. 8, 1993, at a joyous ceremony which made both the French company and some Turkish bureaucrats much happier than the previous day. Eurocopter, a joint venture between France's state-run Aerospatiale and German DASA, would sell Turkey 20 utility helicopters, Cougars to be more specific, at a cost of \$253 million. Good business, the world's second largest helicopter manufacturer thought, why not try another one? Yes, it has been doing so for the whole of the past 12 months.

After several ups and downs, Eurocopter believes it is very close to its second contract in Turkey. The company is expecting to conclude soon year-long discussions with Turkish authorities for the co-production of 30 SAR/CSAR utility Cougar helicopters. Its officials say talks with Turkey's Defense Industry Undersecretariat (SSM), the procurement agency, are progressing well and an agreement was in sight for the nearly \$500 million project.

"The discussions have been tense, I should say. However, I am confident that a deal will be reached in the weeks to come," said Luc Barriere, Eurocopter's vice president for Europe. Eurocopter officials are confident of winning the second contract despite some controversy. There were reports that the talks between the SSM and Eurocopter were close to failure because of heavy political pressure during the premiership of Tansu Çiller, who allegedly gave instructions to the Turkish bureaucrats for the direct purchase of the 30 copters. Talks reportedly returned to normal when Eurocopter agreed on co-production after the Dec. 24 election in Turkey. Turkey and Eurocopter have not yet agreed on the share of Turkish participation in the pro-



posed co-production program. "We are continuing talks to finalize the details, such as delivery schedule etc. We have not yet come to a conclusion as to the share of local content," explains Didier Renaux, deputy director for industrial projects and offset programs. Defense industry sources say Eurocopter has already agreed on nearly 20 percent Turkish participation, but the SSM is pressing for larger local involvement.

"In fact what matters is not just the quantity of the local content, but also its quality. And our offer contains a high-quality profile of Turkish participation in terms of technology transfer and other elements," said Renaux. Eurocopter's proposal for the co-production sees the Ankara-based Aerospace Industries Inc. (TAI), which manufactures F-16 fighter planes, as prime subcontractor for the airframe from development phase to delivery. Engine parts manufacture, assembly and testing will be carried out by the TEI, the engine producer. Other Turkish companies including the military electronics producer Aselsan and privately-owned companies Hema and communications equipment manufacturer Netas will be involved in main equipment manufacture, assembly and tests. The proposal offers offset commitments of 50 percent of the imported parts, mainly based on the industrialization and production of the future Tiger attack helicopter. Direct economic benefits for the

Turkish defense industry are estimated at 5,500 man-years, according to Eurocopter officials. The helicopter manufacturer is pledging to establish the Turkish helicopter industry through local production of additional Cougars; maintenance and upgrade of Turkey's Cougar fleet; and participation in production of new Eurocopter products such as Tiger.

Would Eurocopter withdraw from negotiations if Turkey insists on a larger local content?

No, replied Jean-Pierre Dubreuil, director of the board's executive cabinet. "We shall not give up. We believe that we have to get as close as possible to Turkish industry. I am sure there is going to be an agreement at some stage," he said. Defense industry experts say Turkey has become a lucrative market for the world's helicopter manufacturers, who are suffering from a contraction in the market. World demand for helicopters, civilian and military, is hovering around 600 to 700 at the moment, and is declining. "This is why we are fighting to win new contracts," said Dubreuil.

Eurocopter reported a loss of nearly \$800 million last year, although its officials only said the company did not report any profits. Its consolidated turnover was around \$1.76 billion, half of which came from exports. Eurocopter has so far sold 10,825 helicopters to customers in 127 countries ■

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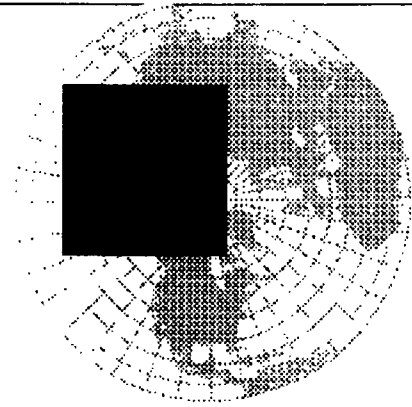
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Yaşar Kemal Receives Hellman/Hammett Award for Courage in Response to Repression

New York, NY (May 31, 1996) -- Human Rights Watch announced the award of a Hellman/Hammett grant to Yaşar Kemal, the world renowned Turkish writer, who was tried and convicted in March 1996 on charges of "inciting racial hatred by way of regional and racial discrimination." Kemal was given a twenty-month suspended sentence and warned if he repeats his crime in the next five years, the sentence will become active.

The charges against Kemal were based on articles he wrote that were published in the collection, *Freedom of Thought in Turkey*. In a trial opening in Istanbul today, ninety-eight intellectuals who claim responsibility for publication of the book have been similarly charged with inciting racial hatred. They, like Mr. Kemal, have said "we have no choice but to commit a crime in order to defend our freedom."

In recognizing Mr. Kemal, Human Rights Watch noted the courage he has shown in defending freedom of expression for himself and the others currently on trial. Human Rights Watch added, "It is ironic that Turkey which prides itself on Kemal's place on the short list of candidates for the Nobel Prize is at the same time harassing him and his colleagues for expressing thoughtful concern."

The Hellman/Hammett grants had their genesis with American writers Lillian Hellman and Dashiell Hammett who were both interrogated about their political associations and beliefs by U.S. Congressional Committees during McCarthy scares of the 1950s. Memories of their difficulties prompted Hellman to designate funds from her estate and that of Hammett, her longtime companion, to assure that courageous writers would not have to stand alone against political persecution. In 1989, Hellman and Hammett's executors asked Human Rights Watch to devise a program to implement the writers' wishes. Since the program began, more than 200 writers have received grants totaling well over one million dollars.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki (formerly Helsinki Watch)

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki was established in 1978 to monitor and promote domestic and international compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Accords. Jonathan Fanton is the chair of the advisory committee and Alice Henkin is vice chair. Holly A. Cartner is the executive director. Human Rights Watch/Helsinki is a division of Human Rights Watch, which was established in 1978 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights worldwide. Kenneth Roth is the executive director Robert L. Bernstein is the chair of the board and Adrian W. DeWind is vice chair.



Former Police Chief and present Minister for Justice Mehmet Ağar

Prisons Are Boiling Over

Family support:

The families which are supporting the continuing hunger strike in the prisons are conducting their own hunger strikes in the district and regional offices of the Peoples' Democracy Party (HADEP)

JAN PAÇAL

The protest began last year in December with the occupation by inmates of Umraniye Prison and then spread to other prisons and reached a bloody end with the intervention of security forces. Now the prisons, which for a while have been quite silent, are once more beginning to boil over.

Former Police Chief Mehmet Ağar became the Minister of Justice only to be met with the prisoners once again beginning to take over the jails. The new wave of protests started with a hunger strike in the Diyarbakır E Type prison and has spread to other prisons just as happened last year.

Yavuzeli Prison, Antep and Bursa Prisons, Tokat Zile Prison and the Mardin Closed Prison followed suit

after Sakarya with hunger strikes from 23 May onwards. The people being held in these prisons have announced that they will continue their hunger strike if their demands are not met.

It has further been announced that the condition of 11 of the prisoners who are on an extended hunger strike is not good. Attention has been drawn to the fact that the prisoners are continually bleeding internally, have blood circulation problems and are suffering from fainting spells to the point that they might die at any moment.

According to a press release the prisoners have said that they feel that the prime minister and other officials including the president are playing "blind and deaf" where their rightful demands are concerned and they have decided to completely boycott the state courts.

The families which are supporting

the continuing hunger strike in the prisons are conducting their own hunger strikes in the district and regional offices of the Peoples' Democracy Party (HADEP). The hunger strike at the Diyarbakır HADEP branch, which began at the same time as that in the prison, is continuing but under police control. Entrances and exits are being controlled by the police who have surrounded the district center.

HADEP Chairman Murat Bozlak has named the new Justice Minister as the person who will be responsible if there are any deaths. Bozlak drew attention to the fact that pressure in the prisons has been on the increase.

The Human Rights Association's (İHD) Istanbul branch has reacted to the appointment of Ağar as Justice Minister and to the continuing hunger strikes. In a statement İHD said that

the moment Ağar was made minister, it wanted him removed.

The reasons given were that he would secure the opening of prisons which had been closed. Ağar on the other hand should take as his basic principles the independence of the courts' decisions, the universality of the laws and government by law. "In spite of the innumerable charges which have made against him Ağar has now been made the Minister of Justice," the statement said. "This situation again brings out the reality that he continually wants a police state.

The police who intervene in many community affairs are being used in a way in which they are acting not to prevent something or break up an incident but are being used to open fire on the people. "The result of opening fire is either death by struck in the head or chest or remaining maimed or wound-

ed. In many of the assaults in the prisons many of the prisoners and those in custody lost their lives.

The same style that applies on the street is used in prison and the cells are entered using tear gas bombs and iron bars. Even the wounded who were taken to hospital are struck inside the ambulances and their treatment prevented. In this situation then government statements concerning the murders are aimed at making the murders legitimate in a defensive manner and deceiving public opinion.

"If the Justice Ministry were to turn into an organization which encourages state terrorism, this is to say that the future of the people in the society and their basic rights and freedoms will be in danger of falling into deep darkness and danger." ■

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Kurdes: le secrétaire à la Défense Perry rencontre son homologue turc

WASHINGTON, 30 mai (AFP) - Le secrétaire américain à la Défense William Perry a eu mercredi un entretien avec son homologue turc Oltan Sungurlu sur l'avenir de l'opération alliée "Provide Comfort" de protection des Kurdes d'Irak, a annoncé le Pentagone.

M. Sungurlu estime que la Turquie doit mener seule cette opération, alors qu'actuellement la force chargée d'apporter de l'aide aux Kurdes d'Irak et de surveiller le ciel irakien au nord de 36ème parallèle est formée d'avions de combat américains, britanniques et français.

"J'ai déjà déclaré que nous étions en mesure de nous occuper seuls de cette question, a déclaré le ministre turc à la presse avant la réunion, mais nous sommes au sein d'une alliance et donc nous devons arriver à un accord avec nos alliés".

M. Perry a souligné pour sa part que "Provide Comfort" est "une opération commune et qu'elle apporte des bénéfices communs à la Turquie, aux Etats-Unis et aux autres alliés. Les décisions concernant cette opérations seront prises en commun".

"Provide Comfort" a été mise en place au lendemain de la Guerre du Golfe en avril 1991 pour protéger les réfugiés kurdes fuyant l'Irak.

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Six prisoners burn themselves at Diyarbakır prison

Jan Pacal

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Events taking place at Diyarbakır prison are horrific. Like the events that took place at Erzurum prison, 20 prisoners burned themselves at Diyarbakır prison to protest against the attacks and the pressures to which they have been submitted. According to the report of The Human Rights Association Diyarbakır branch, six of them are dead and 19 of them have been injured.

Protests expanded to 36 prisons

The number of prisons participating in the protest are continually increasing on the 34th day of the hunger strike, which started at Diyarbakır E Type Prison to ameliorate prison conditions, stop confession policies and any kind of provocation. After 23 May hunger strikes were started at Yavuzeli, Bursa, Antep, Tokat Zile and Sakarya prisons. The prisoners say they will continue the strikes unless their demands are accepted. It is also reported

that the prisoners are not in good health and deaths can be expected all the time. With the reactions of the President of the Republic, Prime Minister and other authorities to this declaration, the prisoners have said they will play 'blind and deaf' and that they have decided to protest at all the state security courts.

It was reported that Justice Minister Mehmet Ağar gave a declaration the threatens life in the prisons. In the report the IHD has claimed that the events taking place in the jails were encouraged by the minister's policies.

"According to the agreement signed by Turkey, no state has the right to damage either the body or the mind of a prisoner or criminal, whatever his crime is. The ministry which started to transfer prisoners to other prisons with the last procedures is the messenger of bloody future events..."

Besides this declaration, the IHD also gave a report concerning the events taking place at Eskişehir Prison. It was reported that 60 execution officers entered L Bloc

on May, 23 1996 at 10.30 p.m. and attacked the prisoners. Some of the prisoners were injured and some of them were taken to prison because of heart attacks.

Ağar talked severely

Diyarbakır attorney general Ibrahim Akbaş, stating that the attacks started after the hunger strike, said deaths were caused due to the reactive protests of the prisoners. Justice Minister Mehmet Ağar rejected the claims that the ministry was responsible for the events, and said: "There is order in prisons.

The terrorist organizations can do nothing. Some powers aim to abuse our good intentions, but we won't permit this. We aim that the prisoners return back to society as normal citizens. But everyone takes his slice from the cake. Those who are imprisoned because of modest crimes are also being involved and even forced to take part in these terrorist events. I won't give up my struggle as long as my political life permits".

US committee to give \$3 million to Barzani and Talabani

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. House Appropriations Foreign Operations Committee approved a foreign assistance appropriations report that proposes to give "up to" \$3 million in fiscal year '97 to Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in northern Iraq "to support implementation of the agreement between" them. The KDP and PUK signed a peace agreement in the autumn of last year after a year of bloody fighting.

The KDP and PUK are also expected to get a considerable portion of the additional \$260 million to \$300 million to be set aside by the United Nations during the 180-days following the beginning of Iraq's oil sale in accordance with U.N. Resolution 986.

The U.S. State Department said this money would be set aside for the three Northern Governorates of Iraq for implementing the "humanitarian program."

Turkey

In contrast, the committee also approved only \$25 million as Economic Support Fund (ESF) for Turkey in fiscal year '97. Originally, the Clinton administration asked for \$60 million in ESF but Republican Rep. John Edward Porter of Illinois slashed it by \$35 million at the appropriations subcommittee. The pro-Turkish members of the subcommittee agreed to the cut on the condition that no anti-Turkish language be included in the bill.

To put the \$25 million ESF in perspective, let's mention that Turkey in 1995 exported \$700 million worth of textiles from one city alone; i.e., Denizli.

Greek Cyprus

The U.S. committee also decided to give \$15 million to Greek-Cyprus in ESF "for scholarships and bicomunal projects in Cyprus." Since the United States does not recognize the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, all of the \$15 million will be deliv-

ered to the Greek Cypriot administration in the South. "The committee strongly urges the administration to carry through on its pledge to make resolution of the Cyprus situation a top priority in 1997."

7-to-1 ratio

The committee preserved the 7-to-1 ratio offered by Porter in humanitarian assistance dollars to be sent to Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, respectively, despite the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh is not an independent state. Yet Armenians are already treating the Azeri district as though it were an independent state. TDN learned, for example, that

Armenian-Americans have raised over \$5 million in Los Angeles through a telethon campaign to construct a highway to link Armenia to Nagorno-Karabakh.

Commenting on the 7-to-1 ratio, Democrat Rep. Charles Wilson of Texas, a proven friend of Turks and the Azeris, said he did not believe that Porter's ratio was correct. "But I hope that if the process continues, the State Department can come up with more scientifically arrived at num-

bers. Perhaps at Conference (Committee) we can correct that," Wilson said.

The bill preserves two provisions from last year's bill; i.e., the "humanitarian corridor" and a limited waiver of Section 907 of the so-called "Freedom Support Act" of 1992 which allows NGOs (non-government organizations) and PVOs (private voluntary organizations) to use the facilities, hospitals and vehicles of the government of Azerbaijan only for the purpose of providing humanitarian assistance to 1 million refugees.

Wilson said such a waiver was necessary because during his visit to the region he observed that smallpox vaccinations could not be made since only state hospitals had the refrigerators necessary to keep the shots and blood plasma fresh.

He gave other examples which supported his argument that unless the PVOs and NGOs had access to government facilities they could not effectively deliver humanitarian assistance to refugees in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

In return, Wilson agreed not to include in the bill any language that comments on the "political

status" and sovereignty of Nagorno-Karabakh.

"I think we should call Nagorno-Karabakh a region of Azerbaijan," Wilson said, but added that for the sake of a compromise he was willing to postpone the issue to the Conference Committee. Direct government-to-government assistance from the United States to Azerbaijan is still banned under Section 907.

A senior member of the committee told TDN that he expected the fiscal year '97 Foreign Assistance Appropriations bill to be referred to the Conference Committee in mid-August.

A bill is sent to "Conference" for ironing out the differences when the Senate and House versions of the bill do not match each other.

HADEP's case for Habitat II

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The People's Democracy Party (HADEP) has declared that Habitat II is being held in a country that is rocked by economic and political problems, and where an undeclared -de facto- war is being conducted despite the fact that one side in that war — The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) — has declared a unilateral ceasefire.

Defining the UN's choice of Turkey as host country as inappropriate, HADEP stated that abuses of proper settlement and housing have become an official policy of the Turkish state.

HADEP said that in a country where human rights abuses and mass migration were continuing, Habitat should investigate these problems in depth and discuss them without excluding the victims of these problems.

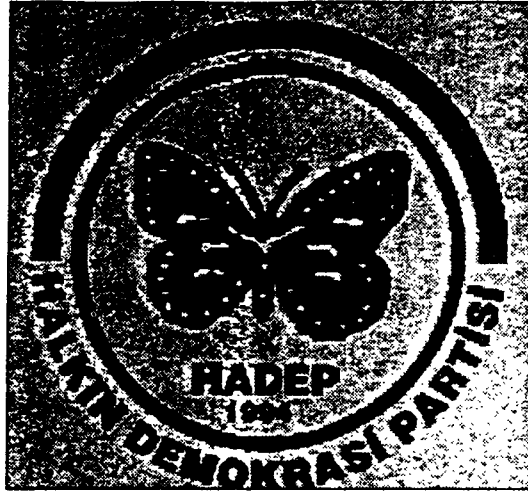
HADEP remarked that they were not against Habitat, but against the choice of Turkey as a

host country. HADEP emphasized that Kurds were forced to evacuate their villages and migrate, and that these villages were then burned in order to prevent people from coming back.

Habitat would only be useful if alternatives to the official ideology, shaped by the taboos of the 70 year-old state, were produced.

Regarding the Rio Environment and Development summit, which will form the basis of Habitat II, HADEP stated that in the center of "Sustainable Development" lay human beings, and asked for an explanation for forced evacuations and migration in Turkey.

HADEP also called for attention to be made to peace efforts, migration, proper housing, settlement problems and human rights abuses, saying that they were not against a Habitat which would also consider these issues.



Sungurlu backtracks on Provide Comfort comments

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- During the first day of his official visit to Washington, Turkish Defense Minister Oltan Sungurlu seemed to backtrack on some of his earlier comments concerning the desired changes in Operation Provide Comfort (OPC).

During an earlier press conference in Ankara, Sungurlu was recorded as saying that Turkish jets alone may very well carry out the mission of the OPC — even without the U.S., French and British participation that currently makes up the force protecting northern Iraqis from persecution by Saddam Hussein. When questioned in Washington, however, Sungurlu said it was perhaps a misunderstanding.

During a photo-op session held at the Pentagon on Wednesday, Sungurlu said the press was "saying part of the things I've said at the press conference [in Ankara]."

"At the press conference I had said that, if we agree with our allies, we're in a position to take care of this on our own," Sungurlu said. "But of course, we are in an alliance, so we have to get an agreement from our allies."

Perry

U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, by his frequent use of the word "joint," emphasized that there cannot be any unilateral changes to OPC.

"Operation Provide Comfort is a joint operation and it provides joint benefits to Turkey, the United States and to other allies," Perry said.

"The decisions that are made on its operation will be made jointly; and yes, we will discuss those today."

I would not forecast for you all the details of that discussion, but we will have a discussion on that today.

I'm confident that we will arrive at an agreement on how to proceed jointly on that operation."

After a lunch at the Pentagon with Perry, Sungurlu visited the U.S. Congress and met with the chairman and some members of the House National Security Committee.

Following that, Sungurlu also got together with (Ret.) Gen. Alexander Haig as a part of his program to meet American "opinion makers." The Turkish Defense Minister will leave Washington on Thursday afternoon.

Alternative Habitat activities: The other side of the coin

By Erdinç Ergenç

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Alternative Habitat activities, organized by non government organization (NGOs) that have decided boycott the official Habitat , started on 29 of May. Thirty five NGOs, headed by the Human Rights Association (IHD), have organizing alternative activities that will question the state record of human rights and the right to settlement in appropriate conditions which is considered as a basic human right.

The Human Rights Association stated that holding Habitat in Turkey was not in keeping with the philosophy of the United Nations. The association gave a press conference in İstanbul explaining the reasons why they are not participating in the conference.

"The reason why we opposed to this conference being held in Turkey is (that it is) incompatible with the ideals of the UN. A conference on human settlements being held in a country where the regulations and practices are diametrically opposed to the UN's ideals contradicts the ideals of UN," said the chairman of IHD, Akın Birdal.

Birdal said that the Kurdish population in Turkey had been forcibly displaced, natural and cultural heritage had been destroyed and in these conditions the IHD was organizing an alternative Habitat to reveal the truths and make them known to the public.

Birdal emphasized that the UN's policy with regard to states concerning the affective implementation of the principles formulated in the UN Charter and other international instruments was clear. Referring to the UN's two fundamental worldwide human rights conferences, one held in 1968 in Tehran and other in 1993 in Vienna, Birdal said that these conference decided the grave denial of human rights caused by discrimination based on race, religion, belief and expression of ideas would cause harm to the human conscience and jeopardize the foundation stones of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

The IHD chairman pointed out that the reason why the Association has decided not to participate in the official conference but to organize alternative meetings lay in these determinations. Birdal added that they had made their decision along with those NGO's which would not take part in Habitat next to the state.

The IHD proposed to Turkey and the international community it's program of democracy and human rights as opposed to the report of the official Turkish National Community. The first part of the IHD's democracy and human rights program concerned

everybody living in Turkey. The second dealt with the so called Kurdish question.

Giving answers and suggested courses of action to the question "What should be done for the right to settlement based on equality, nondiscrimination and freedom" IHD proposes a program of human rights and democracy. IHD demands changes to the Turkish constitution, which it classifies as militaristic and monopolistic.

"The constitution in which everybody is treated with full equality should have as its sources international human rights documents," said the report of IHD. The association has 11 proposals for the establishment of a democratic constitution which respects human rights.

Demanding an end to the undeclared war in the South East of Turkey, the IHD calls for the removal of institutions specific to the areas where Kurds live in large numbers such as the State of Emergency, Village Guards, security forces Special Teams and food embargoes. Birdal said that Kurdish people should have full freedom of expression and a general amnesty should be proclaimed.

Birdal also outlined the suggestions of the IHD over the forced evictions of villagers from their homes and lands.

Alternative Habitat activities include forums on minorities, the environment, war and forced migration, health and education, settlement, culture and values, child and labor issues. In addition a series of exhibitions and cinevision shows will be staged. The activities started yesterday and will end on 8 June with the Solidarity Day after a two day forum on 6 and 7 June.

Criticizing the preparations for official Habitat , the IHD said that the state and the municipality have restored the long ruined streets, prepared glorious conference halls and organized celebrations with thousands of personnel. "They have destroyed everything disturbing them. They have put the street urchins outside the city, poisoned or removed the street animals. They have ornamented the avenues and streets with newly planted trees, flowers and tulips," said IHD officials.

Making a call to participate in the Habitat II Alternative Activities the IHD emphasized that oppressed minorities; these discriminated against because of their sex or race; workers whose rights are violated; the handicapped who are excluded from society; children and the poor, unemployed, hungry and homeless were those the Alternative Habitat was seeking to reach and under those conditions the IHD said that the Turkish state could never be a legitimate host. IHD officials said that their alternative slogan for Habitat was "Let's make everybody see the other side of the coin".

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Immigration-manif

Près de 2.000 manifestants à Marseille contre les lois Pasqua (PHOTO)

MARSEILLE, 1er juin (AFP) - Près de 2.000 personnes -1.600 selon la police- ont défilé samedi après-midi à Marseille à l'appel de SOS Racisme et d'une cinquantaine d'autres associations, pour demander l'abrogation des lois Pasqua et l'abandon du projet Debré sur l'immigration.

En tête du cortège parti vers 15H00 du Vieux-Port, une banderole "Non à la chasse à l'étranger - Leurs droits sont nos droits" était suivie par des enfants tenant à bout de bras des pancartes "Je suis Français, mes parents sont en souffrance, visiteurs dans mon pays" ou "Je veux que mon père reste avec nous".

"Pasqua, Debré, vos lois on n'en veut pas" ou "Nous sommes tous des enfants d'immigrés, 1ère, 2ème, 3ème génération" ont été les slogans les plus repris. Derrière SOS Racisme, le MRAP, la Ligue communiste révolutionnaire (LCR), la Ligue des droits de l'homme, les syndicats enseignants FSU et SNU/IPP étaient représentés, ainsi qu'Act-Up Marseille, Ras L'Front, les travailleurs kurdes et plusieurs autres associations locales.

En fin de cortège, un autobus de Droit au logement (DAL) était suivi d'un orchestre sur un camion portant une banderole "Poètes, vos papiers". Les manifestants se sont dispersés dans le calme, vers 17H00, devant la préfecture.

DLO/cd/mc

AFP /AA1234/011722 JUN 96

Droits de l'homme

Turquie

(Résolution commune)

20.06 - En adoptant une résolution commune des groupes PSE, PPE, ELDR, GUE/NGL, Verts et ARE, ainsi que de Mme Katerina DASKALAKI (UPE, GR) et de M. Nikitas KAKLAMANIS (UPE, GR) sur les droits de l'homme et la situation en Turquie, le Parlement européen demande au nouveau gouvernement de décréter une amnistie générale et renouvelle plus particulièrement sa demande de libérer immédiatement Mme Leyla ZANA ainsi que les trois autres députés au DEP. Il invite également le prochain gouvernement à entreprendre de nouvelles réformes législatives afin de prévenir toute atteinte aux droits de l'homme.

Demandant aux autorités turques de reconnaître les droits de tous les Kurdes vivant dans le pays et à faciliter le rapatriement de tous les Kurdes déplacés, il insiste pour que soit mis fin aux opérations militaires dans le Sud-Est du pays et que débutent des négociations visant à un règlement politique et pacifique du conflit.

Pressant le Conseil de rechercher tous les moyens qui permettront d'encourager les initiatives visant à régler les questions des droits de l'homme et des Kurdes en Turquie, le Parlement européen estime qu'un tel mépris à l'égard des obligations inhérentes au droit international et aux textes fondamentaux sur les droits de l'homme est gravement incompatible avec l'esprit dans lequel a été conclu l'accord sur l'Union douanière entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie.

Yaşar Kemal receives Hellman/Hammett Award for courage in response to repression

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Human Rights Watch, which was established to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights worldwide, announced the award of a Hellman/Hammett grant to Yaşar Kemal, the world-renowned Turkish writer.

The Hellman/Hammett grants were created by American writers Lillian Hellman and Dashiell Hammett, who were both interrogated about their political associations and beliefs by U.S. congressional committees during the McCarthy scares of the 1950s. Memories of their difficulties prompted Hellman to designate funds from her estate and that of Hammett, her long-time companion, to ensure that courageous

writers would not have to stand alone against political persecution. In 1989, Hellman and Hammett's executors asked Human Rights Watch to devise a program to implement the writers' wishes.

Yaşar Kemal was tried and convicted in March 1996 on charges of "inciting racial hatred by way of regional and racial discrimination."

He was given a 20-month suspended sentence and warned that if he repeats his crime in the next five years, the sentence will become active.

The charges against Kemal were based on articles he wrote that were published in the collection, "Freedom of Thought in Turkey." In a trial opening in Istanbul today, 98 intellectuals who claim responsi-

bility for publication of the book have been similarly charged with inciting racial hatred. They, like Yaşar Kemal, have said: "We have no choice but to commit a crime in order to defend our freedom."

In recognizing Kemal, Human Rights Watch noted the courage he has shown in defending freedom of expression for himself and the others currently on trial. Human Rights Watch added: "It is ironic that Turkey, which prides itself on Kemal's place on the short list of candidates for the Nobel Prize, is at the same time harassing him and his colleagues for expressing thoughtful concern."

Since the Hellman/Hammett awards began, more than 200 writers have received grants totalling well over \$1 million.

SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1996

Turkish Daily News

Police ban the Alternative Habitat

By Erdiñ Ergeneç

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Turkish police have banned the Alternative HABITAT activities organized by 35 non government organizations (NGOs) that are boycotting the Habitat II conference. The 35 NGOs, headed by the Human Rights Association (IHD) were organizing alternative activities aiming to highlight problems not addressed by the official event.

The authorities gave as the excuse for banning the Alternative Habitat that the NGOs had not got permission from the governor office to convene their counter conference. The activities of the Alternative Habitat started on 29 May in Şişli and were continuing in two meet-

ing halls outside of the Habitat Valley, the venue in central Istanbul for the official summit.

There was no indication of anything abnormal till the intervention of Turkish police at 1 o'clock yesterday. The chairman of the Istanbul Human Rights Association, Ercan Kanar, said that the state was frightened of the realities and its crimes that were to be attacked at the Alternative Habitat.

Kanar stated that the state was caught red handed by this act.

Accusing the state of being a handicap to the process of democratization and the development of a civil society, Kanar pointed out that the state had shown its real face once again. Ercan Kanar emphasized that no one could

prevent them from revealing the truths about Turkey and made a call to NGOs participating the official Habitat to make their stands clear after the attack.

The Alternative Habitat was being conducted inside a circle of police. Yesterday Anti-terror Police Teams entered the Alternative Habitat venue and demanded the evacuation of the building where exhibitions, slide shows and discussions were being held. According to a member of IHD there was no need to get permission for their event since activities were not being held outdoors.

Although the police knew this participants were threatened with being taken to the State Security Court by the Anti-terror teams.

Turkish Daily News

SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 1996

Turkey said to be considering allowing Kurdish broadcasts

Reuters quotes politicians saying the subject is "definitely being discussed"

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA. Turkey's conservative government is seeking to cut through a years-old taboo and introduce Kurdish broadcasting. Reuters has quoted Turkish politicians saying,

"It is being discussed — I myself prepared a report on this issue. And other reports are also being looked at," Naim Geylani, a deputy from Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz's Motherland Party from the southeastern region of Hakkari, told Reuters.

Cabinet members said they had taken up the issue at a meeting in the main southeastern city of Diyarbakir on Sunday. Ahmet Özer, head of a grouping of mayors from the southeast, said they had prepared a report on Kurdish television ahead of the cabinet meeting at the bidding of the minister responsible for the media, Ali Talip Özdemir, also from Motherland. "There is

a definite need for Kurdish television and the government has accepted this," Gureli said.

"In the region about 90 percent of people watch MED TV, which broadcasts distortions and lies," he said, speaking by telephone from a remote district of Hakkari, which borders Iran and Iraq.

The Kurdish-language MED TV, beamed since last May via satellite from Britain is backed by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), whose 12-year-old separatist campaign cost more than 19,000 lives.

People in the region say MED TV is watched even by village guards, a state-paid, mainly Kurdish militia armed to fight the PKK.

Kurds fleeing the fight with the PKK to settle in shanties in western towns invest in satellite dishes to see it. Rights activists claim that giving greater cultural rights to

state propaganda broadcasts that simply denounce the PKK. "There must be private televisions, monitored but not censored by the state, that broadcast objectively and allow the Kurdish people to develop and enjoy their culture, language and music," said Motherland Diyarbakir MP Sebetullah Seydaoglu Yilmaz hinted at the beginning of his tenure he would change successive governments' army-only policy in the southeast. He promised Kurdish education and broadcasting and his government has pledged to lift emergency rule in the region.

But no progress has been made in addressing restrictions on Turkey's Kurdish minority as the government of Motherland and the True Path Party of former premier Tansu Çiller is near to collapse amid infighting and corruption allegations. Yilmaz faces a censure motion next week that could kill the government. But Geylani said the fact that the issue was being discussed was an improvement on before. "In the end, it will be achieved."

Kurds would go a long way towards ending the PKK's fight. Kurdish broadcasting is banned in Turkey, and debate of the Kurdish issue is stifled by Turkey's many laws that punish "separatist" and "regionalist" statements. Scores of writers and intellectuals are in jail for writings and speeches calling for greater rights for Turkey's Kurds.

The latest stirrings in Motherland suggest it may be trying to revive moderate ideas which the late President Turgut Özal had worked on when he led the party as premier in the 1980s. But the left-wing, pro-Kurdish Demokrasi newspaper poured scorn on the moves as aimed at hitting MED TV with nationalist Turkish propaganda: "Contra-TV is coming!" the daily plastered on its front page on Friday, referring to what activists say is a shady "contra-guerrilla" group close to the state. MPs from the southeast say no one would watch

Turkish Daily News

Monday, June 3, 1996

Kirkuk lynchpin in Iraq's return to world oil market

Reuters

KIRKUK, Iraq- This oil city which still bears the scars of war is now a lynchpin in Iraq's efforts to regain its position as a major player in the world's energy markets.

Iraq is expected to pump most of the oil under its May 20 deal with the United Nations from Kirkuk, where oil was first discovered in Iraq nearly seven decades ago.

President Saddam Hussein's government sees the accord, allowing it limited oil sales in order to purchase food and humanitarian supplies, as the first step in breaking the embargo imposed on it for its ill-fated 1990 invasion of Kuwait. It is also another step in Kirkuk's own efforts to rebuild from the devastation of war.

The city was often targeted by Iranian warplanes during the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war. The Iraqi authorities built a 25 metre-high artificial mountain to place anti-aircraft guns on and to protect the city.

Neither the mountain nor the guns could guard the oilfields against laser-guided bombs which allied warplanes dropped on the city during the 1991 Gulf War over Kuwait.

"Damage was massive," said Talal Ashour Kanaan, director general of the Northern Oil Company.

"Nonetheless we were able to restore life to this company and could pump crude to Iraqi refineries in a short time." Kirkuk's chief geologist, Fahid Abduljabbar, added: "We have repaired whatever we can. We never believed we could do it so quickly."

Before the war with Iran, Kirkuk, 255 km (160 miles) north of Baghdad, produced up to 1.7 million barrels per day (bpd), about two thirds of Iraq's OPEC quota of 3.14 million bpd.

Kanaan said it would be difficult for his company to regain previous production lev-

els but post-Gulf War repairs and maintenance would enable it to meet all of Iraq's partial oil exports, estimated between 700,000 to 800,000 bpd.

"My company is fully ready to do the job," he said. "Aggression had direct effects. But God willing we shall retain pre-aggression capacity in a short period of time." Iraq last week pumped 350,000 bpd to fill its twin pipeline via Turkey, idle since sanctions were clamped on it for the invasion of Kuwait nearly six years ago.

Iraqi experts running the installations said up to 450,000 more barrels were being produced for domestic use.

Oil first gushed forth from Kirkuk in huge quantities in June 1927.

An official pamphlet says: "An enormous column of oil and gas rose so high that it was seen from several miles away. The oil flooded the adjacent valleys. It took 10 days of tremendous effort to cap the well."

The British, who made the discovery, built a city nearby. The Iraqis, who took over the oilfields in 1972, have strived to preserve its attractions - cantonments of villas, bungalows, trees and lawns, tennis courts and golf ranges.

According to Kanaan, his company's reserves amounted to one third of Iraq's declared figure of 112 billion barrels. He put Iraq's current production capacity at 2.5 million bpd.

Iraq's deal with the United Nations on partial oil exports allows Baghdad sales worth \$2 billion in six months. The oil ministry intends to export 450,000 bpd via Turkey and the remainder through terminals on the Gulf.

Kanaan said Iraq's domestic pipeline network was "very flexible" and would enable his company to inject crude to Mina al-Bakr which about 1,000 km (625 miles) away.

Human rights group puts Southeast on Habitat agenda

Recommendations: Report calls on Turkish government to cease forcible, indiscriminate village evacuations and to apply international humanitarian law standards

By Orya Sultan Halisdemir

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- The Frankfurt-based Medico International and London-based Kurdish Human Rights Project (KHRP) are about to publish a report, to be delivered at Habitat II, to highlight the alleged destruction of villages and the forced eviction of villagers from the Southeast

The report aims to be the basis of discussions on the steps that are needed to address the problems caused by the clashes between the outlawed Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) and Turkish security forces in the Southeast, the TDN has learnt.

The report was confirmed by the head of the KHRP, Kerim Yıldız, who said that the report was prepared with the aim of asking the Habitat II conference not to ignore the problems faced in Southeast Turkey. "The problem has to be addressed today, if it is ignored it will create problems not just for Turkey but for the whole United Nations," Yıldız told the TDN. He said that Habitat had to assist the Turkish government to set up a humanitarian relief program to cease the pain of the people caused by the clashes between the two sides.

He said that the report gives evidence of the hazards caused to ordinary civilians by both PKK terrorist activities and the security force's operations in the area.

When asked the details of the report, Yıldız said that Medico International had financed the report and that the KHRP had carried out the research and that it was written by the writer David McDowall, the author of "A Modern History of the Kurds" (1996).

The draft report obtained by the TDN concerns itself with many areas of the Southeast problem, such as village evacuation, economic migration, the PKK insurgency, economic and social costs, the state of emergency legislation and effective remedies and the need for international assistance.

The report said that there were around 3,000 villages that had been evacuated until 1996, resulting in the displacement of around 3 million people.

"The vast majority of the evacuations have been carried out by the state security forces in the name of counter-insurgency measures against the PKK. Since 1987, the Southeast has been under State of Emergency Law," the report said.

"The village evacuations are carried out in a barbarous and cruel manner often motivated by punishment and revenge, without respect for human life and property and in violation of international humanitarian law and human rights law," the report read.

It also put an emphasize on the economic costs and losses born by the state. "The quantity of the loss is difficult to measure but it indicates a substantial and permanent loss to Turkey's agricultural economy, quite apart from the military cost, the loss of infrastructure and the destabilizing effects of mass involuntary migration," it said.

Under the section, "Recommendation to Turkish government," the report called for an immediate cessation of the forcible indiscriminate village evacuations and application of the international humanitarian law standards, in cases where village evacuation was operationally necessary.

"Restricting the operation of the emergency powers of the regional governor by establishing safeguards to ensure accountability and a mechanism to provide for the functioning of an independent judiciary," was another recommendation to the Turkish government.

"Invite friendly governments and multilateral funding agencies to assist in drawing up and funding a plan of relief and rehabilitation in co-operation with U.N. Inter-Agency Task Force on internally displaced persons."

Under the section named "Recommendations to Inter-governmental, governmental and non-governmental bodies," the report called for pressure on Turkey to respect fundamental human rights.

"Remind Turkey that although defeat of the PKK may be a military imperative, it will not resolve the Kurdish problem if steps are not taken to seek a political solution including the rehabilitation of the now disaffected population, and that these need to take place immediately in the interests of reconciliation," the report said.

In the introduction to the report, Medico International was introduced as providing immediate medical assistance to refugees and those suffering from the effects of war or other emergency situations.

"The KHRP is an independent, non-political, London based charity, founded in 1992," the report said.

Turkish Daily News

MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1996

Kurdish Parliament remains in limbo

The future of the Kurdish Parliament, whose working period will finish on June 4, depends on the consensus between the KDP, led by Barzani, and the PUK, led by Jalal Talabani

By Ayşe Karabat

Turkish Daily News

SALAHADDIN/ARBIL, northern Iraq- The extension of the Kurdish Parliament, whose mandate will expire on June 4, depends on the consensus between the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by Massoud Barzani, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), headed by Jalal Talabani.

Discussions to extend the mandate of the Parliament and mediation efforts are still continuing, but until now there has been no solution. If there is no consensus, the existing government will continue in power and announce new elections within 15 days, according to the second resolution of the Kurdish Parliament. The Prime Ministry now belongs to the PUK. All the parties, however, agree that the atmosphere is not suitable for new elections. According to local politicians, if the two parties cannot agree on the extension, the KDP-PUK dialogue will finish and the existing situation, in which there are two different administrations will be further consolidated.

They say PUK, which controls 63 percent of the region and two big cities, Suleymaniah and Arbil, will gain the upper hand. Sami Abdurrahman, a member of the central committee of the KDP, said: "The Parliament is the only democratic body of the region. It is true that it doesn't work. But for the future of Iraqi Kurdistan and the Kurdish people, the Parliament must go on. Otherwise there will be a strong dictatorship." The leader of the PUK, Jalal Talabani, told the Turkish Daily News they wanted a real Parliament, a working Parliament. "We insisted that all the resolutions passed by

Parliament must be implemented and respected. In principle, for the extension of the mandate of the Parliament, we need new elections because four years have passed. There are some parties which are not represented in the Parliament. We think we have to ask the people their opinion," Talabani said.

According to Kurdish Parliament resolutions, the Parliament must gather in Arbil. The PUK insists on this; but, according to the KDP, Arbil is under occupation and full of weapons, and for these reasons they do not want to go Arbil for the parliamentary sessions.

The two parties held a meeting in Salahaddin on May 27 in order to discuss the extension of the mandate of the Parliament, but there was no solution. According to local politicians, the only positive thing to emerge from this meeting was that the PUK agreed to go to Salahaddin, which is under the control of the KDP. In this meeting the mediator between two parties, former general-secretary of the Communist Party Aziz Mehmet, said that the atmosphere of the meeting was positive and two parties had agreed on another meeting, but the time and place was not yet known.

The National Assembly of Iraqi Kurdistan was established in 1992. There are 105 seats in the Parliament, 50 of which belong to the KDP and 50 to the PUK. There are five seats for the Assyrians. Last year the mandate of the Parliament was extended for one further year on the last day of the Parliament. The Parliament stopped meeting after clashes between the KDP and the PUK. However, despite the fact that there is a cease-fire between the two parties, the Parliament remains idle.

In a Collapsing Istanbul, UN Muses on Housing

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

ISTANBUL — The walls of Hatice Goktas's cramped, one-room apartment are scarred with a giant crack, snaking from ceiling to floor. Last week it got bigger, swelling ominously to the width of a boa constrictor.

That's because the building next door collapsed, killing a 25-year-old man and seriously injuring six others.

The disintegration of the five-story building at 15 Hocasade Street wouldn't normally mean much in Istanbul, home to 6.6 million people by official count but assumed to house 10 million or more.

Buildings fall down here every day. In a city in which the population grows by an estimated 400,000 a year — as people flood in from the impoverished countryside — breakneck expansion in sprawling shantytowns has rendered building permits a joke and a tumbling tower is just a vagary of life.

But the Hocasade Street collapse has become a lightning rod of sorts for a city that is fed up. Habitat II, the United Nations' second conference on human settlements, opened Monday, and almost everybody in Istanbul has something to say about it.

"Istanbul used to be a great city," mused a taxi driver, Yilmaz Tuncel, "but then Habitat came, and everything is miserable. I want all these UN people to go home."

Mr. Tuncel griped as his taxi and a mechanic's nightmare of other vehicles — a horse-drawn cart, two dilapidated buses spewing black smoke, a pickup truck lugging 16 laborers and one incongruously regal Siamese cat, and a string of dented automobiles — sat waiting for road work to be finished. In front of them, workers piled bricks on a crosswalk.

The coming of Habitat II has prompted Istanbul's city government to rip up dozens of miles of sidewalks and roadways in an attempt to beautify this stunning, if anarchic, metropolis, which straddles Asia and Europe. Throughout the Sultanahmet section of town, home to some of Istanbul's many ancient architectural treasures — notably the Blue Mosque and the Ayasofiya Orthodox Church — and all through Taksim, the tony site of the conference across town, traffic has been brought to a standstill. Scores of

laborers do almost all the work by hand.

The problem is that the city began the work in mid-April, barely six weeks before the conference began. There is no way, city officials acknowledge, that the work will be finished in time. Indeed, workers were still swarming around Habitat's convention center last Friday, trying at least to pave that area. Piles of red bricks blocked a view of the Bosphorus Strait. A batch of ornamental cannons occupied a parking lot.

Another bone of contention involves the city's determination to dig up the streets instead of dealing with more pressing needs. In Ms. Goktas's neighborhood alone, for example, 450 buildings are in danger of collapsing, according to Nusret Bayraktar, the district chairman.

"We warned people to clear out of the area when the building began to sag, but nobody listened," Mr. Bayraktar said.

Ms. Goktas asked, "Are paving stones more important than our lives?" She worries that her two children could be swallowed up by the gaping chasm fracturing her home.

Istanbul has other problems that make it a poignant if not ironic site for a world conference dedicated, its organizers say, to "making the world's human settlements safe, equitable and sustainable for people."

For one, Istanbul is the last major metropolis on the European continent without a sewage treatment plant, although under Roman rule the city had one of the most advanced sewage systems of its time.

Istanbul's air, especially in winter when coal-fired stoves belch out a noxious cocktail of hydrocarbons and sulfur, is among the worst in the world. Huge swaths of the city have

no electrical or water service. An increasingly powerful Islamic political organization, the Welfare Party, has gained support in Istanbul's ghettos by offering water and power hookups in exchange for votes.

"Istanbul is a living laboratory for all the urban ills in the world," said a conference organizer.

Many average citizens here have taken issue with the way the city has prepared for the conference, arguing that, like many programs designed to improve urban life, this beautification effort does not get beneath the surface.

For instance, besides ripping up Istanbul's sidewalks, Istanbul's municipal authorities opened another campaign that earned them the derision of city residents. Starting in April, local authorities began poisoning thousands of cats, dogs and sea gulls, strewing the streets with poisoned meat in an effort to clean up the streets before Habitat began.

Turkish newspapers carried photographs of dead dogs and sea gulls — which ply the once fecund waters of the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus. Emel Yildiz, an animal-rights activist, said he plans to sell T-shirts at the conference reading, "Our animals were killed for you."

Partly because of the bad publicity and partly because UN staff members and Turkish organizers have had trouble coordinating their efforts — UN officials in charge of the conference arrived just a few weeks ago — the number of people expected to take part in the conference has been revised downward from 25,000 to 11,000.

The U.S. delegation, scheduled to be led by the secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros, recently canceled hotel reservations worth about \$60,000.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 1996

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USA-Syrie-Turquie

Washington réaffirme son soutien à la Turquie

WASHINGTON, 5 juin (AFP) - Les Etats-Unis ont exprimé mercredi leur "inquiétude face au terrorisme dirigé contre la Turquie, venant de Syrie" et renouvelé leur soutien à Ankara tout en appelant à l'amélioration des relations entre les deux pays, selon le porte-parole du département d'Etat.

Interrogé sur les tensions qui prévalent actuellement entre les deux pays, le porte-parole Nicholas Burns a indiqué que les Etats-Unis s'inquiétaient "du terrorisme dirigé contre la Turquie, venant de Syrie. Nous avons fait part au gouvernement syrien de nos préoccupations à ce sujet", a-t-il ajouté.

"Il est utile de rappeler que la Turquie est un allié des Etats-Unis et que nous avons des relations excellentes avec (elle). Et nous soutiendrons la Turquie", a encore dit le porte-parole.

Nicholas Burns a indiqué que les Etats-Unis étaient disposés à aider au règlement des contentieux survenus ces derniers mois entre Ankara et Damas. Washington souhaite des relations normales entre les deux pays, a-t-il dit.

La Turquie accuse la Syrie d'avoir mis des terrains d'entraînement à la disposition du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes), en lutte contre les autorités d'Ankara, et qu'elle héberge son chef Abdallah Oçalan, ce que Damas a toujours démenti.

Damas reproche à Ankara l'accord militaire conclu récemment entre la Turquie et Israël.

Les relations entre la Syrie et la Turquie sont également envenimées par les disputes sur les eaux de l'Euphrate. La Syrie critique en particulier un gigantesque projet turc de barrages dans le sud-est de l'Anatolie.

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Turquie-Belgique-Kurdes

La Belgique va prendre des mesures contre le PKK, selon Mesut Yilmaz

BRUXELLES, 4 juin (AFP) - Le Premier ministre turc Mesut Yilmaz a assuré mercredi que la Belgique allait prendre des mesures visant à empêcher les activités de militants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste en Turquie) sur son territoire.

"M. Dehaene m'a dit que le gouvernement belge allait prendre des mesures contre ces personnes", a déclaré M. Yilmaz lors d'une conférence de presse à Bruxelles, après un entretien avec le Premier ministre belge Jean-Luc Dehaene.

Selon le chef du gouvernement turc, "la Belgique est devenue le centre des activités du PKK" depuis l'interdiction de ce parti en Allemagne, où résident quelque 500.000 Kurdes et où le PKK avait établi ses bases.

"La Turquie fait face à une menace terroriste continue. Nous continuerons à la combattre dans le respect des normes démocratiques", a affirmé M. Yilmaz.

"Je ne crois pas que les moyens militaires soient suffisants pour combattre la situation qui prévaut dans le sud-est de la Turquie", a-t-il poursuivi. "Le combat contre le terrorisme et la conduite de réformes doivent aller de pair", a conclu le Premier ministre turc.

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LA TURQUIE; UN DES PAYS QUI PRATIQUE LE PLUS LA TORTURE DANS LE MONDE

Pour dénoncer la pratique de la torture dans le monde, la branche anglaise d'Amnesty International a lancé une campagne, mardi 22 mai, par la publication d'un rapport intitulé "Un clin d'oeil sur l'enfer". Le rapport dénonce la torture dans 40 pays et se focalise sur 5 pays, dont la Turquie, présentés comme "des cas d'exemple".

Alors que les diplomates occidentaux déclarent que la situation des droits de l'homme est en amélioration croissante depuis les années 80, les organisations de défense des droits de l'homme turques sont d'un avis différent. Akin Birdal, président de l'Association turque des droits de l'homme "ne voit pas de lumière au bout du tunnel". Et ajoute "Il n'y a rien qui porte à croire que les choses ont changé. En réalité, cela devient pire. Des gens qui doivent être punis pour des crimes

atroces, ils deviennent parlementaires et même ministres". Par ailleurs, les Centres de Soins mis en place par la Fondation turque des droits de l'homme pour venir en aide aux victimes de la torture sont déclarés illégaux par les autorités et leurs responsables sont poursuivis par la justice turque.

Amnesty International dans la partie de son rapport consacrée à la Turquie cite le cas d'un Kurde, Ali Ekber Kaya, de Dersim, dans les termes suivants : "Une fois la police m'a dit "si on savait que tu avais autant d'amis à l'étranger, on se serait débarrassé de toi il y a longtemps". C'est pourquoi j'ai un peu peur... Si je n'avais pas été adopté par Amnesty, je ne serais pas en vie maintenant. Ils m'ont une fois demandé ce que je pensais du fait que qu'ils me torturent, j'ai répondu ce que vous penseriez si vous étiez à ma place. Alors ils ont gardé le silence".

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Turquie-Kurdes

De nombreux prisonniers kurdes en grève de la faim

ANKARA, 6 juin (AFP) - Un mouvement de grève de la faim tournante entamé par des centaines de prisonniers kurdes pour protester contre un projet de nouveau règlement des prisons en était jeudi à son 41ème jour, a indiqué un parti pro-Kurde.

"Actuellement il y a jusqu'à 1.000 prisonniers dont on pense qu'ils participent à ce mouvement de grève de la faim dans plusieurs prisons" a déclaré à l'AFP Bahattin Guner, vice-président du Parti démocratique populaire.

"Ils protestent contre les nouvelles règles que prépare le ministre de la Justice Mehmet Agar qui conduiraient à une détérioration des conditions de vie dans les prisons", selon M. Guner.

Cette grève de la faim des prisonniers kurdes se poursuit dans au moins 7 prisons, a précisé mercredi le quotidien pro-Kurde Demokrasi.

M. Agar avait indiqué la semaine dernière qu'un nouveau règlement était nécessaire pour les prisons, estimant qu'elles étaient "devenues dans les conditions actuelles, des camps d'entraînement pour terroristes".

La majorité des grévistes de la faim sont membres ou sympathisants du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), qui est interdit et mène une guerre séparatiste dans le sud-est anatolien.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1996

EUROPE

Return of Iraqi Output Adds to OPEC's Problems

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

VIENNA — Iraq loomed large Wednesday as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries began to consider ways of accommodating the country's imminent return to world oil markets with a six-year UN ban on Baghdad's exports partly lifted.

With saturated markets and an end to winter in the Northern Hemisphere crippling demand for heating oil, the United Nations decision to permit the regime of President Saddam Hussein to export some oil to raise money for food is putting major energy producers such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran and Venezuela in a quandary.

None of these oil giants is willing to sacrifice part of its production to make room for the 700,000 to 1 million barrels a day that

could flow from Iraq as early as next month.

As they drifted into Vienna for what was expected to be their most difficult session since the 1990-1991 Gulf War, OPEC members faced the prospect of a significant drop in oil prices unless they could smooth the reintegration of Iraq into the OPEC ranks.

Meanwhile, executives from an array of American, European and Japanese energy companies were lining up to meet with Iraqi officials arriving to make deals.

Oil analysts firmly predicted that oil prices, which have dropped several dollars a barrel in the past three months, would fall further if OPEC chose to ignore the coming tide of Iraqi crude and refined petroleum products.

[In late New York trading, crude oil was down 86 cents, at \$19.58, on the New York Mercantile Exchange. In London, Brent blend crude was trading at \$18.01 a barrel,

down 54 cents on the day. Traders said some of the decline was linked to American Petroleum Institute data showing a rise in U.S. oil inventories in the latest month, Knight-Ridder reported.]

The crux of OPEC's problem lies in what will happen if prices collapse, as Iraq is authorized to sell \$2 billion of oil every 180 days. If prices fall, Iraq would have to increase the number of barrels it pumps to meet the \$2 billion quota, creating a vicious circle.

Before it invaded Kuwait in August 1990, provoking UN sanctions on its oil exports, Iraq pumped 3.4 million barrels a day and exported 3 million of that.

But Iraq is only one of OPEC's problems. Oil is pouring out of producers outside the cartel such as Norway and Britain, which are pumping nearly 6 million barrels a day from the North Sea with every prospect that this

production will continue to rise until the end of the century. In addition, one member, Gabon, is expected to proceed with plans to leave OPEC.

■ Elf Is Upbeat Despite Protest

Elf Aquitaine SA told shareholders at its annual meeting that it expected 1996 earnings to grow as reorganization and cost-cutting measures paid off, Bloomberg Business News reported from Paris.

The meeting was interrupted, however, when unions protesting job cuts involved in the restructuring disrupted the event.

Before the interruption, Chairman Philippe Jaffré said he expected the company to post a larger profit in 1996 than the 5 billion French francs (\$965 million) it earned in 1995.

"Elf's 1995 earnings were encouraging, and they will continue to grow," he said.

UN chief has 'nothing but' positive feelings for Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's "feelings toward Turkey are nothing but the most friendly, warm, cordial and respectful," his spokesman said Wednesday.

Ahmad Fawzi made the comment in responding to reports in the Turkish-language press quoting various Turkish political figures as attacking Boutros-Ghali for referring to the "Federal Republic of Turkey" at Monday's opening session of the Habitat II conference. The issue is particularly sensitive because some have suggested granting "autonomy" to the restive Kurdish minority in southeast Turkey. This autonomy conceivably could take the form of decentralization, or even federalization in what has been since its founding a unitary republic.

Fawzi himself felt "not anger, really disappointment" at the quotations from the Turkish side because the secretary general "has not missed the opportunity ... to sing Turkey's praises," he said.

Fawzi had apologized on Monday for the "inadvertent" use of the word "federal," but some Turkish politicians nonetheless jumped on it. Some Turks regard the U.N. Secretary General with jaundiced eyes, anyway, alleging he has "anti-Muslim" attitudes — as evidenced in the U.N.'s asserted failure to protect the Bosnian Muslims.

In again raising the matter without a question being asked at Wednesday's daily U.N. press briefing at the Habitat II conference, Fawzi said he was "quite disturbed" at the Turkish-language press reports.

He said the reference to Turkey as a "federal republic" was included in notes prepared by the conference secretariat and "put in front of the secretary general seconds before" he was to introduce Turkish President Süleyman Demirel on Monday.

The notes contained this mistake four times, Fawzi said, but Boutros-Ghali caught it on the second reference. Fawzi



U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

"once again" apologized on behalf of the secretariat for making the error and on behalf of the secretary general for "not having caught the mistake the first time." (TDN's reporter heard "federal" used twice.)

The misuse of "federal" did not, however, "justify the barrage of attacks (on Boutros-Ghali) that appeared in the Turkish press," Fawzi said.

He cited the U.N. leader's previous statements of appreciation for the Turkish contribution to U.N. efforts. These include providing peacekeepers or observers in five U.N. operations from Bosnia to Georgia, and its seconding of Turkish officials to head U.N. activities such as the peacekeeping force in Somalia.

Fawzi pointed to the mutual expressions of regard and support expressed during Boutros-Ghali's official visit last week to Ankara, where he met with Demirel, Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz and Parliamentary Speaker Mustafa Kalemli.

Asked by a Turkish reporter whether the responsible person in the secretariat would be identified and punished, Conference Spokesman Ayman El-Amir said a "group of people" had been involved.

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1996

Turkish Daily News Thursday, June 6, 1996

Parliament passes Çiller probe, lets Erbakan off

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA - Parliament passed a motion on Wednesday which calls for a parliamentary inquiry against the True Path Party (DYP) chairwoman and former premier, Tansu Çiller, for the third time.

However, Parliament rejected a similar motion calling for an inquiry into RP leader Necmettin Erbakan's wealth. While the DYP, the Republican People's Party (CHP), the Grand Unity Party (BBP) and around 30 ANAP deputies voted for the motion, the RP and the Democratic Left Party (DSP) voted against it. DSP Deputy Hikmet Sami Türk noting that Erbakan had served as minister in the government in 1978, and in order to

launch an inquiry against him, Erbakan must have misused his office in the government.

He said that the motion had showed Erbakan acquired his wealth after his duty in the government ended. He said under the Turkish law, the statute of limitations had elapsed. RP parliamentary group Deputy Chairman Şevket Kazan said Erbakan's wealth came from inheritance and his subsequent savings.

With the exception of the DYP, all the parliamentary parties backed the main opposition Welfare Party (RP) motion calling for a probe into Çiller's assets.

Çiller is alleged to have acquired her wealth by misusing her office during the term she served as minister and prime minister as of 1991. By not attending the plenary session, Çiller did not use her right to defend herself in the face of the charges made against her.

The fact that the ruling Motherpath coalition has reached the point of dissolution and the fact that a possible partnership between the DYP and the RP is on the agenda dominated Wednesday's debates. The RP deputies who took the rostrum to speak on behalf of their party took care not to use harsh language in their criticisms of Çiller. RP leader Necmettin Erbakan, who had attended the earlier debates over the motions against Çiller and cast yes votes for them, did not attend the debates this time.

In line with the RP's earlier motions, Parliament agreed to open inquiries against Çiller in regard to the alleged irregularities at the electricity distributing company TEDAŞ and automobile concern TOFAŞ.

Lütfü Esengün, who spoke on behalf of the RP, said he and his colleagues were neither judges nor prosecutors. Esengün said if Çiller had acquired her assets legally, she would be cleared of all charges otherwise they would pursue the issue.

Another RP spokesman, Salih Kapsuz, said there were suspicions about Çiller's TL 5 trillion fortune. Kapsuz said claims had been made that Çiller had made that money within a few years and that the answer to the question of whether or not she had misused her office as minister or prime minister should be found. He said that the allegation that she had 149 apartment flats in the town of Alanya in Antalya should be clarified. Kemal Akkurt from the DYP said ever since Çiller had entered politics, many accusations had been leveled against her and her husband. Akkurt argued that the aim was to eliminate Çiller and destroy her DYP. He said during the previous legislative term, the parliamentary investigative commission had not determined any irregularity in regard to the Çillers' assets. None of the leaders, he contended, had made a declaration of their assets to the commission. Democratic Left Party (DSP) leader Bülent Ecevit objected to Akkurt's words stressing that he had done so.

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Turquie-Kurdes

12 rebelles kurdes et trois soldats turcs tués en Anatolie

ANKARA, 7 juin (AFP) - Douze rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et trois soldats turcs ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires et combats dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a-t-on annoncé vendredi de source officielle.

Sept rebelles kurdes, dont un blessé, ont été arrêtés et cinq autres se sont rendus aux forces de l'ordre turques, indique un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir, chargée de la coordination de la lutte contre le PKK depuis 1987.

Ces opérations et combats se sont déroulés dans les régions de Tunceli (est), de Siirt (sud-est), de Van, à la frontière avec l'Irak et l'Iran, et de Sirnak, à la frontière avec la Syrie et l'Irak, selon le document. Le communiqué, cité par l'agence Anatolie, ne précise pas la date de ces opérations.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara. Cette rébellion, qui vise à créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien, situé à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, et les opérations de représailles de l'armée ont fait plus de 21.000 morts en 12 ans.

L'armée turque a multiplié ses opérations depuis début avril contre le PKK, tuant plus de 550 maquisards, selon les bilans annoncés par les autorités.

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Les islamistes arbitres de la crise turque

Le Premier ministre Mesut Yılmaz a démissionné. La coalition de droite éclate.

Trois mois à peine après son laborieux accouchement, le gouvernement de coalition de droite de Mesut Yılmaz, constitué sur pression des militaires et des milieux financiers pour barrer la route du pouvoir aux islamistes du Refah (parti de la prospérité) a jeté l'éponge. Une démission annoncée hier à l'avant-veille d'un vote de censure qui aurait inmanquablement marqué sa fin. Le leader charismatique du Refah, Necmettin Erbakan, septuagénaire aux allures faussement débordantes de pacha-otoman que ses partisans surnomment respectueusement «Hodja», le sage ou le maître, exulte et déclare, provocateur: «La page est tournée, le mandat de former un nouveau gouvernement doit m'être confié, de préférence dans une demi-heure.» A nouveau il exige que le chef de l'Etat, Süleyman Demirel, applique la Constitution et le désigne pour diriger le prochain cabinet.

Premier parti, le Refah manque d'alliés. Le Refah, avec 158 sièges sur 550, est le premier parti de l'Assemblée et avait remporté les élections législatives du 24 décembre avec 21,5%, devançant d'une courte tête l'ANAP (Parti de la Mère patrie, droite, 19,6% des voix) de Mesut Yılmaz et le DYP (Parti de la juste voie, 19,3%, droite) de Tansu Ciller. Jusqu'ici, néanmoins, Necmettin Erbakan, qui avait déjà été chargé de former le gouvernement en février, n'a pas réussi à trouver des alliés malgré de longues tractations avec l'ANAP de Mesut Yılmaz.

Sur le fond, rien ne sépare les deux grands partis de la droite libérale, sinon la haineuse rivalité entre ses deux leaders. Tansu Ciller, 50 ans, l'économiste qui fut la première femme chef de gouvernement de l'histoire turque, et Mesut Yılmaz, 48 ans, technocrate libéral réputé pour son intégrité, incarnent l'un et l'autre une nouvelle génération de politiciens partisans convaincus de l'économie de marché comme de l'Europe. Ces profils similaires en font des ennemis acharnés pour le leadership de la grande alliance de centre droit souhaitée par les milieux économiques comme par la haute bureaucratie et l'armée.



Mesut Yılmaz, le 24 décembre, jour des législatives remportées par le Refah.

L'accord de gouvernement, qui prévoyait une alternance entre les deux dirigeants au poste de Premier ministre, a rapidement volé en éclat.

Habilement, le Refah a concentré ses attaques sur le maillon le plus faible, Tansu Ciller, dont l'ampleur de l'enrichissement personnel faisait scandale. Les islamistes ont ainsi obtenu de l'Assemblée – avec le soutien de

ANALYSE

l'ANAP – l'ouverture de trois enquêtes parlementaires pour des irrégularités de l'ancien Premier ministre dans des privatisations. Elle risquait la Haute Cour. Criant à la trahison, Tansu Ciller quitta la coalition. Au même moment, la Cour Constitutionnelle saisie par le Refah invalidait pour des motifs techniques le vote de confiance rendu par le cabinet de Mesut Yılmaz au moment de sa formation. C'est donc le retour à la case départ, sans que le gouvernement ait eu le temps de faire autre chose qu'approuver le budget.

La République en crise. La crise qui s'ouvre est celle d'une classe politique archaïque, usée par les scandales.

Mais elle investit aussi les institutions et le modèle de République jacobine, laïque, une et indivisible, créée par Mustafa Kemal il y a 70 ans. L'occidentalisation accablée imposée à une société souvent réticente a été un succès, mais laïcité et démocratie n'ont pas été de pair. «C'est le péché originel de notre République», soulignent les intellectuels libéraux. Aujourd'hui, ces institutions fortement centralisées, très rigides, ne peuvent plus répondre aux défis d'une société complexe et d'une économie moderne associée désormais à l'Europe par un traité d'union douanière. Cette démocratie réelle mais imparfaite, où l'armée continue de jouer un rôle de premier plan, se montre aussi impuissante à trouver une solution politique au problème kurde (12 millions de personnes).

C'est la principale urgence, alors que depuis douze ans dure dans le sud-est anatolien la «sale guerre» (20.000 morts) contre les rebelles séparatistes du PKK (parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan).

Les islamistes deviennent incontournables. L'envolée électorale du Refah, qui déjà en mars 1994 avait conquis les mairies de 17 des grandes villes du pays – dont Istanbul et Ankara –, est le symptôme de ce malaise de fond. Aux déshérités des banlieues, il promet un «ordre juste» fondé sur la tradition et l'islam. Il cristallise aussi les espoirs des classes moyennes qui y voient un moyen de promotion et d'intégration sociale. La paralysie des institutions, alimente les succès du Refah, comme en témoigne sa progression de plus de 3 points aux municipales partielles du 2 juin. Ce parti agit depuis toujours dans un champ politique pluraliste et cela le rend profondément différent du FIS algérien, bien qu'il reste viscéralement hostile à l'Europe. Mais il s'affirme toujours plus comme un acteur politique incontournable. Pour beaucoup de libéraux, son entrée dans un gouvernement de coalition serait un moindre mal, en faisant éclater toutes ses contradictions. La sociologue Nilufer Gole affirme ainsi «moins craindre le Refah que les réactions excessives des militaires».

MARC SEMO

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1996

Rep. Hoyer: Human rights suppressed at Habitat II conference

If secular parties lose, military may step in

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Democratic Rep. Steny Hoyer of Maryland, in a speech he delivered on Tuesday in the U.S. House of Representatives, criticized the way Turkish authorities are running the Habitat-II conference. Hoyer, who is also the co-chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, was especially disappointed by the way Turkish police banned the so-called "Alternative Habitat," i.e., the gathering of those non-governmental organizations (NGOs) opposed to Turkey's Kurdish policy.

Hoyer claimed that the closure of a building used by 35 NGOs who were boycotting the conference to protest the government's human rights and Kurdish policies" was an "immediate attempt to silence (human rights) criticism" during Habitat-II.

He said the conference created hopes that it would "catalyze efforts to advance civil society, democracy, and human rights in Turkey." But "the Turkish government's persecution of the (Human Rights) Foundation and other NGOs reflect a larger effort to criminalize and silence groups and individuals critical of government human rights practices, military abuses of the Kurdish population, Turkey's founder Atatürk, or state institutions," Hoyer said.

Military coup?

Mentioning the political difficulties and threats Turkey is faced with, Hoyer commented on the undesirable results of the collapse of the coalition government.

"As confidence in the government ebbs, support for Muslim fundamentalist and nationalist parties has increased," Hoyer said. "Should moderate, secular parties lose power, Turkey could turn away from the West, undergo a military coup or face deepening instability and political violence. All these scenarios set back democracy and civil society, threaten regional stability, and pose obstacles

to Turkey's moving closer to Europe and the United States."

No hotel cancellations

Also commenting on Habitat-II, a State Department official denied that the U.S. delegation sent to Istanbul was decreased in size and as a result \$60,000 worth of hotel reservations were canceled, as reported in a U.S. daily. "There is no truth to that," Glyn Davies, deputy spokesman of the department told TDN.

"The way that question was originally phrased was 'did the U.S. pay all kinds of penalties for canceling hotel reservations?' And the answer that I got back was 'no, we didn't,'" he said.

Housing as 'human right'

Housing as a "human right" was one of the central themes of Habitat-II. The secretary of housing and urban development, Henry Cisneros, previously told press that he did not support the concept. When TDN asked if the State Department has a position on the issue, Davies made it clear that the State Department was not too enthusiastic to add one more right to the existing plethora of human rights on the books, as expressed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

"The U.S. and many other countries believe that housing is an important component of existing human rights, specifically, of 'the right to an adequate standard of living.' It is first mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

The U.S. believes that housing, along with food and clothing, comprise the basic elements of 'adequate standard of living' to be realized progressively, based on the availability of resources. So what we are doing in Istanbul is working hard with the other delegations to get through that issue — which is a contentious issue," Davies told TDN.

"At this stage we are not prepared to support the 'right to adequate housing' as a separate free-standing right to be enshrined as a result of (this) Conference. Because we think that the right to 'adequate housing' is taken care of in basic human rights that have been recognized since 1948," he continued.

"Do you eventually expect it to be enshrined as a separate human rights category?" TDN asked.

"We think that is a bit much given what is already out there," Davies said.

Friday, June 7, 1996

Turkish Daily News

Yılmaz resigns, crisis looms

Yılmaz says it is up to the president to decide whether the 45-day period will be counted as of today or March 12

Yılmaz expects either a new government or an early election, indicates his attitude towards Çiller

By Ayla Ganioglu / TDN Parliament Bureau
ANKARA - Motherland Party (ANAP) leader and Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz submitted his resignation to President Süleyman Demirel on Thursday after the Constitutional Court decision invalidating the vote of confidence his government had received three months ago appeared in the Official Gazette, along with the legal grounds for the court's decision.

Yılmaz told reporters after tendering his resignation that they would make every necessary effort to ensure that a new government emerged from this Parliament.

He added, however, that if this was not possible then the only alternative left would be for an early general election to be held.

"There is no need for concern. Turkey will overcome the government crisis within the framework of democratic rules and gain new strength in terms of the operation of the regime," Yılmaz said.

Pointing out that the coalition between ANAP and the True Path Party (DYP) had operated as if it was a government formed by a single party, Yılmaz laid the blame for the collapse of this coalition on DYP leader Tansu Çiller.

"But unfortunately a government crisis arose, for reasons that have to do with Mrs. Çiller herself and with her refusal to accept Parliament's prerogative to inspect," he said.

Yılmaz was referring to the parliamentary inquiry motions submitted and subsequently adopted against the DYP leader despite great resistance from her.

Welfare Party (RP) leader Necmettin Erbakan, speaking immediately after news of Yılmaz's resignation, said that the job of forming the new government should be given to his party within "half an hour."

Pointing out that this was necessitated by the rules of

democracy, Erbakan, whose party came first in the Dec. 24, 1995 general elections and made further gains in last weekend's local elections, said further time should not be lost, given that the people had decided who they wanted to see in government.

Meanwhile Çiller, addressing party supporters in Elazığ, said that she had previously told her supporters that Yılmaz would go.

"God did not give him more than three months. There must be something God knows," Çiller said.

President Demirel is expected to meet with the leaders of the parties represented in Parliament today. He will first meet RP leader Erbakan, followed by DYP leader Tansu Çiller, Democratic Left Party (DSP) leader Bülent Ecevit, Republican People's Party (CHP) leader Deniz Baykal and Grand Unity Party (BBP) leader Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu.

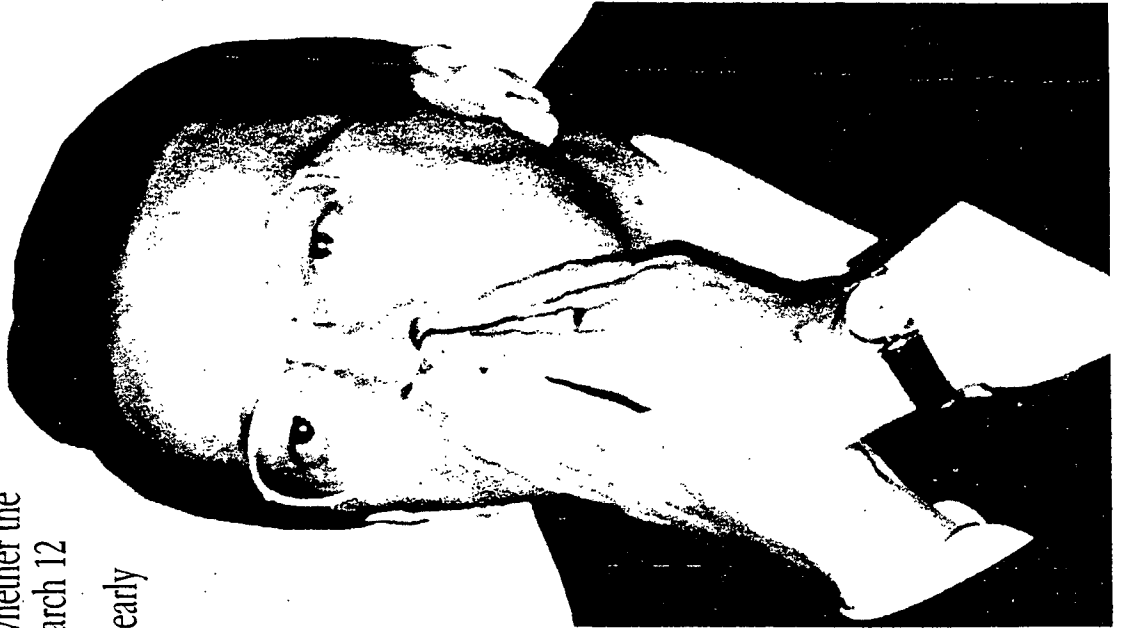
Demirel is expected to decide on the procedure of giving the mandate for the establishment of a new government to a prospective candidate after these meetings, based on their content.

A statement on the subject from the Presidential Palace indicated that President Demirel had asked ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz to stay on as caretaker prime minister until a new government was formed.

President Demirel was quoted in the statement as saying that work would begin immediately on trying to form a new government. "Democracy and the functions of state will continue as normal... There is no cause for concern," Demirel said, adding his confidence that the present Parliament could produce a government that would receive a vote of confidence.

Before he went to the presidential palace on Thursday, Yılmaz called the ANAP deputies to an unscheduled meeting to tell them about his decision to resign. He said that the court decision did not leave them with room for any other choice, and that "what we should do under the circumstances is tender our resignation to the president."

Yılmaz said that early in the morning Parliament Speaker Mustafa Kalemli had discussed the issue



with his deputies and decided that the decision on this issue should be left to the government.

Recalling that the ANAP leadership council decided Wednesday night that the prime minister should resign, Yılmaz said he would now implement this decision, since Kalemli and his deputies had not decided that the government should seek a new vote of confidence while remaining in office. With the government's resignation, the censure motion tabled against him by the opposition RP would automatically be dropped from the Parliament's agenda, he added, and a new process would begin. Yılmaz said that ANAP would now be in a much more decisive position in that process compared to the immediate aftermath of the Dec. 24, 1995 general election.

According to the Turkish Constitution if a new government is not installed in power within 45 days, the president of the republic may appoint a prime minister and stage a fresh election in three months. Yılmaz indicated that with his resignation a new controversy would begin, this time over the date from which the 45-day constitutional period would be counted.

"That period will begin either as of today (June 6), when the Constitutional Court decision and the legal grounds for it appeared in the Official Gazette, or as of March 12 (the date on which the current government took office). The president will use his powers of discrimination," Yılmaz said. Yılmaz said that the president might grant an extra period or start counting the 45 days as of June 6. The ANAP leader also gave the message that it would not be easy for them to enter into a bargaining process with a Çiller-led DYP for another coalition government. The government had inner harmony and the only reason it had to end was the motions tabled against Çiller for parliamentary probes into alleged irregularities, Yılmaz stressed. "This government has faced such a situation entirely because of Çiller's inability to give an account of (her actions and assets)," he said.

Yılmaz noted that the government could have continued had it agreed to close their eyes to corruption and irregularities, in violation of its principles. He stressed that they were pledging to the nation that from now on, too, they would not depart from these principles even by an inch. The process had been costly but would have a beneficial aspect to it, since it would ensure that Turkish politics would be cleansed of pollution, he said. Yılmaz said that in the coming period either an early election or a new government would be on the agenda, and asked the ANAP deputies to be prepared for these eventualities. Following his resignation, Yılmaz met with CHP leader Deniz Baykal and DSP Chairman Bülent Ecevit. He described his meeting with Baykal as being very successful, and said he and Baykal were in complete consensus about application of rules of democracy. Baykal said both ANAP and the DYP no longer inspire the confidence they had inspired at the beginning. He said a new start in a new spirit could be made if the 124 social democratic deputies from his party and the DSP could be brought together.

Questions multiply as coalition crumbles

By Kemal Balcı
TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- The resignation of the Mesut Yılmaz-led government following the Constitutional Court's cancellation of the vote of confidence in the coalition has led to two new crises. Two questions need answers: When does the statutory 45-day period of government formation begin? Which parties will form the new government? So far, no answers are available.

What will happen in Turkey if the political ship fails to acquire stability with a new election is another open question. Also a subject of controversy is when President Süleyman Demirel will make use of his constitutional power to dissolve Parliament.

Eyüp Aşık of the True Path Party (DYP) has claimed that the 45-day period began March 12, the date of the vote of confidence that was subsequently ruled unconstitutional. Aşık argues that since a new government has not been formed, the president now has the right to dissolve Parliament for the formation of a caretaker government.

Most politicians, however, say that the period starts as of the resignation of Yılmaz's minority government. In

this case, if a new government cannot be formed within 45 days, Demirel will set up a caretaker government at any time after July 20 which he deems appropriate and thus take the country to election within 90 days.

Despite the consensus on the date, parties naturally differ wildly over who will form the new government. On every occasion, the Welfare Party (RP), which holds the majority of seats in Parliament with 158 deputies, says that it is ready for coalition with any party. Pointing out that he can set up a coalition with the DYP and the Motherland Party (ANAP), RP leader Necmettin Erbakan leaves his doors open to reconciliation. Erbakan would prefer the new government to be a long-term one but he would not object to the idea of leading a government that will last until an early election to be held in the autumn.

By opening his party to any coalition, Erbakan aims to please his party grassroots



Demirel holds the key to early elections if new government cannot be formed in 45 days



Erbakan is only leader capable of forming a strong government but can't find partners

which have not seen their party in power for years and long to enter an early election with the advantage of being in power. He would also like to soften the opposition to his party which is being distanced from government for its Islamic views.

The DYP has 135 seats in Parliament and is in difficult position because its leader is being discredited steadily. The DYP — locked in combat with ANAP — has little choice. Thinking fast, Çiller seems to be preparing for a caretaker government with the RP, a party which she has always seen as dangerous and vowed never to cooperate with. Even if she feels that such a decision would lead to defections from her party, Çiller is preparing to say 'yes' to alliance with the RP as a tool to rid herself of her party opposition in the next election. Since she does not look warmly on a third person becoming prime minister, Çiller is making calculations for the formation of a coalition among her DYP, ANAP and the Republican People's Party (CHP). ANAP Chairman Yılmaz is fueling the formation

of the RP-DYP coalition in order to put the DYP leader into difficult position. He expects resignations from the DYP. If the number of defections from ANAP reach 30, he aims to cooperate with the rightist party they would found and use it as an intermediary in the establishment of a center-right party.

Eyüp Aşık said that the new party could be called the Justice Party (AP) and could house all DYP members except those who are close to Çiller and Yalım Erez. He pointed out that he and his colleagues could run in the elections with this new unification in the right.

ANAP is preparing to delay the formation of the new government as much as it can. The party feels that early elections should be held instantly at a time when Çiller is weak in order to secure solidarity within ANAP or under an election alliance with what may be called the AP.

The Democratic Left Party (DSP), realizing that the support it has given to the Motherpath has led to loss of popular support, is preparing not to take part in any government until elections and thus follow the strategy of growing while in opposition. The other parliamentary leftist party, the CHP, is ready to participate in any coalition to stop the erosion of its popularity and gain some strength for elections. Thus, the CHP is banking on running in the elections while in power to win more votes and surpass the nationwide election hurdle. The smallest rightist party, the Grand Unity Party (BBP), is ready to back the RP should it set up a coalition under Erbakan's premiership.

In a statement after presenting his government's resignation, Yılmaz said he had not allowed the government to be toppled by the RP censure motion in a bid to leave the possibility for a new rapprochement between his ANAP and the DYP. It has been observed that Yılmaz has not completely closed the doors on the DYP for the formation of a Çiller-free government.

Human rights activists taken into custody

Istanbul- Ercan Kanar, the President of the Istanbul Office of the Human Rights Organization, Zeynep Baran, the secretary of the office, Suna Aras, member of the Executive Board, Mustafa Ucdere, the President of the Istanbul Office of Modern Lawyers Organization were taken into custody while sending a telegram to the Prime Ministry. Their aim was to protest the procedures in prisons.

People visiting their imprisoned relatives in the Bayrampaşa Prison and the President of the Hava-Is Union, Atılay Ayçin, were also taken to the Security Headquarters. Moreover, 25 members of the Women Workers Union holding a press conference in Taksim were also taken into custody.

Hunger strikes to protest a circular issued by the Minister of Justice, Mehmet Ağar, have been going on for 40 days. The circular is aimed at tightening procedures in prisons. Some community organizations and relatives of prison inmates have decided to go to the Court of Appeals to have the circular canceled. They protested the transportation of inmates. Strict security precautions were taken while the President of the Human Rights Organization, Akın Birdal, presidents of some trade unions, representatives of some community organizations and relatives of inmates were handing in their petition. (yy)

SATURDAY
JUNE 8, 1996

NEW CENTURY

Acting President of the EU Delegation, Coppini, criticizes police response to yesterday's demonstration for the right to decent housing

EU reaction to Turkish security forces, "Cool it"

Binişur Beyaztas

Turkish authorities will be warned about disrupting future NGO meetings after yesterday's demonstration was blocked by Turkish security forces. The announcement came from Mr Coppini, Acting President of the European Union Delegation. Mr Coppini was speaking to members of the press when he said that NGOs which demonstrated yesterday for 'The right to housing' were given authorization by Turkish authorities to march on behalf of housing rights. Nevertheless, NGOs were content with yesterday's march and described

it as a success. Coppini added that, at international conferences, NGOs and the public have a right to freedom of speech, saying "Demonstrators must be allowed to exercise this freedom." In addition, Mr Coppini criticized the media for its failure to cover Habitat, saying "The Conference has not received the expected amount of media coverage." Coppini was quick to correct himself by adding "but this has not stopped the vast majority of the media from being interested in the topic." It seemed as if Coppini was contradicting himself. When asked to clarify what he meant by this statement,

Coppini gave a swift non-existent reply. "The European Union has spent \$7-8 million on this conference. "These conferences would not have taken place without support from member states," said Coppini. At this point, an NGO spokeswoman said the NGOs had spent \$30 million on Habitat II, a relatively large sum in comparison to the European Union. Coppini, however, was unaffected by this outburst. He said "At this conference, we have identified other sources of funds." Coppini concluded that he expects to address the media before the completion of the conference.

Highlights of the day

- The High Level Segment has finally been confirmed. There will be nine heads of state attending, including Turkey, Israel, Poland, Romania, Macedonia, Kenya, Uganda, and Azerbaijan. This will include President Demirel and President Ezer Weizman.
- There will be seven heads of government attending, including Pakistan, Iceland, Rwanda, Burundi, Djibouti and Kirghizia. In addition, there will be 80 speakers.
- A cat entered the main plenary meeting this morning while delegates were in discussion. United Nations security forces were quick on the scene and the cat was dutifully removed.

Turkish Islamist Leader Gets 2d Chance to Form Government

By Celestine Bohlen
New York Times Service

ROME — Turkey's Islamic party, which is still treated as a pariah by much of the mainstream political establishment, was offered another chance to form a government Friday as President Suleyman Demirel looked for an exit from the country's continuing political deadlock.

After meeting with five top political leaders Friday, Mr. Demirel for the second time this year gave the mandate to Necmettin Erbakan, 69, leader of the Islamic Welfare Party, which emerged as the narrow winner in last December's parliamentary elections.

Mr. Demirel, who accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz on Thursday, had said he would give the mandate to any leader who proved capable of coming up with a solid majority coalition in the fractured 550-seat Parliament.

But when none of the leaders were able to produce a winning coalition formula, Mr. Demirel summoned Mr. Erbakan to the presidential palace on Friday and asked him again to try to form a government.

If Mr. Erbakan succeeds this time, it would be the first time in the Turkish Republic's 73-year history that a pro-Islamic party would lead a government.

Given the reluctance of other political leaders to deal with Mr. Erbakan, the chances of the Welfare Party leading Turkey's next government are still considered unlikely. But even the prospect is viewed with misgiving and some alarm both inside

and outside Turkey, a staunchly secular state that for decades has been the West's strategic anchor in the eastern Mediterranean.

Mr. Erbakan, a wily and mercurial political veteran who served in coalition governments in the 1970s, justified some of these fears during the campaign last December when he made a series of radical statements, saying for instance that Turkey should pull out of its Western alliances and help create "an Islamic United Nations, an Islamic NATO and an Islamic version of the European Union."

Mr. Erbakan later moderated his tone as he entered into serious political negotiations with possible government partners. In recent months, he has used his considerable political skills to zero in on the wobbly center-right coalition, which finally fell apart this week, three months after it took office.

In the end, the collapse of the conservative coalition, made up of the two main center-right parties that have dominated Turkish politics since the 1980s coup d'état, was as much a result of internal squabbling as it was of Mr. Erbakan's multipronged attacks. Mr. Yilmaz's resignation Thursday was clinched after his coalition partner, and personal political enemy, Tansu Ciller, announced that her True Path Party would join the Welfare Party in a censure motion against Mr. Yilmaz.

Most political observers consider that Mr. Erbakan's chances of finding a political ally are as slim this time as they were last January, when he received the first mandate to form a government.

Le Républicain Lorrain - 8 juin 1996

Excès de kémalisme

Sept décennies après l'abolition du califat, voici les islamistes turcs aux portes du pouvoir. Faut-il redouter ce retour en politique de la religion du Prophète dans le seul pays laïque du monde musulman ? Ou faut-il voir dans la consécration de Necmettin Erbakan l'électrochoc salutaire qui ramènera la classe politique turque à la raison ?

Vainqueur des législatives de décembre dernier, le Parti de la prospérité (Refah) s'était vu barrer la route du gouvernement en raison de l'opposition des milieux patronaux. Mais aussi, et surtout, de l'armée, gardienne du dogme kémaliste qui, depuis les années 20, se chante sur l'air de « laïcité-centralisation-turquisation ».

Pour curieux que cela paraisse, l'excès de kémalisme s'avère aujourd'hui

aussi nuisible à la Turquie que l'œuvre d'Atatürk se révéla salvatrice pour l'Empire ottoman moribond. Si le principe de laïcité constitue une exigence de base pour un pays membre du Conseil de l'Europe et associé aux Quinze par un accord d'union douanière, les blocages actuels proviennent, pour bonne part, de l'hypercentralisation économique, politique et culturelle héritée du « père de la nation ».

Première de toutes les priorités, la question kurde n'a pas trouvé le début du commencement d'une solution, alors que la guerre entre l'armée et le PKK a déjà fait 20 000 morts en douze ans. Obérant les finances de l'Etat, cantonnant les militaires dans un rôle répressif nuisible au fonctionnement général de la démocratie, la question des « provinces de l'Est » bloque la

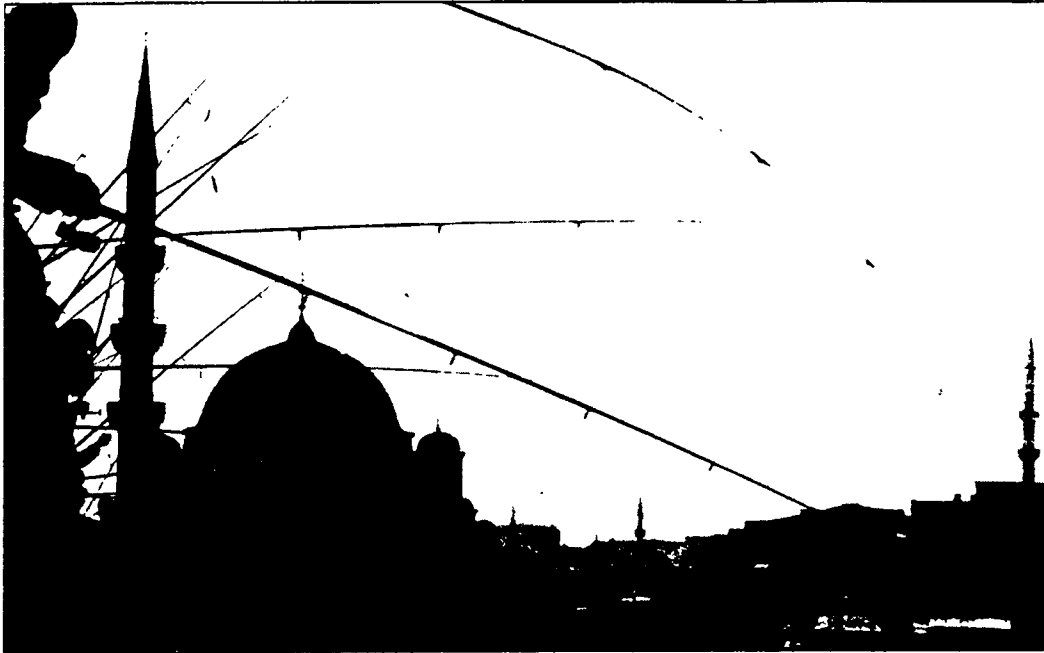
mise à niveau d'un pays revendiquant par ailleurs son tropisme européen.

Décentralisation, développement économique, autonomie culturelle sont la clef du problème kurde et de la modernisation de la Turquie. Pour s'être perdue dans des jeux pervers, la classe politique a fait le lit du Refah qui, par une gestion réaliste des municipalités qu'il contrôle, s'est imposé comme ultime recours à une population blasée.

Si les partis traditionnels font taire les rivalités qui les rongent, s'ils encadrent et digèrent la poussée islamiste, le succès de Necmettin Erbakan sera de courte durée. Sinon, l'armée pourrait être tentée d'exercer son tutorat sur une démocratie dont elle a déjà montré qu'elle savait être l'exigeant censeur.

Philippe WAUCAMPT.

TURKEY



The elusive golden apple

SEEN from Istanbul, Turkey looks like a nation on fast-forward: young, urban, dynamic and growing at a bewildering rate. New roads rip through old Istanbul, new factories and housing blocks leapfrog each other out of the city and into the surrounding hills. Planning lags behind change, as it often does in Turkey, and change brings the destruction of much of the country's rich historical heritage. The spirit of Attila and Genghis—still common names in modern Turkey—lives on. But the history that created this city is no longer its master.

Istanbul's population has grown from 5.5m a decade ago to more than 12m today, with over half a million people still pouring in every year. Most come from farms and villages in eastern Turkey. The country's 63m people are turning from small farmers to city-dwellers at astonishing speed. In 1945 only 18% of the population lived in towns; now the figure is over 75%. Istanbul is much the biggest, but new industrial cities such as Denizli and Bursa are growing just as fast.

Modern Turkey is not only overwhelmingly urban, but also predominantly young: more than half its people are under 25. Although the growth rate is slowing down, the numbers coming on to the job market will go on rising until 2003. The army and the civil service, which once attracted Turkey's bright young men, have lost out to business. The multilingual, multicultural young people of Istanbul and Turkey's western cities want to be economists, managers, lawyers and accountants. They live in the world of *Take That*, not *Ataturk*, and imbibe their culture from global television. Sixteen national TV channels and hundreds of local ones carry a huge variety of programmes, ranging from poli-

tics to pornography. The past and its borders appear to be dead.

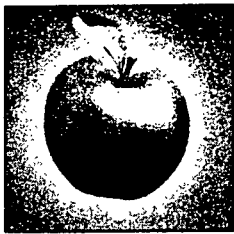
But travel east in Turkey, and the picture changes. The people are poorer, the roads degenerate, and the newly built-up areas look more like refugee-camps—which, often enough, is what they are, filled with people fleeing war or poverty, waiting for the chance of a job further west and a life in peace. When, eventually, you get to the eastern borderlands, you find emergency law, military occupation and civil war. Across the borders lie Syria, Iraq, Iran, Armenia and, across the Black Sea, Russia—neighbours who would make anyone nervous. If Turkey's head and shoulders are thrusting into the brave new world of global markets and universal culture, its legs are firmly stuck in history, geography, war and poverty.

At first sight, Turkey seems well-equipped to cope with such strains. It has a strong state, with an effective bureaucracy and the second largest army in NATO. But whereas the state is strong, most recent Turkish governments have been weak. At present an ill-matched minority coalition has disintegrated after only three months in power. Meanwhile fundamental choices about Turkey's future lie neglected on the government's in-tray. Depending on these choices, Turkey will be either an open, diverse society or a closed, determinedly Turkish, perhaps even militantly Islamist one.

Since the end of the 18th century, Turkey and its Ottoman precursor have seen Europe as the golden apple that lies where the sun goes down. For the toiling masses pouring into the western cities, the golden apple means jobs, homes and a better life. If they find them, they will be assimilated into the in-

Turkey's west is eagerly reaching out for the glittering prizes of a modern industrial society, but its eastern part is holding it back, argues Richard Dowden

4 SURVEY TURKEY



ternational culture of modern secular Turkey. For western Turkey's elite in Istanbul, the golden apple means membership of the European Union. But if Turkey and its people find that, like the setting sun, the good life of Europe remains elusive no matter how hard they run, many say, they will become disenchanted, and the western, democratic and secular vision may disappear over the horizon.

Pro-western cosmopolitan Turks, full of enthusiasm about EU membership, see the customs union which Turkey joined at the beginning of this year as a stepping stone to full integration, and feel deeply insulted by any suggestion that they might not be properly "European"; you might as well be questioning whether Turks are fully human. And indeed, Istanbul feels as cosmopolitan as Milan, and the stereotype of the small, dark, moustachioed Turk in a fez seems far-fetched. As Constantinople, Istanbul was for nearly 1,000 years a capital of what remained of the Roman Empire. Even before that, Turkey's history was an integral part of European history and mythology. King Midas and the Gordian knot can be pinpointed to a village 50 miles from Ankara. Modern Turkey contains as many of the roots of the western world as modern Greece.

But then you discover that stereotypes are not just the preserve of outsiders. "Of course you had that image of Turkey," said one businessman, "that's because most Turks who went to Europe to work were poor country-people from the east. They have given Turks this bad image." Another took out a map of Turkey and drew a finger down the river Euphrates, cutting off the south-eastern quarter. "As far as I am concerned that can be another country," he said, blithely ignoring a Turkish law under which talk about dividing the country is punishable by imprisonment.

Welfare state?

However European western Turkey may look, membership of the EU seems a very long way off, on both economic and human-rights grounds. But assuming for a moment that those issues could be resolved, might Turkey still be disqualified on religious grounds? Some 99% of Turks are described as Muslim; yet for most of them religion is a personal matter. They may go to the mosque on Fridays and fast during Ramadan, but they also enjoy a beer or raki, the local spirit. Turkey is a secular state. But will it always be? The Refah (Welfare) party appears to offer an alternative way. Its Islamist message feeds on disillusionment with the pursuit of western ways and western materialism. It sometimes portrays these values as alien to Turkey. Refah, now

nine years old, is the largest party in parliament. It is wary and critical of Europe, claiming that Turkey is being fobbed off with an EU customs union which does not serve the country's best interests.

Its voice will become louder unless the country can deal with the big issues: stopping the war, improving human rights and reducing the budget deficit which over the past 20 years has helped drive average annual inflation to about 60%. On the economic front, most Turks' standard of living has remained static in recent years and may even have fallen. Subsidies for state enterprises, the cost of the war in the south-east, a huge black economy and ineffective tax collection have opened up a large gap between the government's revenue and expenditure. To finance it, successive governments have borrowed at huge interest rates. This year, debt service is expected to eat up 37% of Turkey's budget, leaving little for roads, schools and hospitals.

Eliminating problems

Turkey's human-rights record is reminiscent of Argentina's or Chile's in the mid-1970s. The Kurdish rebellion in the south-east has made matters worse, but even away from the war zone police routinely beat up people for minor offences and are rarely disciplined for it. According to Amnesty International, there were some 130 political murders in Turkey last year, including 15 deaths in prison likely to have been caused by torture. Turkey dismissed these findings, banned the visit of an Amnesty researcher and detained a local representative of the organisation.

The Kurdish rebellion presents Turkey with more than a military problem. Nobody even knows how many Kurds the country has: estimates run from 10m to 20m, but nobody is allowed to count,



Europe starts here



and there is plenty of intermarriage. The most widely accepted figure is about 11m, or 17% of Turkey's population. Most of them live in the mountainous region where Turkey meets Iran and Iraq. They are ethnically and linguistically different from Turks, but some of those living outside the traditional areas see no contradiction about being Kurdish by ethnic origin but Turkish by nationality. Until 1991 they were not allowed to use their own language. They are still prohibited from forming themselves into groups of any kind, be it a singing club or a political party. Turkey's south-east is wracked by a 12-year-old war between a vicious rebel movement that lives off the land and a Turkish army determined to deprive the fighters of local assistance. Civilians get caught in the middle and are often forced to flee.

The emergence of a distinct Kurdish identity threatens the Turks' own sense of themselves. Turkey inherited from the Ottoman empire a mish-mash of identities—religious, regional, linguistic and ethnic—which it has tried to fashion into a nationwide sense of Turkishness. Most Turks will tell you that there is no discrimination against Kurds or

any other non-Turkish group, but with the firm proviso that all of them must unreservedly accept Turkishness. The rebellion in the Kurdish area is pure terrorism, inspired and backed by Syria, it is argued. It must be stamped out by military force. In this the government has the support of the majority of the urban elite, including much of the press. Although Turkey's business people are pushing for a peaceful solution, and a growing minority in the country as a whole believes that the Kurds should be allowed their own language, the majority of Turks fear that such linguistic concessions might provide Kurds with a platform for political autonomy which will lead to independence and eventually to the break-up of Turkey.

Fear of that chain reaction leads them to put their faith in the army. The army battles on as if it had never heard of hearts and minds. Its very brutality is creating the separatist nationalism it wants to destroy. If it goes on, the country's religious, ethnic and political cracks may widen beyond spanning, and the Turkish state may simply become a brief pause in the long disintegration of the Ottoman world.

A fundamental shift?

TURKEY's present parliament consists of two centre-right parties, two centre-left parties and the Islamists. Parties that do not receive at least 10% of the vote get no seats. Until her government collapsed in September last year, Tansu Ciller led an erratic coalition of her centre-right True Path Party, the populist-left Republican People's Party and the extreme right National Action Party. Fresh elections in December gave the Islamist Refah (Welfare) Party the biggest single share of the vote (21%) and the most seats in parliament (158 out of 550). The two centre-right parties won 39% of the vote and 267 seats, and the two centre-left parties got 25% and 125 seats. The National Action Party dropped out of parliament.

Refah was the one party which would have needed only one coalition partner to form a government. Its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, at 70 desperate for office, had all but signed a coalition agreement with Mesut Yilmaz, the leader of the centre-right Motherland Party. But a lot of Mr Yilmaz's backbenchers were unhappy about co-operating with Islamists, and Mrs Ciller, still acting prime minister, momentarily set aside the mutual antipa-

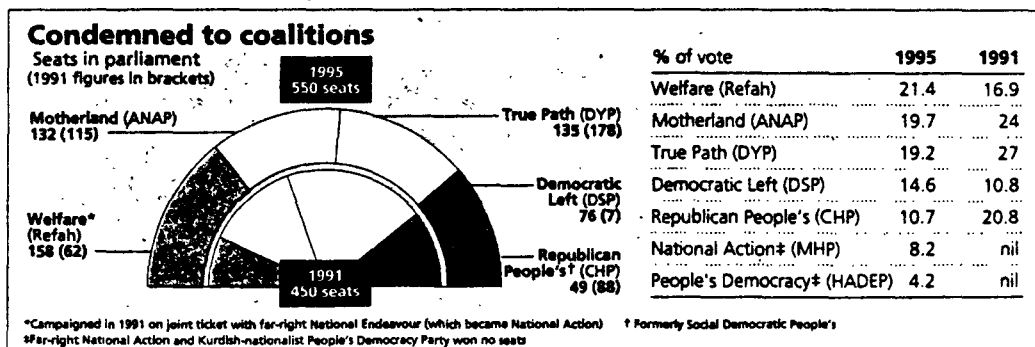
thy between herself and Mr Yilmaz. If he would dance with her, she whispered, she would share the top job with him. Refah's chances of forming a government were wrecked.

A messy divorce

In early March the two centre-right parties agreed to form a coalition known as the MotherPath. They were still short of an absolute majority, so persuaded Bulent Ecevit's Democratic Left Party to support them by abstaining in no-confidence votes. It was less of an agreement between allies, more an arrangement between enemies. Cabinet posts were shared out and Mr Yilmaz was made prime minister for this year. The idea was that next year Mrs Ciller would do the job, and thereafter they would take annual turns. Mr Ecevit extracted his price by blocking reform of the social-security system.

By the end of April things were going badly wrong. The Refah Party put down two motions in parliament to have Mrs Ciller investigated for alleged corruption during her time as prime minister. Mr Yilmaz did not back his coalition colleague but allowed Motherland MPs to support the mo-

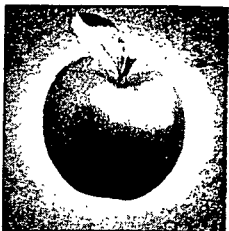
Politicians fiddle while Turkey burns



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Ciller and Yilmaz untied the knot



tions, which were carried. According to press reports, Mrs Ciller had withdrawn \$6.5m from a government slush fund just before she stepped down as prime minister. Where had the money gone? Mrs Ciller refused to say, claiming it was a state secret. A few days later the constitutional court ruled that the confidence vote that had allowed the government to take office was invalid. The prime minister and Mrs Ciller started to engage in public slanging matches. In late May Mrs Ciller announced that her party was withdrawing support from the coalition, but insisted that True Path ministers would stay in government until a new one was formed. As this survey went to press, the parliament was due to debate a censure motion brought by Refah, and supported by Mrs Ciller, that threatened to bring down the Yilmaz government.

Politics in Turkey are played out on a field designed by the army. The soldiers act not only as goalkeepers (the ultimate guards of the constitution) but also as referees, discreetly setting the boundaries of political activity. Three times in the past 40 years, in 1960, 1971 and 1980, the army has taken over. Each time the party landscape was transformed. Some went underground, some turned themselves into new parties, others lost or gained leaders (for example, Suleyman Demirel, now Turkey's president, was banned from politics in 1982), many split, some joined up with others. Confusingly, therefore, Turkish parties tend not to follow the usual pattern of representing long-established interest groups with clearly defined constituencies and local organisations.

Mr Yilmaz's own Motherland Party is deeply divided. It was formed by Turkey's last strong leader, Turgut Ozal, who managed to unite the nationalist conservatives, the free-marketeers and the religious right in a single party. However, when Mr Yilmaz (who is from its liberal, business wing) became leader, much of the religious conservative wing was lost to the Refah party. Mr Yilmaz identifies with Turkey's dynamic business community. He has some able ministers, such as Emre Gonensay, the foreign minister, and Rusdu Saracoglu, a former central banker now in charge of privatisation. Most observers saw him as the man to take difficult but necessary economic decisions and to reunite the centre-right in one party. Instead, his war with Mrs Ciller

became paramount, and his government ended up completely paralysed.

Not even fear of Refah has kept the government on track. The other parties are desperate to do almost any deal to avoid another election because they know that Refah would end up in the driving seat. What would happen if it did? Some—including many western diplomats—see Refah as the Muslim equivalent of Europe's Christian Democrats. They believe that Refah has picked up protest votes from people fed up with the economic belt-tightening since the 1994 crash. Protest, they believe, provides 60% of Refah's support; another 20% comes from conservative, but non-militant Muslims; and only 20% from the kind of fundamentalists who would impose their own lifestyle on the rest of Turkey. That would give the Islamists a share of about 5% of the population.

According to this school of thought, Refah's dilemma now is whether to keep playing the fundamentalist card or to moderate its message. It may have reached saturation support among fundamentalists, but if it turns moderate it may split. The purists rejoiced when it decided not to field female candidates in the recent elections, but it probably lost votes as a result.

Educating Refah

Once again there is talk of deals with the Islamists. Some politicians of the centre-right think the best way of taming Refah would be to bring it into a coalition. A spell in government, they say, would give Refah a taste of the realities of power; it would also force the party to confront the divide between its pragmatists and its fundamentalists. And it would avoid an election.

Centre-right parties would certainly lose support if they entered such a pact, and opponents of a deal with Refah see it as a Trojan horse. Allowing the party into government will bring Islamic fundamentalism to power in Turkey, and that, they say, will be the end of the secular state. Islam, they argue, is anti-democratic by its very nature, and even if some Refah supporters accept that religion is a personal matter, they will be whipped into line by fundamentalists who claim God on their side. In evidence, the "stop Refah" politicians point to some of the wilder things Refah politicians have said and done. For example, Mr Erbakan earlier this year praised the 1979 Iranian revolution and suggested that such a revolution was inevitable in Turkey;



Last chance for Erbakan?

and Refah mayors have been known to close restaurants that serve alcohol, even in tourist areas.

Standing in the middle of a busy Turkish town, it is hard to imagine the Iranian revolution being repeated there: Turks seem too tolerant and down-to-earth to be moved by religious fanaticism. But the failure of the MotherPath government can only help Refah to grow among poor city-dwellers. The party already runs Istanbul, Ankara and several other large towns, where its party workers befriend people newly arrived from rural areas. Overwhelmed by the big city, many of the newcomers turn to Islam as an anchor. Grassroots organisers

from Refah knock on their doors, fix water supplies, provide food and other necessities—and deliver their votes.

At national level, the party campaigns on “justice and equity”, but policies remain vague. Mr Erbakan has committed it to a “New Muslim World Order” which would found a Muslim UN and a Muslim NATO. He has also promised to renegotiate the European customs union agreement, which he claims is unfair to Turkey. Politicians from other parties dismiss such talk as unreal, and recall Mr Erbakan's spell in (a coalition) government in the early 1970s, when he was regarded as a



Free-TV-for-all

ON A hill across the Bosphorus from the heaven-pointing minarets of Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque grows a forest of TV transmitters. On the outskirts of every city, even the poorest shanty towns have sprouted thickets of aerials and dishes. If you like your TV deregulated, Turkey is heaven. There are no rules. At the last count there were 16 national and 15 regional stations, as well as about 300 local ones. Radio is even more extravagant: 35 national stations, 109 regional and almost 1,000 local ones.

In the old days there was just TRT, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, a state monopoly of mind-blowing dullness. News and information were handed down from on high. Then in March 1990 a private TV channel, Star 1, started broadcasting via satellite from Germany. The following year Show TV opened in Paris, and by that autumn three more channels were on air, all linked with big newspapers or owned by large companies.

To tune in, people had to have satellite dishes. Mayors soon spotted the chance to make themselves popular by buying dishes and transmitters and rebroadcasting the satellite channels locally. Almost overnight hundreds of stations started up, some with little more than a transmitter, a camera and a video recorder. Many of the transmitters lacked filters to screen out adjacent channels. In March 1993 Turkey's broadcasting watchdog complained that illegal radio and TV stations (which at that time meant all of them) were interfering with police and air-traffic-control communications, and ordered nearly 700 of them to close. The nation went mad. Petitions were launched, drivers tied black ribbons to their car radio aerials and crowds held vigils for

their favourite programmes. The stations reopened.

In April 1994 the government ended the state monopoly on broadcasting and established a radio and television council whose nine members, appointed jointly by government and opposition, had the unenviable task of trying to regulate the stations. There is room on the spectrum for at most ten national channels. The council is due to



The future is dish-shaped

announce soon which applicants have been lucky. “It's very difficult,” said one academic. “You just can't turn down an application from one of Turkey's big companies.”

Something for everyone

So far the only loser has been TRT, which has seen its advertising revenue collapse and its best people leave for higher-paid jobs in the new companies. A cut-throat ratings war is in full swing as the companies invest fortunes in technology and popular programmes. It is programmes rather than stations which attract loyalty. Football comes top of the list, followed by the so-called “reality shows”—reports on some aspect of Turkish life. Two recent examples were po-

lice brutality and incest.

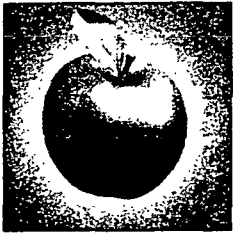
The main discussion programmes are essential viewing for anyone in public life. Some of them go on all night, until the participants keel over with exhaustion. A flick through the channels reveals soaps, songs, interviews and fierce political discussions, open to audience participation either directly or by phone-in. There is also an Islamic channel and—not the government's favourite, this—a Kurdish separatist propaganda channel broadcast by satellite from London.

Is everything discussed? “Almost but not quite,” says one leading TV journalist who does not want to be named. “There are still some difficult areas. There was a programme on the police. It was just exceedingly unpopular. People don't like to hear bad things about their police. And I could not do a programme, for example, calling for a political solution to the Kurdish problem. It would be very unpopular.”

TV cameras have made all politicians into instant populists. With five parties each holding between 10% and 22% of the votes, they have to be. Glamorous Mrs Ciller looks good on TV and did well out of it when she was prime minister, but had a big row with one of the channels, Interstar, when it attacked her family.

The power of TV was well illustrated by a recent skit on the army (a rare subject for jokes in Turkey), showing an attempted coup collapsing in chaos as 16 competing army units tried to take over the 16 TV stations. That rang true. More broadly, TV is transforming Turkish ideas on everything from fashion to religion. “It is the only medium in Turkey which reaches all the people,” says Bulent Chatli, a professor at Ankara University. “Just about everyone in Turkey has access to a TV. It is immensely powerful. TV is drawing up the agenda of life in Turkey.”

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disaster. They also point out that Refah has been looking less holier-than-thou since funds collected from the faithful to support fellow Muslims in Bosnia went missing.

The army, worried by the rise of Refah, has been working behind the scenes to keep the ruling coalition together and issuing discreet reminders about the importance of the secular state. Turkey's soldiers are not, however, hovering on the sidelines, ready to leap back into politics at a moment's notice. They take over only as a last resort. Their interventions in 1960 and 1971 broke political deadlocks and were widely welcomed as "apolitical", although in 1980 the army was seen as having a right-wing agenda. The army exercises immense influence through its constitutional position, most obviously through the National Security Council, a body chaired by the president which includes the chief of staff and the heads of the army, navy, air force and police as well as the relevant ministers. The council's role is to "advise" the politicians, who usually comply.

History gives the army a special place in the nation. It was as army commander that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded modern Turkey 73 years ago. Even today all politicians, even those critical of military policy in the south-east, invariably preface any

remarks about the army with lavish praise. Turkey's official defence budget is about \$6 billion, or 3.6% of GDP—and that does not include the full cost of the war in the south-east, which may run to another \$7 billion. Turkey spends a larger proportion of its GDP on defence and has more men under arms than any other European country. Turkey's officers are professionals, mostly drawn from the lower middle classes and well-drilled in Atatürk's vision of a non-religious, western-looking Turkey. At one time the army was considered a good, secure career, but now its status is declining, and it is in danger of becoming isolated. University-educated Turks say they have few friends in the armed services.

The prominent role played by the army is perhaps one reason why Turkey's democracy has never quite grown up. Politicians can always hide behind the army's back. For example, by defining the civil war in the south-east as "terrorism", they have simply handed the problem to the security forces. The army, for its part, keeps itself to itself, doing things in its own, unaccountable, way. It gives no press briefings or interviews and employs no press officers. Its role remains ambivalent: it is both the guardian of the state and the strait-jacket which prevents political development.

A disaster that hasn't quite happened

Turkey's economy is flying on faith

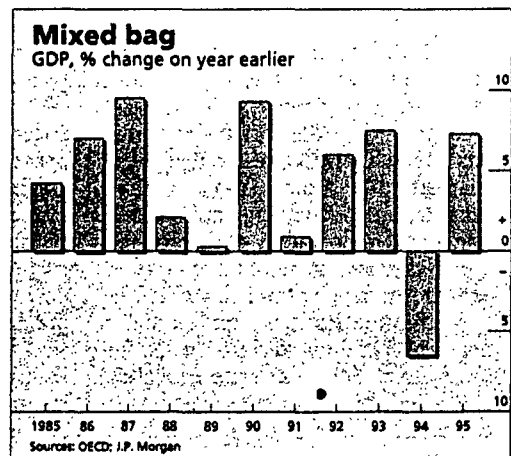
TURKEY'S economy is something of a miracle. It thought to be a crumpled wreck on the runway, but it flies. It would fly far higher and faster if it were rebuilt, relieved of the deadweight of loss-making state-owned companies, and properly piloted. It may still crash. But for now its engines—many thousands of small family businesses—are bursting with energy. "The medium term looks good if they sort out the macroeconomic environment," says one American economist. "But the short term is a problem. With inflation at 60-90%, it should slide into hyperinflation but it never does. It's a disaster that has never quite happened... yet."

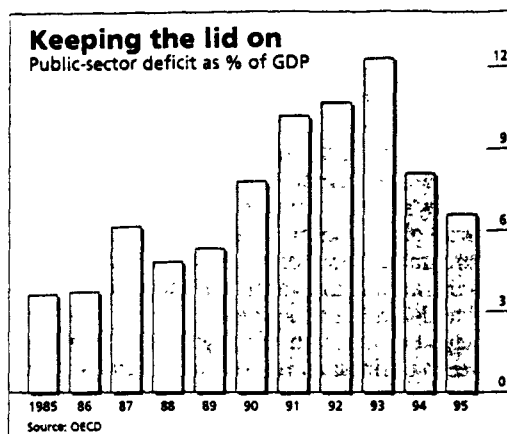
Everyone thought the disaster had arrived in 1994, which brought the worst crash in Turkey's modern history, but the economy bounced back quickly. Last year overall growth was 7.6%, with manufacturing output up by 13.2%. Exports just carried on growing regardless. The crash illustrated both the Turkish economy's fragility and its underlying strength. If even in an unstable economic environment it can notch up an—albeit erratic—average growth rate of 4-5%, it might do wonders without the albatross of a huge budget deficit.

The core of the problem is political. Turkey's elections never produce an absolute majority for any party, and the coalitions needed to form governments have encouraged short-term thinking. Essential reforms have been neglected, and successive governments have borrowed to fund their vote-catching programmes. The chief causes of the budget deficit are interest on debt, subsidies to state enterprises and the \$7 billion a year spent on the war. A huge black economy and an inefficient tax-collection system compound the difficulties. Public-sector borrowing rose from 3.7% of GDP in 1986 to

12.3% in 1993, and after a brief dip is expected to rise again this year. Meanwhile, private investment goes short. "Everyone knows what has to be done," says Halis Komili, the chairman of the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (Tusiad). "The problem is taking the political decisions to do it."

The Turkish economy's structural problems go back to Ottoman times. Before modern Turkey was founded in the 1920s, business was conducted mainly by Greeks, Jews and Armenians. The Turks were farmers and soldiers. When Turkey emerged from the ruins of the Ottoman empire, nationalised industries were seen as an essential part of the new state, as were laws to protect the new industries from outside competition. Tobacco, oil, shipbuilding and many others became state monopolies, protected by high tariffs and import bans until the





1970s. Half of Turkey's manufacturing industry and 60% of its financial sector is still owned by the state.

The regime of subsidies and state protection began to change only when Mr Ozal took charge of the economy in the early 1980s, opening it up and lifting foreign-exchange controls. Turkish businessmen, especially small manufacturers, responded enthusiastically to his call to export and attract foreign investment and tourists. But Mr Ozal failed to tackle the biggest problems of all: the budget deficit, which had been building up since the 1974 oil-price rise; the loss-making state companies; and inflation, which after a brief slowdown returned to a rampant 70% in 1988. "We have had ten wasted years now since the Ozal reforms stopped," says Meral Gezgin Eris, president of the Economic Development Foundation, an Istanbul think-tank.

The wages of economic sin

The failure to tackle the fundamental issues culminated in the crash of 1994. After rapid expansion in 1993 the economy was overheating, and fast-growing imports had created a huge trade gap. The public-sector borrowing requirement had grown to over 12% of GDP. In January 1994 two rating agencies downgraded Turkey's international credit rating. Holders of Turkish liras took refuge in foreign currencies, driving the lira down further. Despite central-bank intervention, it dropped by 70% against the dollar between the end of 1993 and March 1994. More than \$5 billion of capital flowed out of Turkey that year. Mrs Ciller's government, facing local elections in March 1995, poured more money into the economy by giving substantial pay rises to public-sector employees. Inflation went well above 100%.

As soon as the local elections were over, Mrs Ciller announced a drastic IMF-backed package that pushed up interest rates, slashed government spending, raised prices on state-controlled products and imposed new taxes. The government agreed to cut short-term borrowing from the central bank from 15% of its budget to 3% by 1998, and imposed new reserve and liquidity requirements on banks and financial institutions. The package seemed to work: stability quickly returned to the markets, and foreign-exchange reserves rose.

But the rescue cost Turkey dear. In 1994 as a whole its economy shrank by 6.5%, and real wages fell by more than 30%. Domestic demand dropped by 19%, and imports fell sharply. Producers depend-

ing on imported raw materials were hit especially hard. Many workers were laid off. But construction of homes and factories around cities hardly paused. Exports, feeding on the collapsing lira, continued to rise. By the end of 1994 recovery had already begun. Turks proudly point out that Mexico, which suffered a crisis at about the same time as Turkey, required a huge international rescue operation, whereas Turkey received only token help from the international financial institutions. But then Turkey's current account is buoyed up, among other things, by large remittances from Turkish workers abroad and by handsome earnings from tourism.

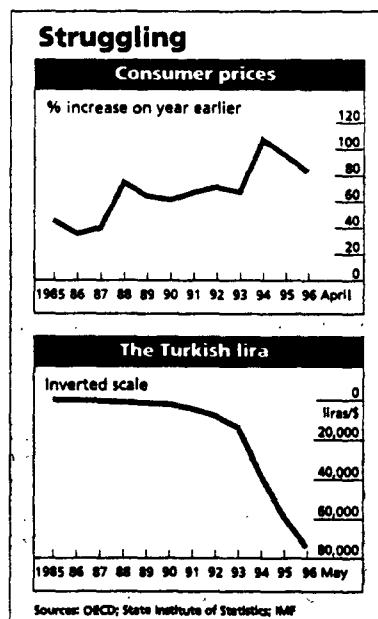
The economy stayed on course until politics intervened again in November 1995. Mrs Ciller, facing an election in December, needed the votes of the 1.8m state employees, so she topped up their 35% pay increase of April 1995 with a further 53% rise. Interest rates stayed where they were. By the end of the year all monetary targets had been missed, inflation was up again, the lira was sinking and the budget deficit ballooned. It was April before the new government was able to agree on a budget. The deficit this year might be as much as \$15 billion, more than twice last year's figure. Some 37% of spending will go on servicing debt interest—and only 7% on investment. Inflation may come down slightly. The central bank's target for this year is 45%, but the state planning department is keeping its fingers crossed that it will not go above 60-65%.

When Mr Yilmaz's new government took over in March, it was given a rousing welcome by the stockmarket, but that enthusiasm may have been misplaced. In the short term the government is committed to privatising some of the state banks and telecommunications operators, and to reforming the social-security system. But nobody seems to know whether it needs parliament's approval to sanction these reforms.

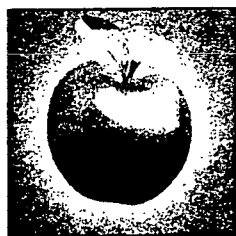
One of the key economic posts has gone to Mr Saracoglu, a former governor of the central bank, renowned for his strict monetarist views and flamboyant ties. Mrs Ciller was not one of his champions: as prime minister in 1994 she had pushed him out as head of the central bank. He, or anyone else in his job, urgently needs to persuade the banks to provide a breathing space for the economy by rescheduling the crippling domestic-debt repayments.

No matter who is in charge, getting the Turkish economy back on track will be devilishly difficult. The tax system is still riddled with holes. Having joined the European customs union, Turkey will lose revenue from tariffs of between \$2-billion and \$3 billion this year. And the war in the south-east, which has proved a huge drain on the economy, shows no sign of ending.

Even so, many Turkish businessmen reckon that their country will continue to muddle through, and that no drastic changes are needed: it is the way Turkey has always managed, they say. In many



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ways Turkey's economy is reminiscent of Italy's: growing despite the government rather than because of it, kept going by the black economy and small, family-run enterprise, but held back by structural problems such as excessive public debt.

Export or die

In Turkey, most of the optimists are exporters, people who build inflation and devaluation into their prices and operate in a dollar or D-mark economy. Exports are one of Turkey's success stories. The country's geographical position at the crossroads of Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East gives it easy access to all three markets. And just as exports to the Middle East were beginning to wane, the Black Sea countries and the Turkic-speaking republics that had been spun off from the former Soviet Union began to open up. Trade with Russia has leapt to \$6 billion a year, from about \$200m with the old Soviet Union, making Russia Turkey's second-largest trading partner. Turkish goods, of better quality than Russian ones but cheaper than European ones, fill a gap in the market. The big items in official trade are cars, clothes, electrical goods and fruit and vegetables, but there is also a huge hidden "suitcase" trade. Planes and boats full of Russians come to Istanbul for shopping sprees every day.

In the early 1980s the Turkish government encouraged exporters by bearing 30% of companies' export costs, and offering rebates on energy and transport costs. All such subsidies have now been phased out, in line with EU regulations, and some

commentators caution against putting too much faith in trade. "You cannot live on exports alone," says Mrs Gezgin Eris of the Economic Development Foundation. "Investments are going into exports but Turkey's per-capita income is not growing."

The best opportunities are likely to be snapped up by the smaller, more adaptable firms rather than by Turkey's large and unwieldy conglomerates. One example of this nimble breed is a company run by Hasan Arat, a former professional basketball player who zips around the world selling textiles, and talks as if he always has a plane to catch. Now 36, he was Turkey's businessman of the year in 1995. With a degree in business administration and what he describes as "the good name" of his father, who managed a textile factory, he started his own company with his two brothers in 1986. Ten years on, GSD Ticaret is one of Turkey's biggest clothing exporters. Mr Arat is setting up a home page on the Internet to display all his products electronically. "In the clothing business you have to be very flexible and fast. We cannot compete with the Far East on price but we have speed. We can get the product to the shops within four to five weeks of the order."

At the moment he has 200 people working for him, but this month he is due to open a new factory in Adana which will employ 700. Above his desk is a large photograph of the first stone of the building being laid by his father. "That was the proudest moment of his life," says Mr Arat. "The family is very important here, very strong."

The strength of the extended family is one of the

Adventure playground

"TURKEY is out on an adventure," said one businessman, summing up the bewildering speed of change in Turkey's industry and commerce. Bursa, just south of Istanbul across the Sea of Marmara, is one of its business adventure playgrounds. It is typical of the old western towns full of small manufacturing companies that employ cheap labour migrating from the east. Its population, now at about 2m, is growing at 3.8% a year. Bursa is famous for its peach and chestnut orchards and for a sulphurous spring patronised by the Byzantine empress Theodora. Nowadays the town looks like an unplanned building site, with a new road tearing its centre apart and factories and housing estates mushrooming on its edges. As often in Turkey, development comes first; government paperwork, permits and infrastructure follow later.

Bursa's manufacturing industry grew from silks and weaving, blossoming into a textile industry in the 1960s. Half of Bursa's export earnings of \$1 billion come from textiles, produced by around 6,000 small firms. It is places like Bursa that have made Turkey into

Europe's main textile supplier. The country's exports of cotton-based goods have grown 20-fold over the past ten years. They are cheap by European standards, but of better quality than those from India or China, and orders can be turned round faster.

Bursa's other big business is motor cars. In 1970 Fiat opened an assembly plant there, followed by Renault and Peugeot. Eventually about 200 supplier firms grew up around the plants. Turkey now makes rather than just assembles some basic cars. Its car manufacturers were badly hit by the 1994 slump, and are now being exposed to increased competition through Turkey's membership of the European customs union.

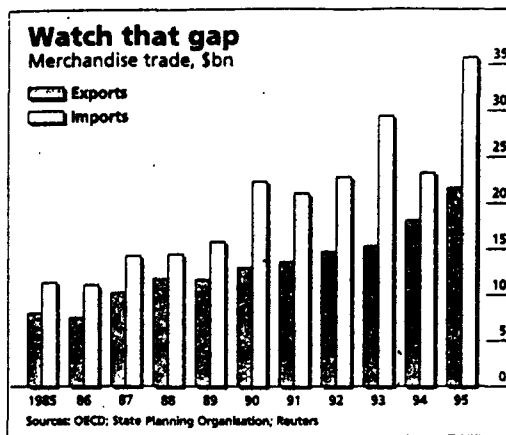
Bursa owes its business success to people like Ferit Karsiloglu, who set up his own firm in 1988 after a spell as manager of a small high-tech car-parts factory. He paid off a cheap government loan within three years and now employs 67 people making rear lights and other car parts. Both his sons (one studied finance, the other engineering) and his wife work with him.

Mr Karsiloglu sees his future in a joint-venture partnership with a Euro-



Cloth of gold

pean car-parts firm. It will provide the orders and the equipment, and he can offer labour costs that are a fifth or less of those in Western Europe, and a skilled workforce. One of the main attractions of Bursa—and many similar cities in western Turkey—is that its labour force is young, computer-literate and not afraid of hard work.



Turkish economy's secret weapons. It serves as a platform for launching new enterprises and provides a life-raft in hard times—an important point in a country where unemployment, officially 9%, is unofficially put at nearly twice as much and unemployment benefit is minimal. A typical young man moving from village to town makes contact with, say, a distant cousin, who squeezes him into his two-bedroom flat (already housing his wife and four children) and supports him while the newcomer looks for a job. When he finds one, again often through the cousin, he moves into his own flat and gets his family to join him. It is this system of family support that has made Turkey's urban revo-

lution possible. Those with jobs often provide for more than their immediate family. Many of them, whether working in Turkish cities or abroad, send money back home.

Another secret weapon—some would call it a double-edged sword—is Turkey's large black economy. No one can be sure just how large it is, but the lowest estimate is at least a quarter the size of the official economy; some experts reckon it may be as much as half. Many outsiders looking at Turkey are worried by its gloomy economic statistics (though not all of them: Britain's Marks and Spencer opened a shop in Istanbul last year), but most Turkish businessmen take a philosophical view. "Some people look at the figures and are put off, but most Turkish businessmen just get on with it," says one. Most of these businessmen employ fewer than 100 people, and much of their activity does not appear in any official records.

Even if they are operating in the official economy, Turkish businessmen specialise in getting round the rules. A journalist visiting the managing director of one of Turkey's largest companies found him poring over the building regulations. He had just begun to build a new factory by a lake, and to his surprise had been ordered to stop. The factory, he had been told, was on a registered archaeological site, and no study of the potential pollution impact on the lake had been carried out. "I must study the regulations carefully," he said, "there must be a way round them. In Turkey there always is."



The war that cannot speak its name

EVERY country has its own private nightmare. Turkey's is disintegration. The country is surrounded by neighbours that have either invaded Turkish territory at some time in the past or been Turkey's subjects. Turks fear that their country's internal divisions will be exploited by foreigners who will pull it to pieces. The Turkish watchword, therefore, is unity in all things.

The Turks have learnt their history lesson. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries the European powers gradually undermined the Ottoman empire in the name of nationalism. Greeks, Serbs, Bosnians, Bulgarians and Egyptians secured their independence from the Caliphate with help from Britain, Austria, Hungary, Russia and France. At the end of the first world war Turkish officers overthrew the remnant of the Ottoman empire and carved out the new state of Turkey, thwarting the Franco-British plan for a much smaller country laid out in the Treaty of Sèvres (which also provided for a state called Kurdistan).

Having defeated the Sèvres treaty, Turkey continues to consider vigilance essential—even against allies such as America, France and Britain. Members of all ethnic groups, Turks insist, are Turkish citizens and equal before the law. "If we start talking about minorities, especially the Kurds, who are perhaps a fifth or even a third of the population, where will it end?" asks one official.

Most Turks outside the south-east will tell you that the PKK, or Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan (Work-

ers Party of Kurdistan), is inspired by Syria, which is using the guerrilla movement to put pressure on Turkey over drawing water from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Most Kurds, they claim, do not support the PKK, and the majority are fully integrated into Turkish society. More than a third of members of parliament are Kurdish, and many Kurds serve in the army. At the last election Kurds outside the south-east ignored a party identified with Kurds.

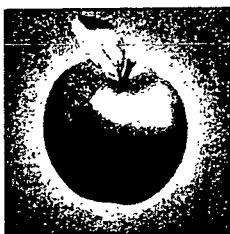
Ask President Suleyman Demirel about the Kurdish question, and you get a dusty answer: "There is no Kurdish question in Turkey. What we face today is a bloody terrorist campaign aimed at the stability and territorial integrity of Turkey."

Terrorists or freedom fighters?

All of this is true, up to a point. That point becomes clearer if you move eastwards across Turkey and see the empty, burnt-out villages, the deserted landscape and the shanty towns of refugees near the cities. The emergency area now covers ten provinces out of Turkey's 76. It is controlled from Diyarbakir, an ancient city above the Tigris, walled in black basalt. It is also the city most affected by the war, its bleak housing estates packed with refugees from the countryside. These people were driven from their homes and fields by soldiers supposedly protecting them who burnt their villages and destroyed their herds. They tell a different story from the one you hear in Ankara. Diyarbakir is like a town under military occupation.

There is no Kurdish question, say the Turks

14 SURVEY TURKEY



A middle-aged man, unwilling to give his name, tells a typical story: "I was rich in my village and proud. Every day I took a tour of my fields, I was a happy man. The soldiers moved us from our village and burnt it. Here I live on the fourth floor of a block of flats, three rooms for ten of us including my six children. I have no work, only the women can get work picking cotton at [about a dollar] a day. That's how we live." Does the PKK also destroy villages and kill people? "They kill the village guards because they are looking for food, and if the villagers don't give it they take it by force. But they don't destroy villages, they just kill the guards."

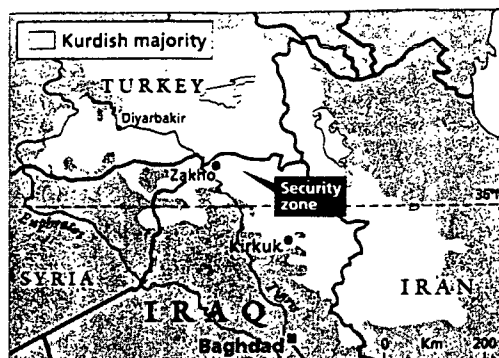
Lawyers acting for the families of those killed by the army are unwilling to give journalists their names for fear of reprisals. Dipping at random into their files, they come up with the case of Yusuf Kilig, aged 14. His family says that last November 18th he was shot by soldiers while fishing in the Tigris. Fifty bullets were found in his body. No action was taken in the state security court, so the family brought a civil case in a local court. The judge found a soldier guilty of lack of care and sentenced him to jail for two years, commuted to a fine of 1,600,000 liras (now \$21), to be paid over two years. The family, threatened by other soldiers, was too frightened to take the case further.

"That is typical of between 2,000 and 3,000 incidents in the past ten years," say the lawyers. "Often the family comes with a case, accusing the army of murder. We ask the prosecutor to bring it to court but he says 'No, it's PKK [that did it], there's nothing further to be done', and you can't take it further." What about military courts? "They will punish a soldier for not keeping his boots clean, but not for killing civilians," say the lawyers.

The governor of the emergency zone lives and works in a grand new building tightly guarded in the barracks in Diyarbakir. Asked if the army comes under the rule of law, he says: "Yes, of course. If there is a crime people will be punished." So how many soldiers have been convicted of crimes against civilians? "I don't have the number but it does happen." The ministry of foreign affairs has figures: 1,194 cases and 15 convictions in 1994, 962 cases and 20 convictions last year.



A war that no one can win



It is tempting for outsiders to see the 25m Kurds, the largest self-described "nation" on earth without a state, as victims of a conspiracy among the states whose territory they occupy: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. The war led by the PKK is the latest in a long line of rebellions against the Turkish state and its Ottoman predecessor. Similar uprisings have taken place in Iran, Iraq and Syria.

But there are complications. Kurds have traditionally lived in tribal societies that feud with each other. They are still so deeply divided that governments can always set one group against another. At least two distinct languages, and many dialects, keep them apart. What they have in common is that they look different from their Turkish, Arab and Persian neighbours, both in physiognomy and because of their distinctive, often gaudy, dress. Experts differ on whether there is a common culture.

Dream of Kurdistan

So what are the prospects for an independent Kurdistan? Take a deep breath and ask the Turkish foreign minister. "It would be very autocratic and repressive," says Mr Gönensay. "Would Kurds from other areas be forced to go and live there? Would there be ethnic cleansing in non-Kurdish areas?"

An independent Kurdish state would have no international support. America and the European Union are opposed to the idea. Western diplomats point out that in a region of rough and roguish states, a landlocked Kurdistan would be neither safe nor stable. Turkey's Kurds, they argue, are better off as Turkish citizens.

Militant Kurds respond that if you live in Turkey, you are forced to be culturally Turkish. Use of the Kurdish language, and indeed of the very word Kurd, were forbidden by law until 1991. Kurds were referred to as "Mountain Turks". Although there is no obvious discrimination against Kurds in non-Kurdish areas of Turkey, many Kurds say they have been turned away from jobs in the west because of their ethnic origin. And the ban on the Kurdish language continues in various ways. When Nevzat Bingol, a young Diyarbakir businessman who owns a small local TV station, broadcast some songs in Kurdish, he got a letter from the public prosecutor saying he had broken the law. Puzzlingly, soon afterwards, in March, the government announced that its own local TV station would start using Kurdish for the first time.

The PKK feeds on such ambiguities. Its roots go back into the 1970s when Abdullah Ocalan, then a student leader, called for a separate socialist Kurdish state. The shooting war did not begin in earnest



Some of the war's losers

until 1984. Mr Ocalan recently dropped Marxism-Leninism and demands for independence. Having called a ceasefire last November, he is now asking for talks with the government in Ankara.

This may be because the PKK has lost much of its military clout. Until about five years ago it was able to keep the Turkish army out of large areas of the south-east, and move in and out of Syria at will. When in 1991 Saddam Hussein's attacks on the Iraqi Kurds led America, Britain and France to create a safe haven for them in northern Iraq, the PKK used the zone to organise and launch attacks into Turkey. But the safe haven also gave the Turks a listening post in Iraq at Zakho, manned by Turkish as well as British, French and American troops. This enabled the Turkish army, helped by American intelligence and equipment, to attack PKK bases in Iraq and force the movement underground in Turkey itself.

Within Turkey, the government's sledgehammer policy in Kurdish areas has, unsurprisingly, encouraged Kurdish support for the PKK. The government may control the roads and towns by day, but no one goes out at night. Indoors, people can watch PKK propaganda broadcast to the region from the party's own satellite TV station. A new party, HADEP, which identifies with the Kurdish cause, is forecast to win an overwhelming number of votes in the area in the next election. If Kurds who have migrated west also vote for it, it could clear the 10% hurdle and get seats in parliament, putting increased pressure on the government for a political settlement.

GAP to the rescue?

At present, the very words "political settlement" make politicians in Ankara fly into a fury. The only problem in the south-east they will admit to, apart from "terrorism", is underdevelopment. Their solution is the mighty \$32 billion South-Eastern Anatolia Project (GAP): an integrated development plan to bring everything from industry to health care to the region. South-east Turkey has always been a poor area. It produces only 4% of Turkey's GDP and 2% of its industrial output. GAP should change all that. Among other things, 22 dams are planned to gener-

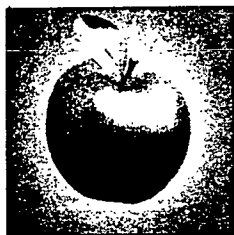
ate electricity for industry and irrigate vast tracts of land. According to Olcay Unver, the engineer in charge of GAP, the project will provide 3.5m jobs by the time it is completed in 2005, and quadruple farm production in the region.

But Nesim Sevinc, director of the local businessmen's association, Gunsiad, paints a different picture. "GAP? What GAP?" he asks. The vast bulk of the electricity produced, he argues, will go west. The parts of the project that benefit the west of Turkey are ahead of schedule but the parts that will help the south-east have barely started. He concludes: "The region is discriminated against by central government." But other officials insist that the government does intend to see the project through, and point out that PKK attacks have held up some of the projects. It does seem as though GAP, if implemented as planned, might help south-eastern Turkey's economy along; but only if the war came to an end.

There were faint signs in Ankara in recent months that the government was giving thought to the south-east problem and not simply leaving it to the army, as Mrs Ciller did. Businessmen are pressing the government for a solution because Turkey's human-rights record is damaging the country's international standing. There is talk of allowing the Kurds to use their own language for official purposes and to have their own TV station. Mr Gonensay urges more autonomy, but stresses that this is not a concession to the PKK. "There can be private institutions teaching Kurdish but not state ones. We want nothing that will set an ethnic trap which will create disunity in Turkey."

Meanwhile the war goes on, even though many officers are said to believe there can be no military victory in this kind of conflict. The government's own figures show that things are getting worse, despite the "ceasefire". Of the 10,663 "terrorists" who were killed between 1987 and early March this year, 7,116 died in the past two years. Similarly, of the 3,400 members of the security forces killed since the start of the war, 1,811 died in the past two years. The deputy governor of the emergency area admits: "We have contained the situation, but as soon as we relax it will start up again."

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It's a rough part of the world

Trouble with neighbours

IF YOU had to pick the ten countries in the world you would least like to live next to, they would be bound to include some of Turkey's neighbours. "You don't know what it's like to have Saddam Hussein, Hafez Assad and the Iranians next door," complain the Turks. And just how stable, they ask, are the new countries to their east: Azerbaijan and Armenia? What would happen if Russia became aggressively nationalist and tried to restore its hegemony in the region?

To Turkey's north-west lies the former Yugoslavia or, if you prefer, the former Ottoman provinces, struggling to become nations of their own. And to its west is Greece. Spats between Turkey and Greece may be a historical habit, but there are real and unresolved territorial disputes between them. Cyprus remains at the top of the list. Hopes that the Americans might broker a more durable agreement there came to nothing when war nearly broke out in the Aegean in January. The dispute over some almost uninhabited islands may have been inflamed by Greek and Turkish TV crews filming the planting of flags, but the incident showed that it does not take much to propel the two countries to the brink of war. If two ships had bumped, who knows what might have happened? Both countries are well armed. The weak leaders in Athens and Ankara might just have succumbed to temptation.

The 1923 treaty of Lausanne left the whole of the Aegean except the Turkish coast in Greek hands. The Turks now want bilateral talks on sharing the Aegean. "We just want fairness" says Mr Gonensay, the foreign minister. "We need to get into a dialogue and sort things out." The Turks say they would like to co-ordinate tourism and shipping in the Aegean, and take a share in any oil that might be found there. But they have also threatened war if Greece applies the 12-mile rule on the Aegean coast and interferes with Turkish shipping.

At least the hostility between Turkey and Greece involves no one else, and the rest of the European Union and America want them to settle their differences. Turkey's other neighbours are also at odds with the West, or potentially so; that is why Turkey is so important to NATO. But whereas America and Europe can deal with countries such as Iran and Iraq at a distance, Turkey has to live with them.

Turkey is also wondering how reliable its friends in Washington really are. It is worried, for example, about the rise of America's anti-aid lobby, which sees the end of the cold war as a reason for cutting aid to Turkey. The Turks are keeping an eye, too, on what Amer-

ica is doing in northern Iraq. The Kurdish safe haven there, some fear, is an embryo Kurdish state—which the PKK might use to destabilise Turkey.

Russia is now Turkey's second largest trading partner; allowing for the black economy, it may even be the biggest. Turkish firms have some \$9 billion invested in Russia, and the government does not want to put that investment at risk. However, Turkey's membership of NATO may conflict with the country's future commercial links with Russia. The Russians, for their part, are worried about Caucasian solidarity movements in Turkey (some of which are supported by leading politicians); they fear that these movements may support an independent Chechnya, and may even have designs on the central Caucasus.

There are also disputes over the export route for Caucasian oil. In April Russia at long last agreed to the building of an oil pipeline from the Tengiz oil field in Kazakhstan to the Black Sea port of Novorossiisk. The already congested port may also become the destination for oil and gas from other Caucasian states. To reach the rest of the world, that oil has to be transported by tanker through the Bosphorus. Turkey argues that quite enough shipping goes through that narrow and tricky waterway already. In the event of an accident, millions of people would be at risk. The Turks want some of this oil and gas to go by pipeline to their Mediterranean port of Ceyhan. In return they are willing to offer Russia a stake in the pipeline. Yet both these routes pass through war zones, the Russian one through Chechnya, the Turkish one through Kurdish areas.

Turkic-speakers, unite?

When in 1991 the collapse of the Soviet Union opened the way for the establishment of the Turkic-speaking republics, the Turks were euphoric. It was like finding a long-lost brother. But five years and three Turkic summits later, any idea of a Turkic-speaking region extending from the Mediterranean to China has evaporated. For a start, the language was not as close as the enthusiasts had thought. Turks can understand Azerbaijani, and in Turkmenistan can pick up the language in a few days, but in Kazakhstan they will be linguistically challenged, and in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan they will find their Turkish completely useless. Most of these countries were never part of the Ottoman world, so there is little in the way of shared culture beyond the Caspian.

While Turkey's ethnic nationalists look to the Turkic world for allies, its Islamists look south to the Arab Muslim world. But religion is all that Turkey has in common with Iran, Iraq and Syria. Culturally and politically they are far apart, and historical resentment against Ottoman rule still resonates in Turkey's former Arab provinces. Syria is Turkey's worst enemy at present because of its support for the PKK. On the Turkish side, the border with Syria looks like a war zone, with double fences, minefields and watchtowers every kilometre. Many Turks regard President Assad's support for the PKK



Roaring trade with Russia

as retaliation for the dams for hydro-electric power and irrigation that Turkey is building on the Tigris and Euphrates. Neutral observers estimate that the rivers could lose as much as 40% of their flow by the time they reach Syria (and 90% when they reach Iraq, after Syria has taken its gulp). Mr Gonensay dismisses the argument: "At the moment we are giving them ten times what they need, so what is the issue? We must sit down and establish everyone's needs and then allocate the water." But he says there will be no talks until Syria stops supporting the PKK. Meanwhile the dam-building goes on.

Iran, the third neighbour, is constantly suspected of stirring the Kurdish and the Islamist pots.

A Turk working for Iranian intelligence recently named four Iranian diplomats in Ankara as responsible for the murder of a well-known Turkish journalist in 1990. When Turkey asked for their withdrawal, relations rapidly soured. They got sourer still when details of a defence agreement between Turkey and Israel emerged in April.

Turkey accepts its role as a buffer zone at the eastern edge of the western world (and in turn treats its own mountainous eastern region as a buffer zone for its westernised west). But in return for good behaviour, it wants full membership of the western club; and that, it is beginning to suspect, may never be forthcoming.



In the waiting room

THERE was outrage in Ankara when Turkey received no invitation to the European Union's inter-governmental conference in March but Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic were asked to attend as observers. In Turkey's eyes, the East Europeans were jumping the queue. Even more galling, the Turks learnt it was Greece that had blocked the invitation, just as Greece is blocking EU funds for Turkey that were pledged as part of the customs union that came into effect at the beginning of this year. It all seemed to confirm the suspicion that membership of the customs union was not after all a step to full EU membership but a permanent limbo. Not that anyone in authority would for a moment admit to that suspicion. "2001," says Mr Gonensay, the foreign minister. "But we have got to put our economic house in order first."

Turkey has been moving towards free trade with the EU for the past 22 years. Even before it joined the customs union, it was sending more than half its exports to Western Europe. Measures to protect Turkish industry had been gradually dismantled, but some remain in force to give Turkish companies time to adjust. VAT on new foreign cars, for example, has come down from 100% to 40%, but imports of secondhand cars have been banned altogether. Even so, in the longer run Turkey's car manufacturers and their local suppliers will find it hard to compete with European makers.

The abolition of tariffs on trade with Europe will cost Turkey more than \$2 billion in government revenue each year. The economic effect of customs-union membership, says Michael Lake, the EU's man in Turkey, is best described by a J-curve: for most Turks life will get a little worse in the short term and then a lot better. To help ease the pain, Turkey will get a financial co-operation package from Europe. "Don't call it compensation," says the man from the EU. When Greece decides to stop blocking it, this will give Turkey 375m ecus (\$460m) over five years, and a further 750m ecus from the European Investment Bank in loans.

Businessmen say that the biggest boost for Turkey from membership of the customs union is psychological: the feeling that they are no longer outsiders. But for the moment they are not being treated as insiders either—more as second-class members. They do have to obey all the rules, but

they get no say in drawing them up, and no money from the EU's regional fund. "The customs union is membership with a visa, and without help," says one frustrated Turkish exporter.

In the short term, the obvious stumbling block for Turkey's progress in Europe is the Greek veto (although many Turks believe that the most powerful objections come from the Germans). In the longer term, Turkey's businessmen think the momentum towards membership is now unstoppable. Foreign-ministry officials, however, privately believe that even in the medium term Turkey could join only if the EU were to accept the broader idea of an outer-rim class of membership. And the EU has insisted that, whatever happens, free movement of Turkish workers in Europe is a very long way off.

Many former Turkish migrants who have worked in European countries feel that if their country joined the EU, it would be swamped by Europe's alien culture. Having experienced racist rejection in their host countries, they have fallen back on an Islamic or Kurdish identity. "Refah and the PKK were both born and brought up in Europe," says one Turkish politician.

But the main reasons why Turkey will not get closer to Europe in the near future lie within Turkey itself. The first is the state of its economy: as things stand, it lags a long way behind even the poorest EU members (see table). The second, and more important, reason is its lack of democratic values and its violation of human rights. Europe is simply not keen to get closer to a country where torture and imprisonment without trial are still reported with disturbing frequency.

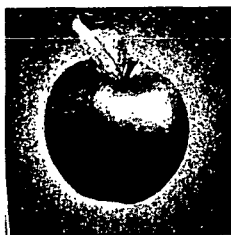
For the foreseeable future

A long way to go Standard of living

	Private consumption per person PPP\$*	Cars per 1,000 people†	Telephone lines per 1,000 people†	Television sets per 1,000 people‡	Infant mortality per 1,000 live births‡
Germany	10,733	491	483	552	5.8
Spain	8,412	351	371	496†	7.6
Portugal	7,780	224	350	231	8.7
Greece	6,367	188	478	212	8.5
Turkey	3,617	43	201	269	52.6

*Purchasing power parity, 1993 †1994 ‡1993
Source: OECD; Eurostat; International Telecommunication Union; Automotive Industry Data

18 SURVEY TURKEY



To Turkey,
freedom does not
come naturally

Democracy at gunpoint

BEDRI BAYKAM is a young painter and politician; or perhaps politician and painter. In his art he uses violent and erotic images. He is also a leading member of the (leftish) Republican People's Party, founded by Kemal Ataturk. In American terms, that makes him Andy Warhol serving as a Democrat senator. Odd? Not at all, he says. "Everything I do I owe to that man, Ataturk. Without him my art would not be possible. Politics is not a hobby for me, it's a necessity."

Mr Baykam carries a gun and is escorted everywhere by a bodyguard. Too many of his friends and colleagues have been murdered. His style may be a little melodramatic, but Mr Baykam believes that the secular state, founded 73 years ago, is the only hope for Turkey, and is worth fighting for. To him, the army is the ultimate protector of those secular values. He thinks that if you give an inch to the Islamists they will take all; if you give the Kurds minority rights, Turkey will break up. He despises the appeasers who want Islamists brought into government to keep them quiet. Mr Baykam, paintbrush in one hand and gun in the other, is proof that freedom is possible in Turkey. But it does not come naturally: it needs an armed guard. Democracy, remember, did not spring up by itself, it was conferred, or perhaps imposed, by Turkey's armed forces. Now it is protected from anti-democratic forces by undemocratic means.

Turkey is sometimes portrayed as a bridge between east and west, with a foot in each world. This is the wrong image. Individual Turks belong to either east or west: these worlds are so different that there is no effective bridge between them. Turkey is more like a tree, with roots in many different cultures and ethnicities. In its early years it was pruned and trained to grow strictly in one direction: Turkish. Now, in its maturity, its branches tend to go their own way, seeking their own kind of light. Each branch knows where it is going, but the tree as a whole does not. Westernised Turkey is drawn to Eu-

rope, Turkish nationalists want to look east to fellow Turkic-speakers, fundamentalists south to other Islamic countries. Each group seeks models outside Turkey, betraying perhaps the lack of a common identity.

But identities shift with the twists and turns of history. Turkey is undergoing the greatest change in its short life, and its identity is bound to evolve too. More than three-quarters of Turks now live in substantial communities, towns and cities, where they hope to make a living and get themselves, or their children, an education. Like it or not, they will also find an international commercial culture shouting at them. Some people will turn away from it, preferring to seek truth in the Koran. Others will be drawn to politicians trying to use Islam to build a constituency among the disillusioned.

Will the Islamists ever come to dominate? That depends on what the government—any government—does now. If it fails to reform the economy so that living standards fall further, if it allows the war in the east to continue, if there are riots in the streets met by a repressive police force, then it is possible to imagine Turkey descending into chaos and falling victim to political extremism.

If it is to avoid such a fate and stay faithful to Ataturk's vision of a secular, modern, democratic state, it has to be open to the world and open to a multiplicity of identities at home. It can do this only by creating a country in which everyone has the chance to live and work freely, and to aspire to living standards that Europe has long taken for granted. The steps required to attain this grand vision sound less grand, but will require Turkey's leaders to show courage and determination. It comes down to mundane things such as bringing the budget deficit under control, cutting inflation, selling off state enterprises, gathering taxes more efficiently and spending them more effectively, and putting an end to the war: all of them difficult, but not impossible.



Turkey's democratic backstop

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NEW CENTURY

SUNDAY
JUNE 9, 1996

Erbakan dreams of an Ottoman commonwealth

New Century interviews pro-Islam Welfare Party's leading foreign policy man and party vice president, Mr. Abdullah Gül to discuss the party's vision of Turkey in the international arena.

Aslı Aydıntaşbaş

Ankara- Welfare is the only Turkish party which has an alternative vision of Turkey's international role. This vision is distinct from the principles of Turkish foreign policy adopted since the creation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Mr. Gül stated that Welfare, if it came to power, would change the profile of Turkey in terms of policy completely, including the nature of Turkey's relationship with the European Union, NATO, Syria, and Middle Eastern countries.

Mr. Gül is among the first to be called upon when foreign journalists and politicians visit Ankara. He recently attracted attention last week with a statement which appeared in the El-Hayat newspaper proclaiming that a prospective Welfare administration would declare void the Turkish-Israeli military agreement.

NC- Why are you against the Turkish-Israeli agreement?

On agreement with Israel

AG- First of all, we are against the methodology. It is still not clear what the contents of the agreement are and even the ministers are not familiar with it. In addition, this is an agreement made with a country which is still engaged in wars, which invades other countries and violates U.N. resolutions. Most recently, Israel targeted civilians in Lebanon. In addition, Turkey is being forced to become a party to some other scenarios. According to foreign press reports, the agreement could also be used against Israel's neighbors.

NC- Welfare has always been against Turkey's membership in NATO and the European Union. We recently heard however your leader, Mr. Erbakan, state that you accept Turkey's involvement in these two organizations. Is Welfare changing its foreign policy position as it is getting closer to power?

AG- We do not envision building walls around Turkey and separating it from Europe and the world, but somehow our policies always get this kind of review. We want to improve Turkey's relations with many countries, but do not want to tie our future only to Europe. We do not intend to leave the NATO alliance, but criticize the alliance strongly for its neglect during the Bosnian crisis. While we will remain in these two alliances, we also want to build additional alliances for trade and security purposes.

If Welfare comes to power, we will still work with the I.M.F., the World Bank and the United Nations. In the case of the I.M.F. however, we will not accept all their recommendations as incontestable. We intend to take a more honorable position when it comes to interference in domestic affairs. For example, the World Bank is now pushing for population control.

NC- Are you going to uphold the customs union with the E.U.?

AG- The current agreement has not been prepared properly. When we come to power through democratic and legal means, we are not going to tear up the agreement, but we will start negotiations in order to change certain clauses which are not in the interests of Turkey.

NC- Are you going to take steps towards full E.U. membership?

AG- We do not believe that Turkey is going to become a full member, and we do not support the idea of full membership.

NC- During an election campaign, Mr. Erbakan has stated that you intend to "eliminate the border between Turkey and Syria" and, more recently he argued that Syria is not backing the PKK. Are you against Turkey's current foreign policy towards Syria?

Historical alliance

AG- We are talking about ideals here. We aim to have good relations based on a sense of community and on common interests with both our neighbors and Muslim countries.

There could be different ways of doing this. If Mr. Erbakan spoke this way about Syria, it is not so surprising considering Syria was a province of ours until about 70 years ago. We believe that we could form a historical alliance once more. If England was able to form a Commonwealth which extended from Australia to Canada, why can't Turkey do something similar with countries that it has had many ties with throughout history?

Arabs urge Turkey to reconsider deal with Israel

Damascus - Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia on Saturday urged Turkey to reconsider its military deal with Israel which has prompted sharp criticism from Moslem states. A statement issued by Presidents Hafez al-Assad of Syria, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah after a two-day summit, expressed deep concern over the accord which, according to Turkish press reports, allows Israeli warplanes to fly over Turkey.

"The leaders expressed hope that Turkey adopts a policy which goes in line with good neighbourly ties, joint interests and respect of Arab interests," the statement said. "The leaders express their anxiety and concern over the recent Israeli-Turkish deal and demand Turkey reconsider this agreement," the statement said. Turkish officials have played down the importance of the deal with Israel saying it was only an agreement on training. They said Ankara had signed many simi-

lar agreements with other states.

The three powerful Arab leaders convened their summit in Damascus in a show of support for Syria following Israeli Prime Minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu's assumption of a tough line with Damascus in any future peace talks.

The Turkish-Israeli deal was signed in February by the outgoing government of Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Western diplomats say the pact was a strong warning to Syria and Iran, which Ankara holds responsible for fostering Turkey and Syria share a border and Damascus claims a southern Turkish province as its own.

On the other hand the leaders of Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia called Saturday for an all-Arab summit later this month to heal inter-Arab political rifts and forge a united front against Israel's new, hard-line prime minister.

An extended summit

It stressed that the only way to secure peace was a complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab land. (ap, reuter)

A communique issued at the end of the two-day mini-summit here by the Arab world's leading states said the conference will be held in Cairo on June 21-23. President Hafez Assad of Syria, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia held four sessions after the mini-summit opened Friday to map out a pan-Arab strategy to counter the shift to the right in the Israeli government, which they fear could jeopardize the Middle East peace process.

The communique, issued after a final three-hour session Saturday, said Assad, Mubarak and Abdullah "confirmed their intent to achieve a comprehensive and just peace as a strategic option which requires that Israel also adhere to it seriously, with no backing away or renegeing on anything which has been achieved" so far in the peace process.

It stressed that the only way to secure peace was a complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab land. (ap, reuter)

Habitat shield fails to protect demonstrators against batons

Istanbul - A demonstration involving an obstructive "sitting" organized by the Public Sector Trade Union Confederation (KESK), was halted by the police as it was initiated without the permission of the governor's office. Amongst those blocked by the police were also some Habitat II participants who were there to support the event. Over 1500 protesters, including reporters, union members and others as well as two NGO representatives were taken into custody. Several members of the press were also roughed up. An organization called the "Saturday Mothers," which regularly protests in support of family members "lost"

under custody or in prison, also lent support to KESK's demonstration. The police held Taksim Square under tight surveillance as the event progressed and asked participants to leave the area. The participants refused to leave the area despite police requests to this effect. As press members also joined protesters by participating in the "sitting," the police remained inactive for some time. However, a fight broke out between members of the press and a police cameraman who was recording the event. Police also attacked some reporters and several were injured in the struggle. Members of KESK, who wanted to read a press release regarding the

event were also stopped and taken into custody. According to a statement made by KESK official, Vahit Genc, KESK had planned a peaceful "sitting" demonstration, which turned into a confrontation due to unwarranted police intervention. Carrying riot shields and backed by armored vehicles, police blocked off Istiklal Street, a main shopping thoroughfare where the Confederation of Civil Servants' Unions had scheduled a noon sit-in. They detained almost all of the 100 people already at the site as soon as they started to shout slogans such as "We want our labor rights." A member of an international voluntary organization, in Istanbul for a U.N. conference on cities, was

among those detained, New York-based Human Rights Watch said. Turkish laws do not allow civil servants to stage strikes or engage in collective bargaining. Turkish activists have stepped up their efforts to draw attention to a number of issues while some 15,000 people are in Istanbul for a 12-day U.N. conference on cities. There have been several other similar incidents throughout the week. The Istanbul Governor's Office warned foreign activists who are here for the U.N. conference to stay away from Beyoğlu. "Naturally their activities should not go beyond the purpose of their presence in Istanbul," Gov. Ridvan Yenişen said in a statement. (yy, ap)

Forced emigration costs billions

Nevin Bilgin

Ankara- The Turkish Society of Physicians detailed the extent of the immigration problem experienced in Southeastern Anatolia with concrete data collected from research. The report presented by the society indicates that 2,500 villages were evacuated in two years.

According to the report the evacuation expenditures totaled 12 trillion Liras. In the report titled, "Domestic Immigration Debates in the Southeast and Related Health Issues", prepared by the Turkish Society of Physicians, General Secretary, Dr. Necdet Ipekyüz, stated that lack of security, unsolved murders, plains which have been transformed into forbidden zones, the lack of adequate educational and health services, and the food embargo have resulted in the abandonment of villages. The report presented the following conclusions:

► The region which lacks organization and employment possibilities have faced serious problems.

► People abandoning their villages are regarded as potential criminals. This makes it more difficult for villagers to find work. Exclusions of this type threaten social harmony.

► In Diyarbakır the continuing increase in population will cause an outbreak of contagious diseases.

► The infant mortality rate is higher in the southeastern cities compared with other regions. Throughout Turkey, sixty out of every one thousand babies die in the first year after birth, compared to 87 out of every one thousand babies in Diyarbakır. The height-weight proportion of these children is also below average because of malnutrition.

► There are no specialized doctors in the hospitals of the region and the Lice State Hospital is kept closed. 97 of 112 health centers, and 15 of 67 infirmaries are closed.

► Infections of the digestive system are seen more frequently in Diyarbakır than other parts of Turkey. Diarrhea in children is most commonly reported. Fifteen to twenty thousand diarrhea cases are seen every year, followed by typhoid fever and Cholera.

► Psychological disorders have increased in the region. Community violence, harassment by the police and kidnapping promote the development of mental disorders.

costs billions

SVENSKA DAGBLADET • Söndagen den 9 juni 1996

Turkisk polis slog ner demonstration

Kurder protesterade mot försvinnanden

ISTANBUL (SvD)

● Massiva polisinsatser slog på lördagen ner flera olika demonstrationer i centrala Istanbul, mitt under FN:s pågående bostadskonferens. Poliserna slog och sparkade demonstranter innan de släpades in dem i bussar för vidare transport till häktet. Enligt uppgifter greps åtminstone 500 personer.

Den svenske riksdagsmannen Per Lager (mp) försökte dokumentera polisattacken, men en hotfull polisman slet filmen ur händerna på honom. Sveriges generalkonsul skall på diplomatisk väg kräva filmen åter.

Filmteam och fotografer från såväl turkiska som internationella medier kunde dock följa händelserna vid Galatasaray, mitt på Istanbuls shoppinggata nummer ett.

Arméer av poliserna

Istanbulpoliserna började redan på morgonen att visa sin styrka. Hela den centrala delen av staden var fylld av polisbussar, bilar, motorcyklar, enstaka pansarvagnar och arméer av patrullerande polismän. En helikopter surrade i luften.

Klockan 12 samlades omkring 40 kurdiska kvinnor till sin veckodemonstration på Galatasaray. Liket de galna mödrarna i Buenos Aires demonstrerar de varje lördag sin saknad efter försvunna anhöriga.

På samma sätt som under hela det senaste året satte sig kvinnorna på gatan och visade plakat och bilder på döda eller sak-

nade söner och makar. Tusentals poliser stormade fram från alla håll och avbröt demonstrationen. Kvinnor greps och fördes bort i bussar.

En stor grupp åskådare protesterade mot polisgripandena. Nya polisattacker tog hand om demonstranterna som var både kvinnor och män, både turkar och kurder.

Kräver organisationsrätt

Ytterligare en demonstration var förannmald, men utan politistillstånd. Kesik, en fackförening för kommunal- och statsanställda, dominerad av lärare, skulle kräva organisationsrätt och en laglig möjlighet att strejka. Omkring 100 demonstranter tåg gatan fram men avbröts också av polisstyrkorna. Shoppande Istanbulbor och utländska konferensbesökare fick kasta sig in i butiker och prång för att komma undan de framrusande kravallustrustade poliserna.

- Vi har ändå haft lite mer frihet här i Istanbul jämfört med i Diyar Bakir och andra områden, sade Ilkay Demir från vänsterpartiet ÖDP efter lördagens händelser.

- Men hur skall det gå nu, efter FN-konferensen när utländska journalister, politiker och diplomater åker härifrån?

LENA BLOMQUIST

Police detain 1,500 activists in Istanbul demonstrations

By Erdiñ Ergeneç / Turkish Daily News
ISTANBUL.- As many as 1,500 people, including several foreign participants at the United Nations Habitat II Conference as well as labor and political activists, were detained on Saturday for staging protests in Istanbul.

The Public Workers Trade Union Confederation (KESK) said at least 1,500 people were detained during demonstrations in Beyoğlu district. Several foreign participants of the non governmental organizations forums were among the arrested. Several leaders of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP), including Deputy Chairman Bahattin Gülen, were among those detained.

Witnesses said police broke up the traditional Saturday meeting of mothers staging a protest for their sons and daughters missing when in custody.

An estimated 400 people have gone missing in detention since 1989 — a majority believed to be

under police custody.

Police attacked the demonstrators with wooden batons and arrested the protesters who were staging a sit down demonstration on Istiklal Caddesi at Galatasaray Square.

Police said that the demonstration was illegal and that the protesters had not received permission from the Istanbul Governor's office to conduct the meeting. Several people were hurt, including journalists covering the event, witnesses said.

On 31 May authorities banned Alternative Habitat activities organized by 35 Turkish non governmental organizations led by the Human Rights Associations.

Alternative Habitat was to be a forum for organizations not involved in the official Habitat activities to highlight a number of issues, such as human rights abuses in Turkey, that were not on the official conference agenda.



Photo-TDN Istanbul
POLICE DETAIN ACTIVISTS. Special riot police take away a young activists (above) in the Beyoğlu district. Also detained was Public Workers Trade Union Confederation (KESK) boss Siyami Erden (left).



Prison hunger strikers are near death

By Jan Paçal
Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- While Turkey is condemned to artificial agendas with the elections and the subsequent political crises, on the other side of the coin people continue to suffer and die. Since the Mehmet Ağar's promotion from the Chief of Police to Minister of Justice, the atmosphere in prisons has heated up and got darker.

It is feared that the actions, such as hunger strikes continue, disturbances may escalate. In fact, political prisoners from the separatist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) have already declared that if their demands continue to be ignored they would increase their actions.

A passage from Ayten Anlas's letter, a prisoner who is in Buca prison for charges of involvement in the outlawed leftist organization DHKP-C reads: "Since Mehmet Ağar's assignment to the office of Minister of Justice, six 'morgues', including Eskişehir prison have been re-opened as prisons... At present, the number of prisoners in Eskişehir prison has reached 80.

They have no rights. They do not receive any food. Their families are prohibited from visiting them. Newspapers, TV, radio, whatever comes to your mind is not allowed.

"These changes in prisons have all come with the 6 May communique. Our families who try to defend us are put in detention. We have been on an indefinite hunger strike since 23 May. We demand that Eskişehir 'morgue' is shut down, the 6 May communique is abolished and the persecution of our families is ended."

While prisoners express their reaction with hunger strikes, the Human Rights Association (IHD) declared that many participating in these hunger strikes have come to the point of death. But, according to Minister of Justice Mehmet Ağar, there are no problems in the prisons. Ağar says that the protestors in the prisons demand the "abolition of rules" and that therefore they are senseless.

"There is no tension in prisons", says Ağar and continues, "A prison is a prison and it is to punish people. The strikers demand the abolishment of

rules and this is impossible. Hunger strikes in prisons should end. These people should understand that there are some rules and regulations in prisons. They are to be implemented and they cannot be abolished. This should be known very well. We do not want anyone to suffer. But we do implement the rules and do not tolerate anyone breaking them."

When asked if there are any efforts to end the prison strikes or not, the Minister of Justice made an even more interesting explanation: "We do not see any reason for the strikes. What are they striking for? The inmates of prisons are our people too."

Reactions to Mehmet Ağar's declarations and practices are expanding beyond prisons to prisoners' families and to the newspaper columnists. Daily Cumhuriyet's writer Oral Çalışlar writes: "Where else can a Police Chief be promoted to the office of Minister of Justice.

This practice which can only be found in dictatorships is now implemented in a so-called parliamentary system. If you make a Police Chief the Minister of Justice this is what you would get. Summary executions and mysterious murders would extend into the prisons.

The country would go deeper into the mud of craziness of violence. Ağar says he would reform the prisons. When he was the chief of security forces, the amount of murders committed by government forces reached a historical record level. I think he is preparing to break this record in prisons now."

Contrary to Ağar's statements, the strikes have spread to almost all prisons around Turkey with support from several non government organizations (NGO's) including trade unions, political parties and professional chambers.

The strikers health is deteriorating as the hunger strikes reach their 43rd day. Persecution is on the increase too. In Eskişehir prison, the inmates were forced to line up like soldiers to be counted and when they resisted the prisoners were reportedly manhandled by the prison guards. Many prisoners were reportedly injured and those heavily injured were, instead of taken to the hospital, put in cells.

Reports from around prisons are as follows:

ISTANBUL: Inmates of Sağmalcılar Prison declared that they would not attend the court from 10 June onwards. In a written statement, the prisoners condemned the aggression and torture in prisons. Prisoners also protested against the persecution of visitors and prisoners' families and declared that they will not show up on the visit days.

DIYARBAKIR: At the Diyarbakir E type Prison 22 more inmates began indefinite hunger strikes. Thus the number of indefinite strikers reached to 104 and this number includes 19 strikers in Antep prison. Twenty three women prisoners also began a hunger strike in turns of three day periods. Women prisoners said in a declaration that they will begin an indefinite hunger strike if authorities kept on ignoring their problems.

VAN: Speaking on behalf of 16 prisoners, Mahmut Güran said that they began indefinite hunger strike from 3 June to support the hunger strikers and to protest against Mehmet Ağar's policies.

ISKENDERUN: Twenty eight PKK supporters among the prisoners are to begin indefinite hunger strike. PKK supporters in Iskenderun prison have been on a hunger strike in turns since 18 May.

UŞAK: In Uşak E type prison, 25 ordinary prisoners began a hunger strike on 6 June in support of the political prisoners. The prisoners issued a declaration calling on ordinary criminals in other prisons to participate in the hunger strikes.

GEBZE: Devrimci Sol, Resistance Movement and TDP prisoners declared that the number of indefinite hunger strikers rose to 54 in Gebze Prison. The indefinite hunger strike began on 22 May and according to prisoners, some strikers are coming closer to death.

NGO's protest against police violence

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The 1,500 detentions of Saturday were protested against by representatives of non government organizations (NGOs) at the Habitat Valley on Sunday. Hundreds of Habitat II participants gathered at the ITU Taskisla Campus, where the Habitat II NGO Forum is being held, with black stripes covering their mouths signifying the gagging of free speech. A spokesperson then read a declaration protesting against the police brutality against peaceful demonstrators.

The declaration said Turkish police should go and catch their colleagues who are responsible for 400 people who have gone missing in custody rather than attacking the missing persons' families. The NGO's also expressed support for Turkish public workers' struggle for their rights and spoke out against the police action against Saturday's public workers demonstration. Police broke up the traditional sit-in of "Saturday Mothers" by the relatives of those who have gone missing in custody.

When the silent protestors refused to disperse, protestors, including Meryem Goktepe, the sister of the journalist Metin Goktepe who was murdered in custody in January, lawyers from the Human Rights Association and a number of journalists. Hasene Tukoglu, the wife of Talat Turkoglu who went "missing" two months ago, journalists and some Habitat II participants were injured during the police intervention.

Shortly after the "Saturday Mothers" clamp-

down, civil servants began a demonstration, scheduled for Saturday but banned by the Istanbul government because of Habitat II, which also was interrupted by the police. Among the arrested were the chairman of the Confederation of the Public Workers Unions (KESK), Siyami Erdem, the vice-presidents of the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ODP), Erdal Kara, and Gencay Gursoy, and Bahattin Gulen Latif Kaya of the People's Democracy Party (HADEP) executive committee.

On Sunday, a further 15 people were arrested when they gathered in front of the Police Headquarters in Aksaray asking for information as to the fate of those arrested on Saturday.

Arrests at Okmeydanı

Around 70 people gathered in Okmeydanı on Sunday to mark the anniversary of the killing of Sibel Yalçın, a militant of the outlawed Turkey Revolutionary People's Party- Front (DHKP- C), last year by the police. The demonstration was broken up by the police and 20 demonstrators were arrested.

Sibel Yalçın was allegedly involved in the killing of a police officer in front of the True Path Party (DYP) Istanbul Headquarters on 9 June 1995. She was killed in a police raid on her house the same day.

While some detainees from Saturday's arrests were released on Sunday, fresh arrests have been

made by the police to keep the police stations full. The wave of arrests began on Friday with the arrest of the chairman of the Human Rights Association (IHD) Istanbul Branch, Ercan Kanar, and the chairman of the Contemporary Lawyers Association (CHD) Istanbul Branch, Mustafa Ucdere, who were arrested on Friday at Sirkeci post office while sending protest telegrams to the Minister of Justice to express solidarity with the hunger strikers in Turkey's prisons. Another group of protestors were arrested in Taksim Square.

A group consisting of prisoners families and trade unionists including Atilla Aycin, the chairman of Hava- İş Istanbul branch, and Erol Ekinci, the chairman of Genel- İş Istanbul branch, were arrested in front of Bayrampaşa prison. A heavy presence of security forces around Bayrampaşa prison was noted by observers. Political prisoners have been on hunger strike over 45 days in protest of the deteriorating conditions in prisons since the former chief of police Mehmet Ağar became the Minister of Justice.

The Istanbul Police is determined to prevent any protest gathering during the Habitat II Conference. Istanbul Chief of Police Kemal Yazıcıoğlu said in a written statement Saturday "It should be known that we shall not allow these illegal actions to go ahead which aim to give a bad impression to the world by putting Turkey and the Turkish police into a difficult position".

Habitat II heats up with the Kurdish issue

Emre Kocatürk of the Turkish Democracy Foundation (TDV) left the hall after vocally protesting the meeting, and under the questioning looks of the shocked participants and viewers of the meeting he slammed the door

By Zafer F. Yörük

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- A workshop on "Forced Relocation of Ethnic Minorities" witnessed heated exchanges during the discussion on Turkey and the Kurds.

The Norwegian NGO Working Group for Habitat II organized a workshop on the forced relocation of ethnic minorities in which the cases of Burma and Turkey were discussed. The co-director of the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, Scott Leckie, introduced the discussion with a general and global overview, and defined the forced relocation of ethnic minorities as a human rights violation.

Epidemics of terrorism in Turkey

The discussion on Turkey was specifically limited to the "destruction of villages in southeast Turkey", which was opened with a presentation by Erik Sauar of the Norwegian Council for the Rights of the Kurdish People, with a report on the observations of a delegation investigating the forceable eviction of villages in the southeast of Turkey.

Sauar said that before their observations they had asked the question of how these evictions could happen in a supposedly democratic country, and why Turkish people did not protest. The key to the answers to these questions was the position of the media as a fourth state power in Turkey, according to Sauar. He said "Turkish people would react if they knew what was going on in the Kurdish region, but their access to sufficient information has been denied by the media".

Sauar went on to say that the press promoted nationalism, which made the people more national-

istic and in turn demand more nationalistic reporting. Thus the press continues nationalist propaganda, and this vicious circle is largely responsible for the indifference of the Turkish public to Kurdish question. He said that journalists who try to opt out of this circle either lose their jobs or are imprisoned and even assassinated, and reminded us that the Turkish government was one of the world's major transgressors regarding the ill-treatment of journalists and censorship of the media.

Sauar argued that terrorism has an epidemic character in Turkey which is maintained by a culture of violence imposed by the media. Sauar's presentation included many observations from evacuated villages in the southeast of Turkey and from individuals and families who were forced to become refugees in major cities and in the cities of the southeast region.

Heated exchange between Turkish and Kurdish participants

The workshop continued with the launch of the book "Freedom of Living in Turkey", which consists of banned articles from the Turkish press. The articles were banned and their authors taken to court because of taking the Kurdish issue into account. At the press conference that followed Yavuz Onen of the Human Rights Trust and Lawyer Vedat Çetin of Diyarbakır branch of the Human Rights Association participated in a personal capacity with Peter Frederikson of Finland. Çetin said that the burning down and eviction of villages continued at present, and that he finds it absurd that the Habitat II conference is being held in Turkey.

Answering a question, Çetin said that those most



Participation of Turkish and Kurdish speakers in the panel led to a heated debate on the Kurdish question.

affected by the conflict in the southeast were children and youth. He gave examples of children being blown up after stepping on landmines while playing, and said the youth suffered the most because they were being tortured, imprisoned and killed in the conflict.

A participant, the sister of a soldier killed in the conflict and a member of the pro-Islamic Mazlumder, said that as Muslims they see all their coreligionists as brothers and sisters regardless of their ethnic origin, and asked Çetin how he related the oppressed situation of Kurdish people with the PKK's activities.

Çetin replied that the Kurds want peace and that they do not want either the Turkish soldiers or the Kurdish guerrillas, or any civilians to be killed.

He also criticised the pro-Islamic groups for not being interested in the Kurdish question while people from other continents such as Asia, Africa are raising the issue. He called the pro-Islamists to come together with the Kurdish civilian organizations in the struggle to bring peace and democracy to Turkey.

Then, Emre Kocaturk of the Turkish Democracy Trust (TDV) suddenly began yelling from the floor that the PKK terrorists were responsible for human rights violations in the southeast and that it was a shame that such a meeting in which the terrorists were being allowed to speak was being held at Habitat II. Kocaturk left the hall after vocally making his point, and under the questioning looks of the shocked participants and viewers of the meeting he

slammed the door.

Professor Türkaya Ataöv of Ankara University asked the participants to apply the same standards to the oppressed Turkish minorities in Bosnia, the Balkans, Greece and the Caucasus. He also said that the PKK was a small "platoon" not representative of the Kurdish people, and asked the participants to condemn terrorism.

Erik Saçar replied to Professor Ataöv by agreeing that Turkish minorities were suffering in certain countries and that their voice had to be heard too. Peter Erikson also agreed with Ataöv that all terrorism should be condemned.

Observers agreed that in this workshop heated discussions had taken place for the first time during the Habitat II Conference.

TDN-Ahmet Bulum

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ONU-Villes-Turquie

Manifestation à Istanbul: Ankara regrette le mauvais traitement de journalistes

ANKARA, 10 juin (AFP) - Le ministre turc de l'intérieur Ulku Guney a exprimé ses regrets lundi pour les mauvais traitements subis par la presse lors de la dispersion d'une manifestation organisée samedi à Istanbul par la Confédération des syndicats d'employés publics (KESK).

Le ministre a en outre affirmé que 156 personnes parmi celles détenues samedi étaient des membres d'organisations clandestines, notamment le Parti et Front Révolutionnaire de Libération Populaire (DHKP-C) et le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

Une dizaine de journalistes avaient été molestés par la police lors de l'intervention de celle-ci pour dissiper les manifestants, sur la rive européenne du Bosphore, non loin du site de la conférence internationale de l'ONU sur les villes, Habitat II.

La police avait interpellé plusieurs centaines de manifestants.

"Il est regrettable que les journalistes aient subi des mauvais traitements, du fait du recours légal à la force", a déclaré M. Guney dans un communiqué.

"Les mesures prises pour contenir les foules comportent toujours de hauts risques" pour les journalistes, a-t-il estimé.

A propos de la manifestation, le ministre a ajouté que l'"organisation d'une telle action, qui pouvait porter préjudice à l'image de la Turquie" à l'extérieur, "n'était pas admissible".

M. Guney a affirmé "qu'une fois la manifestation autorisée, les organisations clandestines d'extrême-gauche auraient pu l'exploiter comme elles l'ont fait à l'occasion du 1er mai". Il faisait allusion à des émeutes qui avaient fait 3 morts et plusieurs dizaines de blessés, lors de manifestations du 1er mai à Istanbul.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Le PKK décide la reprise de ses actions militaires contre la Turquie

BONN, 10 juin (AFP) - Le parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) a décidé de reprendre ses actions militaires contre la Turquie, rompant un cessez-le-feu décrété unilatéralement le 15 décembre, a annoncé lundi soir le Centre d'information du Kurdistan en Allemagne.

Ce cessez-le-feu, affirme le communiqué du centre installé à Cologne (ouest), a été "respecté sans discontinué". Toutefois, poursuit-il, une "4ème conférence nationale kurde" a "constaté que cette offre était non seulement restée sans réponse du gouvernement turc mais que la guerre menée par les militaires turcs avait encore été renforcée pendant cette période".

Le communiqué ne précise ni la date, ni le lieu ni les participants à cette conférence.

"La 4ème conférence nationale a également décidé de conduire des attaques ciblées contre des objectifs stratégiques dans lesquelles des commandos suicide doivent être engagés", ajoute le communiqué.

ha/mr EUA.F

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Iraq opposes Provide Comfort comprising just Turkey and US

By İlnur Çevik
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz has sent a letter to France declaring his country's opposition to the withdrawal of French and British units from Operation Provide Comfort, leaving Turkey and the United States on their own to patrol northern Iraq.

Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) was set up by the Western powers in 1991 to protect Iraqi Kurds living in the north of the country against Saddam Hussein's forces. OPC has air fighters stationed at Incirlik Airbase in the southern Turkish city of Adana which patrol northern Iraq. It also has several officers deployed in northern Iraq to monitor Iraqi troop movements. The mandate of OPC is extended at regular intervals by the Turkish Parliament. However, the latest extension was made on March 28 for a period of three months. The Turkish Parliament has to either extend the mandate at the end of June or scrap OPC. A majority of the parties represented in Parliament oppose OPC in its current form and want more Turkish control over the force and substantial changes in its status.

There are accusations that some French and British officers in OPC have been encouraging Kurds to set up a separate state in northern Iraq, and thus further fuel separatism among Turkey's Kurds living in southeastern Anatolia in areas bordering Iraq. Iraq opposes OPC and sees it as a violation of its sovereignty. The Aziz letter to France, however, suggested that while Baghdad opposes OPC it is at least satisfied with French presence in the force as a moderating factor. Diplomatic sources who asked not to be identified said Iraq did not want OPC to be left in the hands of Turkey and the United States alone. "Turks look more warmly on Saddam Hussein, while the United States has very strong views against him. If the French and the British depart, Turkey and the United States will be left alone and this will become a bilateral issue," the sources say.

The United States has been eager to convince Turks for a new extension. Diplomatic sources stress the United States does not want to see the French and the British leave OPC, while Turks insist on this. Talks between Turkey and the United States continue, but are described as "rather difficult."

OPC was set up after the Gulf War when Saddam Hussein's forces attacked Iraqi Kurdish towns and villages, and millions of refugees poured into Turkey and Iran. The force is not based on a United Nations mandate.

Turkish Daily News

MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1996

PUK's Talabani claims Turkey is blackmailing with Provide Comfort



PUK leader Jalal Talabani

PUK leader says it would be better for all if this operation for protecting northern Iraqi Kurds were moved out of Turkey and deployed in Jordan or Kuwait

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Jalal Talabani, the leader of the northern Iraqi Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and one of the region's key personalities, has accused Turkey of using its political hold over Operation Provide Comfort as a means to blackmail not just the Kurds but also its principle ally, the United States. Talabani maintained that it would be better for the Kurds at this stage if the U.S.-led operation —

deployed in Southeast Anatolia to protect the northern Iraqi Kurds from Baghdad — were moved out of Turkey all together and deployed in Jordan or Kuwait. The PUK leader was answering questions put to him by the Turkish Daily News in Northern Iraq.

"I don't think that the Turkish politicians are serious when they are calling for the removal (of Provide Comfort). If I was in place of America I would say, okay, remove it and take it to Jordan or Kuwait to protect the Iraqi Kurds, and I would turn to Saddam Hussein and say, 'If you are attacking the Kurds I will attack you, with missiles, with planes,' and I think Saddam Hussein will never dare to confront the United States," Talabani said.

Talabani: 'Turkey used Operation Provide Comfort for blackmail'

'Turkey is asking us to condemn the PKK. This is not our job or duty. I insist that the PUK will do its best for the security of Turkey's borders, and I think this is enough'

By Ayse Karabat
Turkish Daily News

DUKAN/SULAYMANIYAH, northern Iraq- Jalal Talabani one of the Iraqi Kurds' top two leaders, accuses Turkey of using its permission for a Western air force to keep Saddam Hussein's forces at bay as an instrument of blackmail.

The leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) sees the transfer of the small but powerful air armada from southern Turkey to either Jordan or Kuwait as being in everybody's interest.

For more than four years, the U.S.-British-French force composed of about 80 warplanes and support aircraft has been deployed at Turkey's Incirlik air base under Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) to deter an Iraqi attack on the Kurdish enclave.

Under pressure from the country's Western allies, Turkish governments have regularly extended the stay of the Western warplanes — albeit with increasing difficulty, since the Parliament feels the prolonged restriction of Baghdad's authority in the north helps the emergence of an independent Kurdish state and whips up separatism among Turkey's own 12 million Kurds. Turkey has been engaged in combat with the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) since 1984.

In an exclusive interview with the TDN soon after the recent oil-for-food agreement between the United Nations and the Baghdad government, the ebullient Kurdish leader disclosed his views on a broad range of subjects. The deal allows Iraq to sell limited amounts of oil every 90 days to pay for its imports of essential provisions for the Iraqi people suffering under a strictly-enforced U.N. trade embargo since Iraq's Gulf War defeat.

Iraqi Kurds, having set up their own regional administration in the north with Western protection, are to receive about \$130 to \$150 million from the oil sales.

Talabani also spoke about the current state of relations with Massoud Barzani, his archrival who heads the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).

Following are excerpts from the interview:

TDN- How do you evaluate the ongoing debates in Turkey about OPC?

TALABANI- OPC was very useful in the beginning. We are grateful to all those who participated, first to the Turks. As a matter of fact, it will be better for all of us if it can be moved from Turkey to Jordan or to Kuwait — provided, of course, that the United States, Britain and France remain committed to preventing Saddam Hussein from attacking Kurdistan. The Kurds in the area will be pleased with such a development, because the present deployment creates problems for the Kurds as well as the Turks.

It is continuously being used by Turkey as an instrument of blackmail against the Kurds, Americans and others.

Now the United States has bases in Jordan and in Kuwait, while in the Gulf they have a naval fleet. They can use all these to frighten Saddam Hussein from interfering. There are voices in Turkey asking for the removal of OPC. I don't think they are serious.

OPC was the best means, the best way for Turkey to interfere in the internal affairs of Iraqi Kurdistan and control Kurds' relations with the United States and Europe by just being a part of this force, to keep it within this framework of so-called "Iraqization" of the problem.

I don't think that the Turkish politicians are serious when they are calling for the removal. If I was in place of America I would say OK, remove it and take it to Jordan or Kuwait to protect the Iraqi Kurds, and I would turn to Saddam Hussein and say, "If you are attacking Kurds I will attack you, with missiles, with planes," and I think Saddam Hussein will never dare to confront the United States.

'We will ensure the security of the border'

TDN- Now there is a cease-fire between the KDP and the PUK. But this is not a real peace. What will make you and the KDP end your conflict?

TALABANI- A cease-fire doesn't mean a durable peace, but also it doesn't mean war. This is very important. For us peace is in the interests of the Iraqi people struggling against the dictatorship.

We think it is possible that if our friends in United States and Turkey are more serious, and if they use their influence, we can make peace. Turkish policy encouraged the fight.

They encouraged the KDP by providing arms and money against the PUK. Later Turkey's "clever men" discovered that as the KDP moved its forces from the Badinan and Duhok areas — close to the Turkish border — to other areas, to confront the PUK, there emerged a vacuum used by the PKK, which became a big force in Badinan.

The KDP is not able to control it, so Turkish authorities realized that their policy was wrong. They started joining the U.S. mediation efforts. But they also refrained from playing a positive role.

I can give you one example. The Iranians also call us to protect the Iranian border — against infiltration by the Iranian Kurds sheltering in northern Iraq. We prevent Iranian Kurds from crossing the border. But they didn't ask us to condemn the Iranian KDP as a terrorist movement or as an anti-Islam movement.

But Turkey asks us to condemn the PKK. This is not our job, our duty. We are ready to participate in ensuring the security of the Turkish border. This is what Turkey has to ask from us. This, of course, is Turkey's right. We will do our best for the security of the border with our methods, with our tactics, with our plans. I promise that the PUK will do its best for the security of the Turkish border but I think this is enough for Turkey.

'We have to keep good relations with Iran'

TDN- The United States has declared that it has some doubts about Iran. They said Iran was a threat to Iraq's territorial integrity.

TALABANI- This is an exaggerated perception of Iranian influence. There is no Iranian influence in Iraqi Kurdistan.

There has been a certain kind of relationship between Iranian and Iraqi Kurds for a long time. Friendship. All of us, the KDP, the PUK, other Kurdish parties, are depending on Iran in our struggle with the Iraqi dictatorship. But this does not mean that we are followers of Iran's example. We are democratic, socialist and secular. Iran is different from us. Secondly, we have full rights, and this is our duty, to improve our relations with Iran. Because we have a long border with Iran we cannot afford to antagonize Tehran.

For example, Turkey is trying to maintain good relations with Iran. So why shouldn't we?

TDN- There are those who say that Turkey has lost in northern Iraq while Syria and Iran have won.

TALABANI- I can agree with this. Turkey, after President Özal, lost its influence in Iraqi Kurdistan. At the time of Özal, Turkey had very good relations with Iraqi Kurdistan. We were very close to Turkey. We were consulting, negotiating and talking with the Turkish authorities even before going to Europe. When passing through Turkey on our way back, we would brief the Turkish authorities. Then Turkey was the main force in Iraqi Kurdistan.

But especially after Çiller was elected, Turkish foreign policy totally changed. At the time of Özal they were against the Iraqi dictatorship. At the time of Çiller they decided to turn toward the Iraqi dictatorship, and turned against the Iraqi opposition.

At the time of Özal they were not against our regional government, our elections, our freedom. Later they turned even against the words "Kurd" and "Kurdistan."

I don't know whether you know that the Turkish ambassador in Prague made several representations with the Czech Foreign Ministry because there is a nightclub named "Kurdistan." This is something strange. Turkish foreign policy deliberately changed, turned against Iraqi Kurdistan and tried to push us back.



The leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, Jalal Talabani, says Turkey has used OPC as an instrument of blackmail.

they are calling for the removal.
If I was in place of America I would say OK, remove it and take it to Jordan or Kuwait to protect the Iraqi Kurds !

IF I were a Turk...

TDN- If you were a Turkish leader what would you do in order to solve the Kurdish problem in Turkey?

TALABANI- Let me tell first what would I do if I were a Turkish Kurd. First I would struggle for the democratization of Turkey. I would concentrate all my forces, all my capability, to achieve a real democracy in Turkey.

When you have a real democracy you can solve all the problems. Then, after having, democracy I would ask for some very simple rights like language, school, TV stations, radios, which are all very simple to provide. Then I would think of federation as proposed by Ozal, not on the basis of ethnicity, but on geography. Decentralization is good for Turkey, because half of the Kurds are living outside the Southeast, they are living in Istanbul, Ankara, Mersin, Izmir. Decentralization means there will be a kind of federation. If I were a Turkish official, I would work for democratization, implementation of human rights and the freedom of expression. Then I would ask for a national conference dealing with the Kurdish problem.

TDN- If you were a Turkish citizen for whom will you give your vote?

TALABANI- First of all I would not vote for Refah, not because they are Islamic, but because they are pro-Saddam. (Refah leader Necmettin Erbakan said that Saddam is a Muslim brother. But he is not a brother; he is a butcher who has killed a lot of Muslims. I would also not vote for Madam Çiller. She is a stepmother. When she came to power, she said that she would be a mother for all Kurds.

Well, if there were real democracy, I would vote for a coalition between the social democrats and the (pro-Kurdish) People's Democracy Party (HADEP).

TDN- What about ANAP?

TALABANI- If Ozal was alive I would vote for it. If ANAP followed the line of Ozal, I would still vote for them. But it seems that they are a little far from Ozal — although Yılmaz is a clever man. Believe me, even without having a very good relationship, I like him so far.

Cyprus?" They say no. So why are you against federation in Iraq? You are calling for federation for Cyprus, with 150,000 Turks on a small island. Why not for a federation with 8 million inhabitants in 100,000 square kilometers, including Turkmens, Assyrians.

TDN- But there is a fear that this federation could claim land from Turkey.

TALABANI- Noooo. This is an internal affair of Iraq. This is not an independent state. On the contrary, I think if Turkey grants its own Kurds their democratic rights, Turkey will be more attractive for other Kurds, like in the time of Ozal.

This current Turkish policy will lead to what Turkey is afraid of. This is not a democratic policy, and will not strengthen Turkey's unity.

TDN- Can the PKK benefit from the U.N.-Iraq deal?

TALABANI (suddenly angry)- No. Look, the PKK has no need for medicine and food. The PKK is a very rich party. The PKK can go and buy food with cash. This is some kind of propaganda, and baseless.

TDN- According to you, does the PKK has any kind of legitimacy?

TALABANI- PKK is the biggest Kurdish organization in Turkey. Main factor behind this growth is the Turkish government itself.

Once I asked which government was supporting the PKK in the Middle East more and better. The answer was the Turkish government. Turkish policy toward Kurds. For instance, they put Kurdish parliamentarians in jail. You are preventing Kurds from saying one word in the Parliament. I know, for example, Ahmet Turk very well.

He is not a separatist. He is the best kind of patriot. Why are you preventing them from saying one word?

When you prevent Kurds from entering Parliament, this means that you are asking them to take to the mountains. Let the PKK, like other parties, participate in the democratic life.

Then the people will be able to ask the PKK to lay down their arms please and come to the election campaign. Maybe the Kurdish people will see some new parties. But if Turkey insists on its policy, the PKK will remain the biggest party.

'I don't think that the Turkish politicians are serious when

I think a political adviser of Madam Çiller said on the first day of her career that while she was in power no Kurdish leader should enter her office. I think they neglected something: Let us say that Talabani was not invited because he has relations with Ocalan. Why they didn't invite Mr. Barzani? He has good relations with Turkey.

He fights against the PKK in cooperation with the Turkish army. He sacrificed hundreds of its members. It means that the policy is against Kurds; against what is called Kurdish identity, Kurds, Kurdish political parties.

This is a very erroneous and strange policy which has led to Turkey's loss of influence in Iraqi Kurdistan. Of course, when Turkey lost its influence, Syria and Iran gained, I don't want to say influence, but the friendship of the Kurds.

We were prevented from going through Turkey, we are using the way through Iran. Look, Turkish mistakes not only harmed Kurds, but also Turkish prestige and influence.

'It will be better for all of us if OPC is moved from Turkey to Jordan or to Kuwait. It has always been used by Turkey for blackmailing the Kurds, the Americans and others'

Federation is going to be de facto

TDN- This oil-for food resolution is also a de facto recognition of northern Iraq's different status. Do you think it can lead to the eventual recognition of a federation?

TALABANI- Federation is going to be de facto, a fait accompli. It is clear that Kurdish people who elected the Kurdish Parliament decided to remain in a federal Iraq. The majority of the Iraqi forces, including Islamic forces, recognize a kind of federation. Or sometimes they are talking about Islamic Vilayet, which means confederation.

But certain circles are worried about federation. They are saying that this will lead to separation. We are not for dividing Iraq; we are for reuniting Iraq. Saddam Hussein already divided Iraq. Who is against federation? I am asking them, "Do you want to divide

Die türkischen Alawiten als Aussenseiter

Emanzipation und Ausgrenzung einer religiösen Minderheit

Von Priska Furrer*

In der Türkei sind zunehmende Spannungen zwischen der Mehrheit der Sunniten und der Minderheit der Alawiten zu registrieren. Diese Religionsgemeinschaft macht nach Schätzungen 20 bis 25 Prozent der Bevölkerung aus und ist über das ganze Land verteilt. Sie stellt, ähnlich wie die Kurden, den Einheitsmythos des kemalistischen Staates in Frage. Das Gefühl, auch von seiten dieses Staates zunehmend unter Druck zu geraten, hat bei den Alawiten das Bewusstsein der eigenen Sonderidentität verstärkt.

Bilder von einem brennenden Hotel inmitten einer fanatisierten Zuschauermenge haben im Juli 1993 weit über die Türkei hinaus für Aufsehen gesorgt: Bei einem Brandanschlag auf die Teilnehmer einer Gedenkveranstaltung für den alawitischen Volksdichter Pir Sultan Abdal aus dem 16. Jahrhundert kamen in der zentralanatolischen Stadt Sivas 37 Personen ums Leben. Seither wurde es nicht mehr still um die türkischen Alawiten: Im September 1994 liess die von der Refah-Partei gebildete Stadtverwaltung von Istanbul eine ihrer Versammlungsstätten niederreißen. Nach Schüssen auf vorwiegend von Alawiten frequentierte Lokale kam es im März 1995 zu blutigen Ausschreitungen im Istanbuler Stadtteil Gaziosmanpaşa, und seit Mitte Februar 1996 häufen sich Berichte darüber, dass die türkischen Sicherheitskräfte in der Gegend von Sivas Dutzende von alawitischen Dörfern aus «Sicherheitsgründen» geräumt hätten.

Ein neuer Konfliktherd

Die Chronologie der Ereignisse verweist auf einen neuen Konfliktherd im ohnehin schon gespannten politischen Gefüge der Türkei. Die türkische Öffentlichkeit ist mit der Existenz einer weiteren Bevölkerungsgruppe konfrontiert, die – wie die Kurden – den lange gepflegten Einheitsmythos in Frage stellt. Doch wer ist diese Gruppe? Sind es Schiiten? Kurden? Sich ein klares Bild von den alawitischen Landsleuten zu machen, sie einer religiösen, ethnischen oder politischen Kategorie zuzuordnen, fällt der türkischen Mehrheitsbevölkerung schwer. Uralte Vorurteile und Halbwissen sind oft das einzige, worüber man verfügt.

Nicht nur im Westen, sondern auch in der Türkei weit verbreitet ist die Gleichsetzung von Alawiten und Kurden. Der Begriff «Kurde» scheint in der Vorstellung wenig informierter Türken heute alle möglichen Gruppen zu umfassen, die als «anders» und potentiell illoyal empfunden werden, ohne dass man über sie im einzelnen genauer informiert wäre – Folge natürlich auch einer staatlichen Politik, die es Minderheiten kaum je erlaubte, ihre Sonderidentitäten offen auszudrücken. Es stimmt zwar, dass es unter den Alawiten Kürden gibt, und diese sind wegen ihrer doppelten Minorisierung in einer politisch besonders heiklen Situation. Dabei ist die alawitische Mehrheit türkischsprachig.

Abgrenzung gegen osmanische Sunna und iranische Schia

Was die Alawiten als Gruppe definiert, ist nicht die Sprache, sondern das religiöse Bekenntnis. Es

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unterscheidet sie von der Mehrheit der sunnitischen Türken und Kurden. Dies bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass sie ganz ohne Vorbehalte der zweiten grossen islamischen Konfession, der Schia, zuzurechnen sind. Die klare Abgrenzung von den iranischen Schiiten macht heute einen wesentlichen Teil alawitischen Selbstverständnisses aus. Die Alawiten teilen zwar wichtige Elemente ihres Glaubens mit der zwölfer-schiitischen Richtung, wie sie in Iran vorherrscht, so die Verehrung Alis, des Schwiegersohns und Vertrauten Mohammeds – nach ihm bezeichnen sie sich als «Alawi», also Anhänger Alis –, und die Überzeugung, einzig Ali und seinen Nachkommen, den zwölf Imamen, sei die Führerschaft der islamischen Gemeinde legitimerweise zugestanden. Doch die weitere Entwicklung der schiitischen Theologie haben sie nicht mitvollzogen. Grund für die Abkoppelung der Alawiten vom iranischen Schiismus ist die politische Entwicklung.

Nomadenkrieger im Dienst des Schahs

Die Vorformen der heutigen alawitischen Gemeinschaft lassen sich zurückverfolgen bis ins 15. Jahrhundert. Teile der turkmenischen Nomaden Anatoliens verehrten damals die Scheichs des militanten Sufi-Ordens der Safawiden aus Ardabil in Aserbeidschan als geistige Führer. Ihre Religiosität entsprach weder sunnitischer noch schiitischer «Orthodoxie». Sie war volkstümlich, mystisch geprägt und mit vorislamisch-schamanistischen Elementen durchsetzt. Nur durch den Kult um die Person Alis war eine gewisse Nähe zur Schia gegeben. Die Safawiden nutzten den Glaubenseifer und die militärische Schlagkraft ihrer nomadischen Anhänger – auf Grund einer roten Kopfbedeckung wurden diese «Kizilbas» (Rotköpfe) genannt – machtpolitisch aus.

Nach grossflächigen Eroberungszügen auf iranischem Gebiet ernannte sich der Safawidenscheich Ismail 1501 zum Schah von Iran. Damit knüpften sich die Heilserwartungen derjenigen Kizilbas, die im osmanischen Machtbereich lebten, erst recht an seine Person. Teile der anatolischen Bevölkerung sahen in ihm, der nun religiöses Sendungsbewusstsein mit weltlicher Macht vereinte, eine vergöttlichte Erlösergestalt. Unzufriedenheit mit den zentralistischen Tendenzen der eigenen osmanischen Oberherren verstärkte die Safawidenbegeisterung nur.

Zur gegenseitigen Abgrenzung nutzten die miteinander rivalisierenden Safawiden und Osmanen auch die Religion: Schah Ismail machte die Zwölfer-Schia offiziell zur Staatsreligion Irans. Dieses neue Bekenntnis übernahmen – allerdings rein nominell – auch seine Anhänger in Anatolien. Die Osmanensultane ihrerseits verstärkten gezielt die Position der sunnitischen Theologen und Rechtsgelehrten in ihrem Reich. Gegen die inneren «Vorposten» des bedrohlichen Nachbarn gin-

gen sie nun hant vor. Die Anhänger der Safawiden wurden als «Ketzer» verfolgt und massenweise verbannt oder hingerichtet. Trotzdem kam es noch fast ein Jahrhundert lang immer wieder zu antiosmanischen Volksaufständen. Erst am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts waren die Kizilbas so weit geschwächt, dass sie keine grössere Gefahr mehr darstellten. Sie zogen sich in abgelegene

Gebiete zurück und entwickelten dort die Religionsform und die ganz eigene Sozialstruktur, die heute mit dem Begriff Alawitum bezeichnet wird. Dies geschah in weitgehender Isolation vom Rest der osmanischen Gesellschaft und in Isolation wohl gemerkt auch von Iran, wo die Safawiden nach ihrer Machtergreifung eine legalistische «Hoch-Schia» förderten, die mit dem volkstümlichen Alawitum wenig gemeinsam hat.



Begräbnis von Opfern der Krawalle im Istanbuler Viertel Gaziosmanpasa vom März 1995. (Bild key)

Anerkennung unter Atatürk – Verfolgung heute

Glaubensfreiheit und Anerkennung als gleichberechtigte Bürger versprach den Alawiten erstmals die laizistische türkische Republik. Mit dem Kalifat, dem Sultanat und den religiösen Schiari-Gerichten schafften die Kemalisten Atatürks genau die Institutionen ab, die für die Alawiten immer Inbegriff der Verfolgung gewesen waren. Gute Voraussetzungen für eine Einbindung der Alawiten in das neue politische und gesellschaftliche System bestanden auch sonst: Die Alawiten haben ihren Glauben kaum schriftlich fixiert und legen traditionellerweise mehr Wert auf persönliche Ethik denn auf die äusserlichen Zeichen von Frömmigkeit. Daher scheint ihnen eine gewisse Flexibilität eigen zu sein; ihnen fiel es leichter als anderen, sich in einer säkularen Gesellschaft zurechtzufinden. So gehörten sie mit zu den treuesten Stützen des kemalistischen Reformwerks. Viele ihrer Exponenten waren Mitglieder in der Republikanischen Volkspartei Atatürks – dies jedoch, ohne sich als Alawiten zu artikulieren oder für alawitische Sonderinteressen einzutreten. Aus alawitischer Sicht schien dafür lange Zeit auch kaum Anlass zu bestehen.

Landflucht schafft Reibungsflächen

Heute hat die Landfluchtbewegung in der Türkei längst auch die Alawi-Dörfer erfasst. Viele Alawiten sind in die Städte gezogen und leben nun Tür an Tür mit sunnitischen Nachbarn. Vermehrte Kontakte zwischen den Bevölkerungsgruppen ergaben sich daraus, aber auch neue Reibungsflächen. Weil die Alawiten die Pflicht zu Ritualgebet, dem Moscheebesuch oder dem Fasten im Ramadan nicht anerkennen, bleiben sie für traditionalistische Sunniten Ungläubige oder Ketzer. Auch dass sie unrein und schmutzig seien, gehört zum Inventar antialawitischer Vorstellungen, und um ihre religiösen Zeremonien ranken sich noch immer die jahrhundertealten Phantasien von Alkoholexzessen und sexuellen Ausschweifungen.

Zu genauerer Kenntnis über die Alawiten zu kommen fiel allerdings lange auch gar nicht leicht. Denn aus Angst vor Feindseligkeiten gaben sich die meisten Alawiten bis in die jüngste Zeit nicht zu erkennen. Information über ihre Glaubenspraxis war Aussenstehenden kaum zugänglich,

weil sich das Alawitum lange als Geheimlehre verstand, die nur den durch alawitische Geburt dazu Berechtigten offenstand. Mit dieser Exklusivität verband sich durchaus auch eine gewisse Herablassung für den sunnitischen Islam: Für Alawiten repräsentiert er eine auf Äusserlichkeiten beruhende Form der Religion, die sie selber hinter sich gelassen haben.

Die Integration der Alawiten in die türkische Gesellschaft brachte kaum einen Abbau der Resentiments, dafür aber einen massiven Umbruch innerhalb des Alawitums. Selbstverständnis und religiös-soziale Organisationsform der Gruppe hatten immer auf der strikten Abgrenzung gegen aussen beruht. Nur der absolute Zusammenhalt der Gemeinschaft hatte zu Zeiten der Verfolgung das Überleben des Individuums garantiert. Jetzt, da ein grosser Teil der äusseren Bedrohung weggefallen war, wurden das Gemeinschaftsleben und die religiösen Zusammenkünfte von vielen nicht mehr als sinngebend erlebt. Religiöses Wissen wurde kaum mehr weitergegeben und blieb vielen jungen Alawiten fremd. Die überlieferten Sozialstrukturen lösten sich auf.

Hetzkampagnen und Vereinnahmung

Trotzdem blieb die Vorstellung von einer eigenen alawitischen Identität bestehen. Nur wurde sie neu in einem säkularisierten Sinn gedeutet. Laizismus, Toleranz, Demokratie und Fortschrittlichkeit sind die Begriffe, die heute im alawitischen Selbstbild eine zentrale Rolle spielen und in der Selbstdarstellung gegen aussen fast schlagwortartig immer wiederkehren. In der Zeit der politischen Links-Rechts-Polarisierung hatten noch andere Begriffe Konjunktur: Die alawitischen Traditionen der Gruppensolidarität und der Opposition gegen staatliche Unterdrückung interpretierten junge Alawiten als «Sozialismus» und «Antifaschismus». Dies allerdings brachte den Alawiten die pauschale Charakterisierung als Kommunisten ein. Antialawitische Hetzkampagnen der extremen Rechten waren die Folge und Ende der siebziger Jahre blutige antialawitische Ausschreitungen in Malatya, Sivas, Corum und Kahraman-Maras.

Von Staat und Parteien fühlen sich die Alawiten seither zunehmend im Stich gelassen. Denn die Existenz von sunnitisch-alawitischen Spannungen wird von offizieller Seite ganz einfach abgestritten. In den Verlautbarungen des Präsidiums für Religionsangelegenheiten werden die Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Gruppen heruntergespielt und eine eigenständige alawitische Religiosität geleugnet. Die Form des Islams, die durch die staatliche Religionspolitik und den seit 1982 obligatorischen Religionsunterricht gefördert wird, entspricht ganz klar rein sunnitischen Vorstellungen. Als Reaktion auf diese Versuche, sie für einen staatlich verordneten Einheitsislam zu vereinnahmen, haben die Alawiten in den letzten Jahren begonnen, sich erstmals in der Geschichte der türkischen Republik öffentlich als eigenständige Gruppe zu artikulieren. Da die alten Gemeinschaftsstrukturen weitgehend zerfallen sind, erfolgt dies heute über Vereine, Stiftun-

gen und eine wachsende Flut von Publikationen. Auch die liberale türkische Presse hat die Alawiten entdeckt und publiziert recht positiv gehaltene Berichte über sie. Dies nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil man in ihnen wichtige Verbündete im Kampf gegen den anwachsenden Antilaizismus sieht.

Suche nach der eigenen Identität

Unter den Alawiten selber hat das Gefühl, zunehmend unter Druck zu geraten, einen Prozess der Neudefinition der eigenen Identität in Gang gesetzt. Was diese genau ausmacht, ob sie politisch zu verstehen ist, kulturell oder religiös und in welcher Form die Gemeinschaft in Zukunft zu organisieren sei, darüber herrscht kaum Einigkeit unter den verschiedenen alawitischen Organisationen. Nicht zu übersehen ist allerdings eines: Religiöse Traditionen scheinen bei der jüngeren Generation seit neuestem wieder an Attraktivität zu gewinnen.

Neue Protestaktionen in türkischen Gefängnissen

Bessere Haftbedingungen gefordert

it. Istanbul, 8. Juni

In den Sondergefängnissen der Türkei ist seit einigen Wochen eine neue, ständig zunehmende Welle von Hungerstreiks im Gange, die aber bislang von den Turbulenzen auf der politischen Szene überschattet wurde. Die jüngsten Proteste haben nach Angaben des türkischen Menschenrechtsvereins mit einem Hungerstreik im Sondergefängnis von Diyarbakir begonnen. Mittlerweile beteiligten sich im ganzen Land rund 10 000 Gefangene in 43 Anstalten an der Aktion, unter ihnen auch die inhaftierten kurdischen Abgeordneten Leyla Zana, Hatip Dicle, Orhan Dogan und Selim Sadak. Ausserhalb der Gefängnismauern, vor allem in den Büros der prokurdischen Partei Hadep, schlossen sich Familienmitglieder von Gefangenen der Protestbewegung an.

Familienmitglieder und ihre Anwälte, Menschenrechtler und Gewerkschafter haben am Freitag auf dem zentralen Taksim-Platz in Istanbul eine Pressekonferenz organisiert, um die Teilnehmer der Uno-Konferenz Habitat II auf die Probleme in den türkischen Gefängnissen aufmerksam zu machen. Sie wurden von der Polizei verhaftet, noch bevor sie über die Forderungen der Hungerstreikenden sprechen konnten.

Eine der wichtigsten Forderungen war bis zum Rücktritt der Regierung die Ablösung des Justizministers, Mehmet Agar. Dieser war als Polizeichef berüchtigt, schreckte doch unter seiner Führung die Polizei vor keiner Foltermethode zurück. Er soll als erster Polizeichef in den westlichen Städten der Türkei Todesschwadronen eingeführt haben. Weiter fordern die Gefangenen eine Verbesserung der Haftbedingungen. Die Gefängnisse sind überbelegt und feucht, die Ernährung der Gefangenen ist ungenügend, die medizinische Versorgung praktisch inexistent.

Schauplatz Türkei

Die lange Anklagebank

Ein Massenprozess gegen Künstler und Intellektuelle

Im Schatten der gegenwärtigen Regierungskrise läuft in der Türkei ein Prozess, in dem über tausend Kultur- und Medienschaaffende sich wegen «staatsfeindlicher» Aktivitäten verantworten müssen. Neben der staatlichen Repression sieht der Journalist Tuğrul Eryilmaz die sich verstärkende religiös-fundamentalistische Bewegung als neue Gefahr für das Geistesleben.

Während in Istanbul die Uno-Städtekonferenz «Habitat II» mit erheblichem Aufwand über die Bühne geht, stehen dort auch gegen hundert türkische Kulturschaaffende vor den Schranken des Staatssicherheitsgerichts. Sie plädieren, dass es – entgegen dem Wortlaut der Anklage – niemals ihre Absicht gewesen sei, durch ihre Tätigkeit Hass und Zwietracht in der Bevölkerung zu säen. Unter ihnen sind einige der angesehensten Schriftsteller, Filmstars, Musiker und Journalisten des Landes; ihnen allen droht eine Haftstrafe, weil sie namentlich für die Veröffentlichung eines Buches zum Thema «Gedankenfreiheit in der Türkei» verantwortlich zeichnen. Und die laufende Verhandlung ist nur ein Segment eines gigantischen Prozesses, in dem 1087 Künstler und Intellektuelle sich vor dem türkischen Staat zu verantworten haben; da die Zahl der Angeklagten das Fassungsvermögen des Gerichtssaals bei weitem übersteigt, werden sie den Behördenvertretern gruppenweise vorgeführt.

Fernziel Demokratie

Grundlage und Nährboden jeder florierenden Kultur ist eine Staatsform, welche Meinungs- und Ausdrucksfreiheit garantiert: die Demokratie. Für die Intellektuellen in der Türkei ist die persönliche und geistige Entwicklung untrennbar verbunden mit der kontinuierlichen Auseinandersetzung mit einem Staat, dessen wechselnde Machthaber nicht gewillt scheinen, die für die Demokratisierung längst überfälligen gesetzlichen und politischen Reformen in die Wege zu leiten. Somit sind fast alle Kulturschaaffenden – im Gegensatz zu ihren Kollegen in jenem Westeuropa, dem sich die Türkei so gern zugehörig fühlen möchte – früher oder später zur militanten politischen Stellungnahme gezwungen. Dass dies, so gut wie das bedrückende und verunsichernde politische Klima in der Türkei, im Ausland zumindest wahrgenommen und verstanden wird, dokumentiert die Solidaritätsbotschaft, welche – unterzeichnet von Arthur Miller, Allen Ginsberg, Susan Sontag, Harold Pinter und Tom Stoppard und vielen anderen – am 31. Mai zum Beginn der laufenden Gerichtsverhandlung eintraf: «In einem Land, wo Schriftsteller vom Format eines Yaşar Kemal für ihre Äusserungen vor Gericht zitiert werden, kann es keine Ausdrucksfreiheit geben», heisst es darin, «und wo Journalisten, die sich mit Tabuthemen wie der Verfolgung der kurdischen Minorität befassen, Todesdrohungen, Verhaftung, Folter und politischem Mord ausgesetzt sind, besteht keine Pressefreiheit. Aber ohne Ausdrucks- und Pressefreiheit kann keine Demokratie existieren.»

Trotz den angeführten Repressalien war in der Türkei nicht jedermann gewillt, darüber zu schweigen, dass die Sicherheitskräfte im Kampf gegen die kurdischen Separatisten im Lauf der letzten zehn Jahre mehr als 2500 Dörfer im Südosten des Landes zwangsevakuieren und dabei über zwei Millionen Menschen ihres Obdachs und

ihrer Lebensgrundlage beraubt haben. Zahlreichen Literaturschaaffenden, Akademikern und Journalisten hat ihre mutige Kritik Gerichtsverfahren oder Haftstrafen eingetragen.

Unberechenbar und absurd

Eine besondere Tücke des türkischen Systems besteht in seiner Unberechenbarkeit; in keinem Falle ist voraussehen, wo genau die Machthaber die Grenzen der «Gedankenfreiheit» ziehen werden. Während ein Schriftsteller oder Journalist sich unbehelligt zur Kurdenfrage äussern kann, landet ein anderer – oder eine andere – im Gefängnis; wenn der eine Karikaturist oder Fernsehproduzent für seine Kritik am Vorgehen der Armee lediglich eine bedingte Strafe kassiert oder sogar freigesprochen wird, kann der nächste zu mehrjähriger Haft verurteilt werden. Der Journalist İşik Yurtçu beispielsweise, ehemals Leiter einer mittlerweile verbotenen Tageszeitung, wird sechzehn Jahre im Gefängnis verbringen müssen.

Manchmal allerdings verkehrt sich die Tragödie ins Grotteske; so haben die türkischen Intellektuellen zumindest gelegentlich noch etwas zu lachen. Zurzeit etwa feiert in den Kinos ein türkischer Film Grossefolge, der die (authentische) Geschichte eines Mannes erzählt, der vor langer Zeit auf selbstgefertigten Schwingen über das Goldene Horn zu fliegen versuchte. Natürlich sind zeitkritische Anspielungen ins Szenario geschmuggelt; und natürlich führte der Kulturminister unserer sogenannten – und mittlerweile zerbrochenen – Koalitionsregierung in Presse und Fernsehen einen erbitterten Krieg gegen den Streifen. Der genaue Grund? Im Film wird angedeutet, dass sich ein ottomanischer Sultan gelegentlich auch mit jungen Männern vergnügt habe; darin sah der treue Diener seines Staats eine unverzeihliche Beleidigung des nationalen historischen Selbstverständnisses.

Angesichts solcher aufgezwungener Tabus – die auf praktisch jedem Denk- und Lebensbereich lasten – ist es den türkischen Intellektuellen und Künstlern verwehrt, sich im eigenen Schaffen oder in gemeinsamer Diskussion unbehindert, und damit konstruktiv, mit grundlegenden gesellschaftlichen, religiösen oder politischen Fragen zu befassen. Und mittlerweile droht sich vollends eine Zange um die geistige Freiheit in unserem Land zu schliessen: angesichts von Versagen und Korruption innerhalb der säkularen Staatsgewalt haben die islamischen Fundamentalisten wachsenden Zulauf. Wieviel an politischem und geistigem Liberalismus von dieser Seite zu erwarten sein wird, ist bekannt – allerdings vielleicht nicht bis ins letzte Detail: So unterhalten die Islamisten nämlich bereits private Fernsehkanäle, auf denen der Gebrauch des Wortes «schaffen» untersagt ist, weil Gott allein des Schaffens mächtig sei. Muss – oder kann – man hierzu noch etwas sagen?

H. Tuğrul Eryilmaz

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Turquie-Kurdes

Le cessez-le-feu du PKK toujours en vigueur, selon le Centre d'information du Kurdistan

COLOGNE (Allemagne), 11 juin (AFP) - Le Centre d'information du Kurdistan en Allemagne a déclaré mardi que la reprise des actions militaires contre le régime turc décidée par le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ne s'appliquait qu'au "long terme" et que le cessez-le-feu "se poursuivait".

Ce cessez-le-feu, décrété unilatéralement le 15 décembre dernier par le PKK en Turquie, n'est pas rompu et est toujours en vigueur, a assuré mardi le Centre d'information basé à Cologne (ouest), ajoutant que le PKK "reste prêt au dialogue pour trouver une solution politique".

Le Centre explique ainsi qu'un communiqué précédent qu'il avait publié lundi soir et qui annonçait que le PKK avait décidé de reprendre ses actions militaires contre la Turquie avait conduit à "un malentendu".

Ce communiqué avait annoncé la décision du PKK, prise lors d'une "4ème conférence nationale kurde" dont la date n'a pas été précisée, de "renforcer ses actions militaires contre la Turquie", notamment par "des attaques ciblées contre certaines villes et certains objectifs à portée stratégique dans lesquels des commandos suicide doivent être engagés".

Mardi, le Centre d'information du Kurdistan affirme que les "résolutions concernant la reprise et l'intensification de la guerre ne sont valables qu'au cas où le cessez-le-feu prendrait fin". Elles doivent être comprises comme étant "des résolutions à long terme, et encore plus important, ne sont valables qu'en temps de guerre", a assuré le Centre dans son communiqué publié mardi.

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AFP /AA1234/111030 JUN 96

Time for dying in the prisons

By Jan Pacal

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The hunger strikes taking place in more than 40 prisons all over Turkey are continuing. But with some of the prisoners into the 48th day of their protests, it is reported that some are at death's door.

Nineteen prisoners from Diyarbakır prison were reportedly beaten during their hunger strike and sent to Antep prison have reached the 48th day of their strike. In a declaration given by the prisoners, it was reported that none will give up the hunger strike although they are faced with death. According to information taken from the prison, the health condition of 19 prisoners is very poor and is deteriorating rapidly. The families of 69 prisoners who started fasting in June, are supporting their relatives by protest action. Nearly 20 prisoners' relatives started a hunger strike in front of the Refah Party's Diyarbakır Headquarters. Refah's Diyarbakır regional chairman, Sadullah Seven, stated that Mehmet Ağar, the Minister for Justice, was not a "justice, but tyranny minister" and said they consider the activists as guests according to the declaration of their head office.

"A human being, because of remorse, would conclude this 48-day hunger strike by taking into consideration the demands of these 19 prisoners," he said.

The demands of the prisoners are:

- * The abolition of Mehmet Ağar's circular letters.
- * The closing of Eskişehir Prison.
- * Calling a halt to the attacks on prisoners' families.
- * An end to the attacks directed towards the right of self-defense.
- * The abolition of solitary confinement and of sending of prisoners to other prisons, often far away from their families.

Economist survey pessimistic on Turkey's future

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON — The Economist magazine, in a special June 8 survey, drew out a dark picture of Turkey, as a dynamic country that is facing chaos unless it solves many economic, social and political problems that it faces, and does so in a hurry.

If, for example, the Turkish army's allegedly "very brutal" battle against the PKK continues, it will help create "the separatist nationalism it wants to destroy," Economist said. "If [the army] goes on, the country's religious, ethnic and political cracks may widen beyond spanning, and the Turkish state may simply become a brief pause in the long disintegration of the Ottoman world."

Four economic problems

The following are identified as Turkey's top four economic problems: "Subsidies for state enterprises, the cost of war in the south-east, a huge black-market economy, and ineffective tax collection."

Army

The survey focused on Army's role in today's Turkey as well since "politics in Turkey are played out on a field designed by the army."

"The prominent role played by the army is perhaps one reason why Turkey's democracy has never quite grown up," the Economist said. "Politicians can always hide behind the army's back. For example, by defining the civil war in the south-east as "terrorism," they have simply handed the problem to the security forces," the Economist said.

The army "gives no press briefings or interviews and employs no press officials. Its role remains ambivalent: it is both the guardian of the state and the strait-jacket which prevent political development."

"Bridge?"

The survey zoomed in on the way Turkey has frequently been described as the "bridge between the East and the West." That's simply not so, Economist said.

"This is the wrong image. Individual Turks belong to either east or west: these worlds are so different that there is no effective bridge among them."

"Turkey is more like a tree," the survey said, "with roots in many different cultures and ethnicities ... Each branch knows where it is going, but the tree as whole does not."

The survey warned that "it is possible to imagine Turkey descending into chaos" if the government "fails to reform the economy so that living standards fall further, if it allows the war in the east to continue, if there are riots in the streets met by a repressive police force."

Refah

Whether the next government to tackle such problems will be the pro-Islamic Refah depends on whether RP will be able to survive the splits among its own ranks, Economist notes. "Refah's dilemma now is whether to keep playing the fundamentalist card or to moderate its message. It may have reached saturation support among fundamentalists, but if it turns moderate it may split."

As a concrete example to Refah's problems, the survey mentioned the case of the missing female candidate candidates in December 1995 elections. "The purists rejoiced when it decided not to field female candidates ... but it probably lost votes as a result."

Contradictions

Turkey is nevertheless a country with a mighty potential, it is noted. Developing industrial centers like Bursa add great vitality to the nation with its cheap and skilled workforce that can compete in world markets. Bursa earns \$1 billion annually from exports, half of which comes from 6,000 small textile companies, Economist notes.

"But while "Turkey's heads and shoulders are thrusting into the brave new world of global markets and universal culture, its legs are firmly stuck in history, geography, war and poverty." And that's the greatest obstacle to realizing dreams of "golden apple" in Turkey, Economist says — that is, dreams of jobs, homes, and a better life in general, and joining the European Union in particular.

Reactions to Saturday's incidents continue

By Zafer F. Yörük

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Reflections on Saturday's incidents in Istanbul's Beyoğlu district continue with the authorities on one side and, on the other, the labor unions and political parties who were subjected to police violence and mass arrests.

Minister of the Interior Ülkü Güney said that he was proud of the Istanbul Police, who had acted "objectively and in determination" on Saturday.

Güney claimed that they had received information that illegal organizations would provoke the Confederation of Public Workers Unions (KESK) action on Saturday, and that if the police had not dispersed the demonstration at that time, incidents similar to those that had happened on May Day — when traditional Labor Day demonstrations in Istanbul's Kadikoy district had turned into a full scale riot — would have taken place again.

Güney also said that the police had established that among the 156 arrested were members of illegal organizations such as the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP- C), the Turkish Worker's and Peasant's Liberation Army (TIKKO), and the Marxist Leninist Communist Party (MLKP).

Güney stated that it had been impossible to allow an action to go ahead which would certainly have caused some negative impact on Turkey's image abroad. The minister also expressed regret for the way some members of the press had been treated by the police.

Güney's statement came in parallel to that of Istanbul Chief of Police Kemal Yazıcıoğlu who had said on Saturday that "It should be known that we shall not allow these illegal actions to go ahead which aim to give a bad impression to the world by putting Turkey and the Turkish police into a difficult position".

Uras: "We shall investigate the Police Chief"

KESK and the left wing Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP) both protested the police's behavior on Saturday in press conferences.

ÖDP leader Ufuk Uras condemned the Istanbul Police's seige of the ÖDP Istanbul organization office on Saturday, in which they arrested anybody entering

or leaving the building — including the party's executives.

Uras also condemned the police's violent intervention in the silent protest of the families of the "missing" (those who have disappeared while in police custody), and the KESK demonstration for labor rights on Saturday.

Commenting on the Minister of the Interior's explanation for the seige as being that there were molotov cocktails in the ÖDP building, Uras said the minister was a caricature of the Nazi Propaganda Minister, Goebbels.

Uras continued to quote Istanbul police chief Kemal Yazıcıoğlu by saying that the police were investigating the links of illegal organizations with those arrested, and countered that "we shall investigate the Istanbul police chief's connections with illegal organizations within the state."

Uras claimed that Yazıcıoğlu was a well known torturer, and the fact that he had been appointed head of the Istanbul Police meant that the Turkish state awarded torturers.

Uras also called Mehmet Ağar's appointment as Minister of Justice a scandal, given the alleged past of this person as a torturer, too.

He went on to claim that "Turkey is at present governed by Ağar and Yazıcıoğlu, who are trying to implement a police coup in the vacuum of government."

Uras said that the party's lawyers were to apply to the public prosecutor to ask the Istanbul Police Chief to be brought to justice and to be punished for his crimes.

He said "Yazıcıoğlu and Güney should learn to treat the ÖDP as a legal political party or we shall teach them through legal means how to behave."

Around 250 members of the ÖDP were arrested on Saturday, among them one vice president, four party executives and 40 provincial and district executives.

Uras declared that he had begun a beard growing protest in order to demand the return of Talat Türkoğlu, who has been missing in custody for over two months, and to demand an end to the escalating persecution in prisons and to that the government apologize to people who have been forcibly moved from their villages in the southeast.

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Turkish Daily News

KESK protests

The KESK Executive Committee has held a press conference to condemn the police's obstruction of their demonstration on Saturday.

KESK president Siyami Erdem, who was arrested during the demonstration, condemned the Istanbul Chief of Police, the Istanbul Governor and the Minister of the Interior for acting like ultrarightwing militants rather than statesmen, and said that "while the police supply every facility for reactionary, fascist and pro-Sharia demonstrators, they carry on multi-dimensional assaults on labor organizations who raise democratic demands."

Erdem protested that many KESK members had been manhandled and beaten up by police truncheons on Saturday, and that 250 KESK members had been arrested.

In addition, he claimed, thousands of KESK members coming from other cities to participate in the demonstration had been stopped on highway entrances to Istanbul and been arrested or sent back. Erdem declared that public workers were determined to continue their struggle against all the odds.

In Ankara, KESK members carried out a demonstration on Monday in protest at Saturday's incidents and detentions.

NGO's at Habitat II carry on subsequent protests

The NGO's participating at the Habitat II conference have been carrying out subsequent protests to Saturday's events. On Sunday and Monday at Istanbul Technical University's Taşkışla Campus. Hundreds of Habitat II participants in black outfits gathered again on Monday and laid down on the ground with black stripes on their mouths to signify the gagging of freedom of expression.

A declaration expressed support for the families of the missing persons in custody, and for the Turkish public workers' struggle for their rights.

The Habitat demonstrators also demanded that the arrested demonstrators be released.

Ankara conducting broad-based socioeconomic survey in N. Iraq

Regional authorities are said to have welcomed this initiative with the hope that it will bring much-needed infrastructural investment

By Ayşe Karabat

Turkish Daily News

ERBIL, northern Iraq- A group of Turkish researchers is conducting a survey in northern Iraq under the coordination of the Turkish Foreign Ministry in order to gather socioeconomic facts about this sociologically under-charted region, the Turkish Daily News has learned.

Ankara aims, by means of this survey, to gather not only demographic information but to assemble data on the living conditions of northern Iraqis.

The survey is said to have reserved a special place for the region's Turkmens, who are relatives of the Turks and whose numbers in northern Iraq are said to be anything from

600,000 to 1,500,000. The questions being asked the people of the region involve such diverse topics as the kind of music they listen to, whether they use any birth control methods, and what they think about Turkey and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Local authorities in northern Iraq, who appear to approve of the survey, say that its results will also, among other things, provide a picture of economic conditions and the kinds of investment that would be beneficial for the region.

They also indicate that Turkey may even have been late in initiating such a welcome survey, which they clearly hope will contribute to bringing much-needed social infrastructural projects to the region.

The Turkish research team comprises six members and is led by Assistant Professor Ümit Özdağ from Ankara's Gazi University, who has already visited the region and met the regional senior officials such as Ali Cosrat from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and Sami Abdurrahman from the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).

Özdağ and his team have already completed research on the cultural composition and the identity problem of the inhabitants of southeastern Anatolia, and those who have migrated westwards in Anatolia from this region.

Their findings in this research were based on interviews with 11,000 respondents.

Turkish Daily News

TUESDAY, JUNE 11, 1996

EL PAÍS, martes 11 de junio de 1996

Protesta de las ONG de la Cumbre de Estambul por las cargas policiales

Denuncias en Hábitat II por la situación de los kurdos

RAFAEL RUIZ (ENVIADO ESPECIAL). Estambul Como ya sucedió en la Cumbre de la Mujer (Pekín, 1995), la protesta más enérgica del Foro de ONG de la Cumbre de Estambul se está dirigiendo contra la actuación policial —el fin de semana los agentes cargaron contra una mani-

festación de apoyo a las madres de desaparecidos, que se reúnen semanalmente en el centro de Estambul, y detuvieron a varios cientos de personas— y la violación de derechos humanos del Gobierno anfitrión, en este caso el turco, en relación con los kurdos.

En este foro, el activista pro derechos humanos Vedat Getin presentó un documento de 32 páginas con artículos periódicos censurados por tratar el tema de la destrucción de poblaciones kurdas.

El enfado de las organizaciones no gubernamentales (ONG), que elaboraron un documento de protesta dirigido al Gobierno turco, ha alcanzado tal calibre que Naciones Unidas, a través de su portavoz Ayman El Amir, tuvo que lanzar un llamamiento a la calma, tras aclarar que la manifestación donde hubo deteni-

tos no estaba directamente relacionada con la organización de la cumbre. El portavoz de la delegación de la Unión Europea, el italiano Paolo Coppini, señaló que la preocupación por estas actuaciones se encauzará por "vías diplomáticas".

Aunque en la Cumbre de Estambul se les ha dado más cabida que en otras conferencias mundiales anteriores, las ONG siguen considerándose marginadas. Lo confirmó Marth Lujanen, jefe del Comité II (el foro de encuentro entre las delegaciones gubernamen-

tales y los alcaldes, sector privado, ONG, profesionales y sindicatos; y que supone una novedad en este tipo de conferencias), al señalar que, mientras los alcaldes si están más implicados, las ONG continúan en un segundo plano.

Los alcaldes protagonistas

La Cumbre de Estambul pasará a la historia como la reunión en la que los alcaldes entraron en el debate de Naciones Unidas. Lo destacó ayer Elizabeth Dowdeswell, directora ejecuti-

va del Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Medio Ambiente (PNUMA).

"El legado más importante de Hábitat II será el reconocimiento de las autoridades locales en la comunidad internacional". Terminó su intervención con un llamamiento a la colaboración de todos: "Somos los que construimos y en esa construcción veremos lo que somos".

Sin embargo, las cifras de participantes contradicen ese espíritu de ampliar la colaboración. Finalmente, las personas acreditadas han sido 17.000, cuando la Cumbre de la Tierra (Río de Janeiro, 1992) llegó a contabilizar 50.000.

Dowdeswell hizo entrega además de los premios de este año Global 500 de la ONU —algo así como los *nobel* del medio ambiente—. Entre ellos, le fue entregado uno a título póstumo al escritor nigeriano Ken Saro-Wiwa, ejecutado en noviembre de 1995, por encabezar una protesta de la tribu ogoni contra la contaminación de su delta por las multinacionales del petróleo. Recogió el galardón su viuda Mar, que apoya el trabajo realizado hasta ahora por Nairobi.

Neue Herausforderung Ankaras durch die PKK *Zunehmende Spannungen zwischen der Türkei und Syrien*

Die Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK) hat ihren einseitigen Waffenstillstand beendet und droht mit neuen Anschlägen in der ganzen Türkei; es gibt dabei Anhaltspunkte dafür, dass sie von Syrien ferngesteuert wird. Das Militärabkommen der Türkei mit Israel belastet die ohnehin seit längerem gespannten Beziehungen zwischen Ankara und Damaskus zusätzlich. Es birgt aber auch innenpolitisch beträchtlichen Sprengstoff.

it. Istanbul, 11. Juni

Die Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK) hat am Montag ihren im letzten Dezember einseitig ausgerufenen Waffenstillstand für beendet erklärt. Sie habe sechs Monate lang den Waffenstillstand ohne Unterbrechung eingehalten, während die türkische Regierung in dieser Zeit den Krieg im Südosten noch verschärft habe, hiess es in einer Mitteilung der Partei. Angeblich aus diesem Grund soll die kurdische Organisation an ihrer 4. Nationalkonferenz beschlossen haben, künftig verstärkte Angriffe auf Städte durchzuführen und auch Selbstmordkommandos bei «gezielten Angriffen auf Ziele von strategischer Bedeutung» einzusetzen.

Arabisches Misstrauen

Türkische Nahostexperten führen das plötzliche Ende des Waffenstillstandes hauptsächlich auf die jüngste Eskalation in den Beziehungen zwischen Ankara und Damaskus zurück; sie weisen darauf hin, dass der PKK-Vorsitzende, Abdullah Öcalan, unweit der syrischen Hauptstadt residiert. Tatsächlich sind die Beziehungen zwischen Ankara und Damaskus seit Mitte der achtziger Jahre immer wieder neuen Belastungen ausgesetzt, sei es wegen der Wasserfrage am Euphrat, wegen der syrischen Unterstützung der PKK oder wegen der hauptsächlich von Arabern bewohnten Provinz Hatay im türkischen Südwesten. Zwischen Arabern und Türken herrscht seit dem Verfall des Osmanischen Reiches ohnehin ein gegenseitiges Misstrauen. Dieses wurde noch tiefer, als die Türkei und Israel im letzten Februar ein Militärabkommen abschlossen.

Das Abkommen, das unter anderem den Austausch von Informationen und gemeinsame Militärmanöver vorsieht, habe den Nahen Osten in eine «Region der Konflikte und Allianzen» verwandelt, sagte vor kurzem der ägyptische Aussenminister Amr Mussa. Wie schon gemeldet, haben die Spitzen Syriens, Ägyptens und Saudi Arabiens bei ihrem Treffen vom Wochenende in Damaskus die Türkei aufgerufen, ihr Militärabkommen mit Israel nochmals zu überdenken,

die Interessen der Araber zu respektieren und eine Politik der «guten Nachbarschaft und der gemeinsamen Interessen» zu verfolgen. Ankara hat auf den eher harschen Ton dieser Deklaration zuerst geschwiegen. Die geschäftsführende Regierung Yilmaz, mit den Verhandlungen über die Bildung einer neuen Regierung vollauf beschäftigt, reagiert in aussenpolitischen Fragen nur mehr träge. Türkische Diplomaten machen aber kein Hehl aus ihrem Missmut über die arabische Intervention. Kein arabischer Staat sei bemächtigt, der Türkei zu diktieren, mit wem sie Abkommen abzuschliessen habe, sagte ein hoher Beamter des Aussenministeriums in der Tageszeitung «Milliyet». Mit diesem Wortlaut hatte vor einem Monat auch Präsident Demirel die Bedenken des ägyptischen Aussenministers zurückgewiesen.

Islamisten gegen Abkommen mit Israel

Das Abkommen mit Israel wird mittlerweile in der Türkei innenpolitisch zum Zankapfel zwischen Islamisten und Säkularisten. Im Gegensatz zu allen konservativen Parteien im Parlament, die die militärische Zusammenarbeit mit Tel Aviv begrüsst haben, lehnte die islamistische Wohlfahrtspartei (Refah) diese von Beginn an ab; ihr Chef Erbakan versprach, er werde das Abkommen kündigen, falls er Regierungschef werde. Diese Haltung findet in der türkischen Öffentlichkeit zweifellos Unterstützung. Doch fordern die Islamisten mit ihrer Ablehnung des Abkommens das Misstrauen des türkischen Militärs weiter heraus.

Konservative Avancen an Erbakan

Ankara, 10. Juni. (afp) Hasan Ekinci, stellvertretender Vorsitzender der konservativen Partei des rechten Weges (DYP), hat am Dienstag erklärt, eine Koalition mit Erbakans Wohlfahrtspartei sei möglich. «Um das Land auf vorgezogene Neuwahlen vorzubereiten, können wir mit jedem eine Koalition bilden, auch mit der Wohlfahrtspartei», sagte er. Die frühere Ministerpräsidentin Ciller selbst hatte ein solches Bündnis der DYP mit den Islamisten am Sonntag noch ausgeschlossen.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12, 1996

Ciller's Party Signals Its Willingness to Join Islamists

Agence France-Presse

ANKARA — The conservative True Path Party of former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller could form a coalition government with the Islamists, a senior Ciller aide said Tuesday.

"To prepare the country for early general elections, we can form a coalition with anyone, including the pro-Islamic Welfare Party," said True Path's deputy chairman, Hasan Ekinci.

He spoke as the Welfare Party leader, Necmettin Erbakan, pursued

his quest for a coalition partner.

Analysts said that although Mr. Erbakan's effort in January to form a coalition with Mrs. Ciller's party ended in failure, the 70-year-old political veteran stood a better chance this time because of the political upheavals of recent months.

They said Mrs. Ciller might be more willing to reconsider her pledge never to form an alliance with the Islamic party as a way to ensure her political survival and to reinforce her position within her party.

Mr. Erbakan, whose party came in first in the December parliamentary elections, was given the task of forming a government last week following the collapse after three months of the fractious coalition between Mesut Yilmaz's Motherland Party and True Path.

Mr. Erbakan's party has 158 seats in the 550-seat Parliament, so it needs to find a partner to have an absolute majority of 276.

Mr. Yilmaz was forced to step down as prime minister after Mrs. Ciller announced that her party

would back a censure motion against him. She took that step to protest Mr. Yilmaz's campaign to press corruption charges against her.

Their two parties together constitute the largest bloc of votes in Parliament, and they had joined in a coalition to prevent the anti-Western Welfare Party from gaining power.

Mr. Erbakan planned to meet with Mr. Yilmaz in his effort to find a coalition partner, but there was little likelihood of a deal between them.

Mr. Yilmaz is not keen on the idea of his rival replacing him as the head of government.

The two had come close to an agreement in January when they talked about a rotating prime ministership. But that deal fell through.

There were rumors, however, that Mr. Yilmaz's bitter rivalry with Mrs. Ciller may prompt him to take his time in making up his mind on whether to join Welfare now. He is trying to win time to rally rightist parties behind him and weaken Mrs. Ciller's leadership position.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1996

Iraq, Citing Fears of Espionage, Bars UN Inspectors

The Associated Press

BAGHDAD — Iraq on Wednesday barred United Nations weapons inspectors from three military sites in and around Baghdad, citing security reasons.

Iraq said, however, that a UN Security Council team composed of diplomats could visit the sites as long as it did not include military experts. The UN teams currently in Iraq are made up largely of weapons experts.

The proposal was made by Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz in a statement carried by the official Iraqi press agency, INA. It was Iraq's first official

comment since a standoff developed Tuesday between UN weapons inspectors and Iraqi officials just west of Baghdad.

Mr. Aziz said the inspectors demanded Tuesday to visit eight industrial and military sites in Abu Ghraib, 15 miles (24 kilometers) west of Baghdad. They were allowed into six.

Iraq barred the inspectors from the other two sites for "national security considerations," and also refused the inspectors' demand Wednesday to enter a base of the elite Republican Guard in Baghdad, Mr. Aziz said.

He said Iraq was concerned that the

UN missions "have become of an aggressive nature, for espionage purposes."

Weapons inspectors at the Baghdad offices of the UN Special Commission declined comment.

UN officials in New York said the standoff developed when inspectors tried to enter a military site believed linked to a clandestine nuclear weapons program.

The standoff was the first since the United Nations agreed last month to let Iraq sell \$2 billion in oil over six months to buy food and medicine for its people.

Stick to Accord, Paris Urges

France said Wednesday that the standoff between Iraq and the weapons inspectors should not raise doubts about the oil-for-food agreement. Agence France-Presse reported from Abu Dhabi.

Foreign Minister Hervé de Charette of France, following a visit to the region, said the oil accord "must not be hindered by difficulties that arise elsewhere."

A source close to the French delegation said Paris feared that Washington could "try to exploit the incident to upset the application of the agreement."

A.F.P. A.F.P.
FRS0350 3 IG 0182 TUR /AFP-IZ96
Turquie-Kurdes lead

72 rebelles kurdes et 6 soldats turcs tués, selon Ankara

ANKARA, 12 juin (AFP) - Soixante douze rebelles kurdes au total et six soldats turcs ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires de l'armée dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie, qui ne précise pas la date de ces opérations.

Elles ont été menées dans les régions de Hakkari, à la frontière avec l'Iran et l'Irak, de Sirnak, à la frontière avec l'Irak et la Syrie, de Bingol (est) et de Bitlis (sud-est), indique Anatolie.

L'armée turque a multiplié ses opérations depuis début avril contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), tuant près de 625 maquisards kurdes, selon les bilans annoncés par les autorités.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara. Cette rébellion, qui vise à créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien, situé à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, et les opérations de représailles de l'armée ont fait en 12 ans près de 22.000 morts, civils, militaires, rebelles et policiers.

CE/hc/nj eaf

AFP /AA1234/121146 JUN 96

A.F.P. A.F.P.
FRS0168 4 IG 0137 TUR /AFP-XU75
Turquie-Kurdes lead

50 rebelles kurdes tués par l'armée turque selon Ankara

ANKARA, 14 juin (AFP) - Cinquante rebelles kurdes ont été tués par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires dans la région de Cukurca, en territoire turc le long de la frontière avec l'Irak, a annoncé vendredi l'agence Anatolie.

Ce bilan porte à 122 le nombre des tués du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK séparatiste) dans des opérations militaires et accrochages armés entre troupes turques et rebelles kurdes dans différentes régions du sud-est anatolien.

Un bilan de 72 tués chez les rebelles et de 6 dans les rangs de l'armée turque avait été annoncé mercredi sans que les dates de ces combats n'aient été précisées. Sur ces 72 rebelles mis hors de combat, 39 l'avaient été dans la région de Cukurca.

CE/hc/nj tf

AFP /AA1234/141000 JUN 96

TURQUIE Pour la première fois, la Turquie dispute la phase finale du Championnat d'Europe de football. Un sport qui suscite un engouement exceptionnel.

Opium du peuple ou seul exutoire - trop souvent violent - à toutes les frustrations ?

Prolos, jeunes et Kurdes jouent leur vie au foot

NOKTA
ISTANBUL

L'équipe Fers et Aciers de Karabük (à 300 km à l'est d'Istanbul), qui luttait récemment pour ne pas perdre sa place en première division, avait une rencontre décisive à jouer contre l'équipe de Zeytinburnu, confrontée au même problème de survie. Hélas ! Karabük ne put éviter le but marqué par ses adversaires à la 90^e minute du match, l'envoyant inexorablement en deuxième division. Le soir de cette rencontre, un débat télévisé réunissait les représentants des deux équipes. L'entraîneur de Karabük, Ilyas Tüfekçi, expliqua les sentiments qui avaient motivé ses joueurs : *"Il ne s'agissait pas tant de conserver notre place. Nous nous battions surtout pour l'honneur de notre ville."*

Il est vrai que les habitants de Karabük avaient transformé leur équipe de foot en un instrument politique dans leur lutte contre les menaces de fermeture du grand complexe sidérurgique qui fait vivre la ville. Une bonne partie de la gauche, qui soutenait leur cause, considérait avec sympathie cette forme de combat. En son sein, certains ont même proposé de fêter le 1^{er} mai en assistant massivement au match que Karabük disputait ce jour-là contre Sariyer. Le sociologue Can Kozanoglu, auteur du livre "Nous gagnerons ce match !", ne comprend pas le raisonnement de la gauche : *"La ville de Karabük est un bastion de la droite. Et là-bas, les ouvriers de la sidérurgie ne sont pas proches des courants de gauche. D'ailleurs, l'équipe de foot n'était pas très liée à la lutte des ouvriers menacés de chômage."* Pourquoi, dans ces conditions, manifester un tel engouement pour l'équipe ? Un autre exemple nous vient du Sud-Est ana-



"Il est atteint d'une crise d'égoïsme."
Dessin de Mahmoud Kahil paru dans *Al Majalla* - LONDRES

tolien. Lors de la saison 1991-1992, l'équipe Cizre Spor [Cizre est un bourg à majorité kurde près de la frontière syrienne], en troisième division, compte un joueur originaire d'Adana [ville du sud méditerranéen], dont, à vrai dire, le jeu n'est pas très brillant. Mais il s'appelle Abdullah, ce qui donne comme diminutif "Apo" [surnom du leader de la guérilla séparatiste kurde, le PKK]. En fait, cet Apo-ci n'est pas kurde du tout. Mais qu'importe ! Il est le chouchou des gradins. Qu'il arrive, de temps en temps, à donner un coup de pied dans le ballon, les spectateurs n'arrêtent pas de scander son nom aux cris de "Biji Apo !" ["Vive Apo !", en kurde].

En vérité, les pelouses vertes de Turquie regorgent d'histoires de ce genre. A quoi donc correspondent au juste ces deux filets et ce ballon ? Le foot est-il l'opium utilisé par le pouvoir pour dépolitiser les masses ?

Un moyen de détourner les conflits sociaux vers des cibles fallacieuses ? Qu'en est-il des théories qui qualifient Fenerbahçe d'équipe bourgeoise, Galatasaray d'équipe aristocrate, et Besiktas d'équipe prolétaire [tous trois des clubs stambouliotes], dans un secteur où des milliards sont souvent en jeu ? D'après certains, on peut trouver dans le football la terre entière, selon d'autres, la terre entière est un terrain de foot.

On peut comparer le foot à la musique pop, surtout au rock, qui est souvent lié à une certaine idée de révolte. Cette musique qui réunit les tendances et les contradictions les plus diverses - allant des musiciens protestataires aux imprésarios et aux sociétés de production richissimes - est à la fois une véritable industrie et un spectacle très coloré. Les Rolling Stones l'avaient compris : *"Après tout, ce n'est que du rock'n roll, mais*

nous l'aimons", chantaient-ils. Même si cela sonne simpliste, le plus raisonnable serait peut-être de dire la même chose du football. Après tout, ce n'est qu'un ballon et deux filets, mais nous l'aimons.

Le plus ennuyeux dans ce tableau est sans doute la violence des supporters, qui provoquent régulièrement morts et blessés dans les bagarres à la fin des matchs. Ce phénomène a toujours existé, mais il atteint des sommets ces dernières années. Selon le sociologue Can Kozanoglu, "on crée, avec le foot, un microcosme de notre monde. L'écart énorme qui continue de se creuser entre les revenus des différentes catégories sociales en Turquie et la stratification croissante au sein de chaque classe sociale produisent des effets certains sur les gradins."

Pas de femme, pas de danse, pas de musique, reste le stade

Nos équipes, nos joueurs, leurs dirigeants, les supporters reflètent tous la société que nous connaissons. Plus le pays sombre dans la culture de la violence, plus la violence pénètre dans nos vies, dans les relations à l'intérieur de nos familles. N'est-il pas naturel que les stades aussi en soient envahis ? N'est-il pas vrai qu'à une certaine époque, les chauffeurs des minibus transportant des gens aux stades appelaient leurs clients potentiels en criant "A l'hôpital, à l'hôpital !" ?

Mais qui sont donc ces supporters qui déclenchent la bagarre ? Selon

une idée répandue, ce sont des exclus des banlieues. L'écrivain Deniz Gökçe, spécialiste en économie du sport, est plus nuancé : "Imaginez un spectateur typique, un ouvrier carrossier de seize ans. Il n'a aucune satisfaction dans sa vie, travaille comme un chien six jours sur sept. Pas de femme, pas de danse, pas de musique, il a juste un jour à lui, le dimanche. Et ce jour-là, les matchs s'offrent comme un divertissement bon marché. Lorsqu'il crie là-bas : 'Fenerbahçe est la plus forte !', en fait, il crie 'J'existe, moi aussi !'. Quand son équipe gagne le Championnat national, il peut marcher côte à côte avec le richissime Faruk Süren [président de l'autre grand club, Galatasaray], le front ceint du même bandeau. Il peut serrer la main d'Ali Sen [le Bernard Tapie turc, président de Fenerbahçe], qui possède des yachts, des immeubles... Ali Sen lui parle même. Le seul endroit où il peut affirmer son existence au sein du système, c'est ce stade dégoûtant, avec ses puanteurs d'urine et de saucisson. Si vous interdisez l'activité syndicale au manœuvre d'Umraniye [quartier de bidonvilles à Istanbul], si son parti politique ne peut pas accéder au pouvoir, si ses croyances religieuses ne compensent pas le manque non plus, et si par-dessus le marché, il voit son équipe de foot battue, il ne lui reste qu'à tout casser. Quel autre moyen d'expression a-t-il ?"

Partant de là, certains préconisent des solutions comme l'augmentation du prix des billets d'entrée au

stade, pour empêcher les déchaînements de violence lors des matchs. Can Kozanoglu regrette qu'une telle mesure soit en discussion. "Il ne reste à Istanbul que les stades, comme ultime espace commun partagé entre des classes sociales, des styles de vie et des groupes différents", dit-il. En fait, l'idée n'est pas proprement turque. Elle est le fruit d'un travail mené par la Fédération internationale de football, afin de faire grimper ce sport dans l'échelle sociale.

Après les événements sanglants auxquels ont récemment donné lieu les célébrations du 1^{er} mai, la solution a vite été trouvée : les lumpens des banlieues ne seraient plus admis sur les places publiques pour des défilés politiques. Certains rêvent aujourd'hui d'appliquer la même règle aux stades, où l'on ne devrait pas pouvoir entrer sans cravate et costume ! Tout cela n'est finalement pas si étonnant dans une société plus préoccupée par les dégâts matériels que par les dégâts humains.

Une revue contestataire, *Cete*, avait écrit à une époque : "Le bonheur, c'est deux filets et un ballon, il n'est point d'autre paradis." Les enfants qui jouent dans les terrains vagues en remplaçant les filets par quelques pierres semblent avoir trouvé la vraie félicité. Quant aux stades, comment peut-on y chercher ce paradis qui n'existe nulle part sur notre planète ! Décidément, notre foot nous ressemble, en effet... ●

Serkan Seymen et Nurdan Köskül

Iraq to bar UN inspectors from all 'sensitive' sites

Standoff: Incident brings new tensions between Iraq and Security Council which met behind closed doors to consider latest violation

Reuters
BAGHDAD- Iraq said on Wednesday it would not allow U.N. arms inspectors to enter sites it considered vital to its national sovereignty and security. Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said Baghdad denied a team of international experts access to a Republican Guard facility on Wednesday and two similar sites

on Tuesday. He said it had no intention of changing its mind. "We have a legitimate right to be worried about the entry of the inspectors, who belong to countries that have hostile schemes against Iraq, into locations pertinent to national security," Aziz said in remarks carried by the official Iraqi News Agency (INA).

"These inspectors could carry out intelligence activities for their countries, apart from the Special Commission tasks as defined by the Security Council resolutions," he said. Baghdad was ready to accept a team of "diplomats or experts" from countries on the U.N. Security Council including its current head, Egypt, to carry out searches of sites off-limits to arms inspectors, Aziz said.

The standoff brought new tension between Baghdad and the Security Council, which met behind closed doors to consider a

draft statement demanding Iraq allow "immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to all sites."

In Washington, the State Department said Iraq's refusal to allow inspectors access to alleged weapons sites ensured it would be a "long, long time" before the United States votes to lift sanctions imposed after Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. This prospect gained credibility in some quarters after the May 20 signing

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1996

at U.N. headquarters of an agreement permitting Iraq to sell \$2 billion worth of oil over six months to buy food, medicine and other necessities.

The "oil-for-food" scheme is an exception to the sanctions, which will remain in place until the Security Council is satisfied Iraq's nuclear, chemical, biological and ballistic missile potential has been scrapped and long-term U.N. monitoring is in place to prevent it from again acquiring banned weapons.

Aziz accused the head of the U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM), which is scrapping the arms, of trying to provoke Iraq.

"We had in the past informed UNSCOM's chairman Rolf Ekeus to refrain from submitting provocative inspection demands relevant to sovereignty and

national security," Aziz said.

He said the denial of access to such sites was not because Iraq hid prohibited items in them but because "they are places related to national security."

A team of more than 50 arms experts under Russian Nikita Smidovich is in Baghdad searching for possible hidden missiles, missile launchers and documents. On Tuesday, Aziz said, Smidovich asked to visit eight sites and he was allowed to see only six. The other two belonged to Iraq's elite Republican Guards.

"This morning (Wednesday) the inspection team resumed its provocative activities and demanded entrance into another Republican Guard site and we did not allow it to do so," Aziz said.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JUNE 15-16, 1996

Turkey: A Model of Political Disarray

By Celestine Bohlen

New York Times Service

ISTANBUL — When the foreign minister of Kyrgyzstan met with her Turkish counterpart at a recent international gathering, she asked him a question so painful and so blunt that it ended up making front-page news here in Turkey.

"When we got our independence, you gave us inspiration," said Rosa Otunbaeva, the official from the Central Asian country. "Turkey was our horizon. When we looked at Turkey, we thought we would one day be like you."

And then with tears in her eyes, she blurted, "What has happened to you?"

This emotional conversation, retold to the newspaper *Hurriyet* by Foreign Minister Emre Gonensay of Turkey, captured a mood shared by many Turks these days as they try to understand what has gone wrong with their government, their politics and their ambitions to be a major player in a trouble-prone region.

If three years ago Turkey seemed the model of a Western-looking, secular state that could lead the way for the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union, its image today is quite different.

An ugly political stalemate has paralyzed domestic initiatives, further damaging an economy already hit with high inflation; a harsh war against Kurdish separatists is no closer to an end, and Turkey's relations with Greece and now with Arab states are at new lows.

"A lot of Western capitals are looking at Turkey with amazement and anxiety, wondering how seriously to take its crisis," said a Western diplomat. "But Turkey is a country that cannot afford not to be taken seriously."

It has been nine months now since Turkey had an effective government, a

period that has been punctuated by two resignations, one round of elections and a cycle of backroom negotiations that have gone on so long that they have now begun to repeat themselves.

The crisis began last fall when Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, an American-educated economist, resigned after the collapse of her governing coalition. In elections in December, an Islamic party took the lead for the first time in the history of the 73-year-old Turkish republic, throwing down a challenge so daunting that it has effectively paralyzed Turkey's fractured political center.

Now, after the collapse of another weak government, Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the Islamic Welfare Party, is once again coaxing his opponents into a partnership that each one, at some point in the past, has denounced as a dangerous precedent for Turkey's secular state.

This time he comes to the table with an even stronger political hand: Recent municipal by-elections showed the Welfare Party getting more than 33 percent of the vote, compared with the 21.6 percent it won in the December national election.

But his best card is the dismal performance of Turkey's two main center-right politicians — Mrs. Ciller and Mesut Yilmaz, her foe whose three-month-old government finally sank last week.

[Mrs. Ciller said that coalition talks she held on Friday with the Islamists had been "useful" but that there was no sign of an imminent government deal, Reuters reported. She said her party would assess a possible deal with Welfare at a later date, but that it would make no concessions to the Islamists on Turkey's strict secular system.]

The poor performance of Mr. Yilmaz and Mrs. Ciller, coupled with three continuing investigations into Mrs. Ciller's

personal finances, has only reinforced widespread disgust with Turkey's mainstream political parties and increased the popularity of the Welfare Party.

As the political crisis drags on, the establishment's fear of the Welfare Party is slowly ebbing. Business leaders have signaled a new willingness to consider a government that includes the Welfare Party, and even the powerful Turkish military, which vigorously opposes any erosion of the secular state, has sent at least one conciliatory message.

But there are still deep doubts about the Welfare Party among Turkey's Westernized elite, doubts that put their democratic ideals squarely in conflict with their dedication to secularism.

"If the Welfare Party becomes a coalition partner, as a democrat I have to respect it, but it could be very painful," one journalist said. "It would be very sad after 73 years to surrender the Turkish republic to an Islamic party."

Political experts differ about the Welfare Party's long-term ambitions, and its ability, within a coalition government, to change Turkey's position as a staunch member of the Western alliance.

But few people doubt that the Welfare Party's political influence is on the rise, whether they make it into this government or wait for new elections to improve their standing in Parliament.

■ 55 Rebels Slain, Turks Say

Turkish troops backed by air power have killed 55 Kurdish rebels in two days of fighting that spilled over the mountainous border into northern Iraq, Reuters reported Friday from Diyarbakir, Turkey, quoting security sources.

A high security official said troops had pushed a few kilometers into Iraq in the hunt for separatist guerrillas on Thursday and Friday, but later withdrew.

TURKISH PROBE JUNE 14, 1996

Political Crisis Creates More Gloom for Provide Comfort

ILNUR ÇEVİK

Turkey wants substantial changes in the current status of Operation Provide Comfort while the United States opposes this and wants the status quo to be preserved. Thus they are far apart on the renewal of the mandate for this special force created in 1991 to protect the Iraqi Kurds against the forces of Saddam Hussein after the Gulf War...

OPC comprises air units stationed in Turkey's southern air base of Incirlik which patrol the skies of northern Iraq and monitor Iraqi troop movements which could cause potential dangers to the Kurds.

The mandate of the force has been renewed by the Turkish Parliament at regular intervals every six months yet opposition inside Turkey has grown to it as Turks charged that Provide Comfort, while protecting Iraqi Kurds against Saddam, has also helped them to create the conditions to set up a separate Kurdish state — thus creating a bad example for Turkey's Kurdish citizens who live in the southeastern parts of the country bordering on Iraq.

Most Turks now believe

Objections: Turkish deputies object to Operation Provide Comfort, saying it became a liability encouraging the establishment of a separate Kurdish state in northern Iraq

Talks: Turkish and American officials are still negotiating how to change the status of Provide Comfort to convince the Turkish Parliament to extend the mandate of the force but the ongoing government crisis does not offer much hope for a satisfactory settlement

Provide Comfort has become more of a liability than an asset and want it scrapped.

Parliament renewed its mandate in late March for three months, only until the end of June. Now Parliament has to either extend the mandate of OPC or tell it to leave Turkish soil... Iraqi Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani in an interview with the Turkish Daily News has said it would be much better for Provide Comfort to switch to another country such as Jordan because, he charged, Turkey uses the issue for permanent blackmail against the West as well as the Kurds.

Observers say the current government crisis in Turkey has created a new situation in which the debate over the extension of Provide Comfort has been further complicated. There is no party which can properly concentrate on the issue as parties maneuver

to find coalition partners to end the political stalemate.

The outgoing government is still struggling to get the Americans to agree to a series of measures which would increase Turkey's control over how Provide Comfort works.

The Turkish defense minister was in Brussels on June 13 to discuss with his American counterpart William Perry the future of Provide Comfort. Sungurlu held similar inconclusive talks with Perry last month in Washington.

Turkey apparently wants some changes in the rules of engagement for Provide Comfort fighters which patrol the northern Iraqi skies. Turkey wants NATO rules to be applied strictly during Provide Comfort flights so that OPC and Turkish Air Force missions do not create confusion.

Turkey also wants restrictions on the flights of Provide Comfort training missions over northern Iraq. It is further seeking the transfer of the OPC military coordination center from the northern Iraqi town of Zakho to the nearby Turkish town of Silopi.

There was also talk that Turkey did not want the British and French units in Provide Comfort and preferred OPC to become a bilateral Turkish-American force. The Iraqis, who have opposed Provide Comfort from the very start, have sent a letter to the French recently urging them not to leave the force. That means even the Iraqis are irked by the fact that a change in the status of OPC may create more complications for them and thus they have made a choice between the lesser of two evils... ■

What Happens If Provide Comfort Leaves Our Soil

● According to the Foreign Ministry, the presence of Provide Comfort gives Turkey the upper hand in its dealings with the United States. It improves Turkey's bargaining power and its departure means Turks would lose these advantages.

● The presence of the Provide Comfort force helps Turkey to monitor its movements and control its actions. Thus Turkey has a say in all developments regarding northern Iraq. Its departure means Turkey would lose its leverage over the Iraqi Kurds.

● Under Provide Comfort, Turkey is finding the legal grounds to launch incursions in northern Iraq against Kurdish separatists who have been waging a terrorist war in southeastern Anatolia since 1984. If Provide Comfort leaves any incursion into northern Iraq will create strong Western reaction...

So What Does Turkey Owe the Arabs?

SEMİH D. İDİZ

The accord Turkey concluded with Israel in February seems, when combined with Benjamin Netanyahu's victory in the Jewish state's election, to represent all the Arabs' nightmares come home to roost.

At least this is the impression one gets from the spate of hastily convened summits between key Arab leaders after the deeply felt disappointment of the Peres defeat.

Following each of these recent high-level get-togethers it has been made known to the public, either directly by the leaders themselves or indirectly through various leaks, that Turkey's budding politico-military ties with Israel had also been taken up with concern.

First it was Egypt's Hosni Mubarak who after his recent meeting with Syria's Hafez al-Assad said, when asked by a reporter, that they were still expecting an explanation from Ankara concerning the details of its military accord with Israel.

Then there was the two-day summit in Damascus last Thursday and Friday between Assad, Mubarak and Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah which issued a joint statement that expressed more than just "deep concern" over the Turco-Israeli accord.

Going a step further than what was said earlier, the three leaders appeared, from reports emanating from the summit, to actually be demanding that Turkey completely reconsider this agreement with Israel.

All of this came against the backdrop of a visit to Ankara by Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa in May. After his talks with his counterpart Emre Gonensay, Moussa had said he was satisfied with the explanation given him by the Turkish side concerning its military cooperation accord with Israel. As might be expected Ankara officially expressed its surprise, given this position expressed by the Egyptian foreign minister, at Mubarak's remarks that they were still expecting information from Turkey on this accord.

As far as Turkish officials were

concerned this was precisely what had been given Amr Moussa.

In fact this is the point at which many in Ankara also started wondering whether there is an ulterior motive to this overall Arab approach to Ankara.

Turkey's explanations from both the civilian and military wing is that the accord in question is the same as so many signed by Ankara with other countries, including countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay repeated earlier this week while travelling to an EU meeting in Luxembourg that there was nothing special concerning the accord with Israel.

He underlined that the accord was certainly not the "security pact" that the Arabs were trying to make it out to be despite all the explanations given them by the Turkish side. Of course the retort from the Arabs to this would be that the information provided so far is not enough.

This would naturally invite the counter retort from Ankara that no country is obliged to give anyone details about its legitimate dealings with another country, but that Turkey has given the necessary assurances to the Arabs in spite of this and out of goodwill.

However it appears that the devil for the Arabs is in the details of the accord with Israel, which Turkey is not divulging fully and of which new information is emerging every day. First it was revealed that Israeli pilots would be able to train in Turkish airspace.

Then it was said by military officials in Ankara that Turkey and Israel could hold joint naval maneuvers under this accord. Finally it was revealed that Turkish pilots have been training in Israel and familiarizing themselves with Israeli radar equipment which could be fitted on Turkish F-4 Phantom fighters.

For military officials these are "highly regular" things that routinely take place under military cooperation accords. For the Arabs all of these smack of a strategic alliance in the making.

This concern was reflected once again in remarks by Syrian foreign minister Farouq Al Shara on Wednesday in

Luxembourg where he was also attending an EU meeting.

Expressing their difficulty in understanding the "alliance" that Turkey had entered into with Israel, Shara told reporters this attitude of Ankara's was "dangerous" and had caused "shock" in the Arab world.

"It is unacceptable for a Muslim country to enter an alliance with a country that has occupied another Muslim country," Shara said.

But there was more than a touch of cynicism in this remark as far as Turkish officials were concerned.

Ankara has been patiently watching the Arab world rally behind Syria against Turkey concerning the issue of the waters of the Euphrates.

But in doing so no Arab country has made any reference to the support Syria is giving the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is waging a separatist war in Turkey.

While Shara uses the notion of "Muslim solidarity" he conveniently forgets that a Muslim country, namely his own, has established its own "strategic alliance" with an organization that is working to divide Turkey.

He also conveniently overlooks the fact that while Turkey's ties with Israel are legitimate from the point of view of international law, there is nothing legitimate in Syria's bedding with an outlawed organization, and one whose hands are soaked in blood at that.

So the bottom line in all this is that, angry as the Arab world may be at Turkey, and angry as Turkey's own Islamists may be over the accord with Israel, there is one question that they all have to answer: "So what does Turkey owe the Arabs?" Looking at recent history one sees nothing but negative examples ranging from the nonexistent "Islam-Arab solidarity" for the Turkish cause in Cyprus, to Arab countries actually claiming chunks of Turkey, as Syria does, to the dangerous meddling in Turkey's internal affairs, again as Syria does, through support for a group that every civilized nation sees as a terrorist organization.

Therefore the simple answer to the question "What does Turkey owe the Arabs?" is, "Not very much!" ■



TURKISH PROBE JUNE 14, 1996

Families wait anxiously outside prisons while their loved ones are on hunger strike.

Standing on the Outside Looking In

BILL SELLARS

'Because I am Kurdish.' A simple answer to a simple question: "So, why were you in prison?"

The answer came from "Ali" (for want of a better name), as we sat in a restaurant by the Bosphorus in Istanbul. Ali had recently been released after serving 13 months in prison and was talking about the unrest in Turkey's jails, the hunger strikes and the conditions that have given rise to them. Throughout Turkey's prisons inmates are staging hunger strikes to bring to the attention of authorities and the public their grievances. At the time of writing some of the hunger strikers are in the eighth week of their protest and a number are in a poor state of health and their condition deteriorating rapidly. Nineteen prisoners in Diyarbakir are reported to be near death.

Among the demands of the prisoners are the closing of the Eskişehir prison, recently reopened despite being condemned in a series of reports as being unfit to house prisoners; the abolition of arbitrary solitary confinement and of the

transferring of inmates to prisons far from their homes and the support of their families; the compliance with various human rights accords that Turkey is a signatory to; a halt to the random tortures and brutality by authorities; and an end to attacks on the families of inmates protesting in support of their incarcerated relatives. For Ali the hunger strikers are using one of the few means available to them to publicize their plight.

"Hunger strikes are a gun for prisoners, their biggest gun, their biggest weapon. They use it against the regulations and against the society."

Arrested in Istanbul and charged on suspicion of supporting the outlawed Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), Ali was put on trial in the State Security Court. He says that he was given no real opportunity to defend himself and that no hard evidence was presented against him. The result was a 13 months sentence, one month of which was spent in Van and the remaining year in Mus E-Type prison, mainly reserved for political prisoners as are the other E-Type jails. It is conditions in these prisons that are the focus of many of the hunger striker's complaints. Ali, speaking from

experience, believes that it is the whole structure of Turkish society that is the cause of the problems in the country's prisons, not just the prison system itself. The requirement to conform, not to question authority and the lack of respect for human rights is, according to Ali, pervasive throughout Turkey, not just behind the bars of its prisons.

Once settled into prison life took on a communal aspect for most inmates.

"There was no difference between rich and poor, everything was shared. There was no room for guards in our lives, they would sometimes come and count us and then go. But

occasionally there were beatings and torture, we did not always know why, it was the system," says Ali.

According to Ali there are two kinds of prisoners. One are the sort of people who accept everything and become part of the system that has imprisoned and then there are the others. "In the name of being human they chose to lead a life in prison in which they try to improve themselves and to continue their lives, for themselves and for those fighting for them on the outside."

Two kinds of prisoners

According to Ali there are two kinds of prisoners. One are the sort of people who accept everything and become part of the system that has imprisoned and then there are the others. "In the name of being human they chose to lead a life in prison in which they try to improve themselves and to continue their lives, for themselves and for those fighting for them on the outside."

"The state sees prisons as being there to make people conform, the prisoners see them as a place to continue their struggle for change," he says. "I did nothing wrong, I did something right, there is a movement for freedom within society and I was a part of that movement. I was guilty according to the laws."

While in detention Ali claims that he was tortured to try and extract information. Electric shocks, beatings and being hosed down with strong jets of water were part of the catalogue of ill treatment.

"I was also hung by my arms with a nylon bag put over my head. They soaked the bag in water. I almost drowned, water got into my lungs. I felt as if I was hanging in between life and death.

"It is something about society, it is not an individual thing. The system treats its prisoners in different ways according to their brains. It can treat its own people the same way if they think in a way different from the system's." During the long days and even longer nights the political prisoners, "the soul of rebellion" as Ali calls them, would talk of the subjects near to their heart: Kurdish history; Turkish history; the history of the Kurdish freedom movement; the political situation in Turkey and the world. "But we still found time to drink tea," laughs Ali. He feels that the media is not doing enough to publicize the plight of Turkey's prisoners, concentrating of the trials of those famous writers and activists charged with sedition but ignoring the everyday men and women who go unheralded into detention ■

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Allemagne-Kurdes

Au moins 40.000 Kurdes manifestent à Hambourg pour la paix en Turquie

HAMBOURG (Allemagne), 15 juin (AFP) - Plusieurs dizaines de milliers de Kurdes, 40.000 selon la police, ont manifesté sans incident samedi à Hambourg pour la paix dans le sud-est de la Turquie.

Les organisateurs, rassemblés sous le mot d'ordre "La paix maintenant", ont affirmé que près de 100.000 personnes avaient défilé dans les rues de la métropole du nord de l'Allemagne. Les manifestants ont principalement dénoncé "la sale guerre de l'Etat turc" contre les Kurdes.

Dans la matinée, quelque 200 Kurdes avaient bloqué pendant plusieurs heures un poste-frontière germano-danois à Ellund, le passage vers l'Allemagne leur ayant été refusé faute de visa, a indiqué la police des frontières à Kiel. Un manifestant a alors tenté de s'immoler par le feu mais il n'a été que légèrement blessé, les forces de l'ordre étant intervenues rapidement.

Près de 400.000 à 450.000 Kurdes, pour la plupart ressortissants turcs, vivent en Allemagne.

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AFP /AA1234/151638

JUN 96

Another Missing Story

ERDİNÇ ERGENÇ

The list of missing people is getting longer and longer day by day. The latest link in this chain is Talat Türkoğlu, a 45 year old leftist politician. He has been missing since April 1 and there has been no sign of him since that date.

Amnesty International has called for urgent action to be taken in the case of Türkoğlu.

Hasene Türkoğlu, the wife of Talat Türkoğlu, has been leading the search for her missing husband. She has, for a long time, been one of those who attended the meetings of the Saturday Mothers, the group who gather outside Galatasaray Lycee to protest against the disappearance of relatives in custody, without being aware that one day her husband would be one of the missing.

Last Saturday she was among those who were detained in İstiklal Caddesi when police broke up the weekly protest. At 12 o'clock on Saturday, as usual, she went to Galatasaray Square in Beyoğlu where fifty fourth traditional demonstration was to take place to make the public aware that her husband was missing. But police arrested many of the activists including Hasene Türkoğlu. But she was released after she lost consciousness due to being beaten severely.

Hasene Türkoğlu, talking to Probe, said that her husband went to visit Edirne where his family lives on 29 March. He stayed for two days. She claimed something happened strange on his trip to Edirne. A man who came to the Istanbul bus station by taxi got on the same bus as Türkoğlu was travelling on. On arriving in Edirne the man was met by the same taxi and drove away. Türkoğlu told his sister in Edirne that he was being followed by civil policemen. He left his family's home in Edirne on April 1 and has not been heard of since.

Hasene Türkoğlu said that she went to every office or place that could shed any light on the whereabouts of her husband: police stations; prosecutors offices; the state security courts; hospitals and even cemeteries. all to no avail. After that she went to Ankara and put their case before the offices of the President, the Prime Minister, the Interior Minister and some party representatives, giving documents about Talat Türkoğlu and what little information that she had.

She says that her husband is a leftist politician and had been in prison for more than six years because of his politic opinions, being released on October 3 last year. Hasene Türkoğlu remarked that she has sent appeals to Amnesty International, the Human Rights Commission of Europe and Helsinki Watch.

Hasene Türkoğlu says that her husband is not an ordinary missing person and in those days while she was out of her home looking for him, someone got in her house without breaking the door, possibly with the key belonging to Talat Türkoğlu. She emphasized that her house was still being watched by police. Türkoğlu says that the state has a lot of ways to help find her husband Talat Türkoğlu, alive or otherwise, but claims that no efforts are being made, despite this being the responsibility of the state.

Amnesty International said in its press release calling for urgent action that the procedures laid down in the Turkish Criminal Procedure Code for the prompt and proper registration of

detainees, and for the notification of their families, were universally ignored. The statement added that this created the condition in which disappearances and torture could occur. Amnesty said that people suspected of offences under the Anti-Terror Law could be held in police custody without access to family, friends or legal counsel for up to 30 days in the 10 provinces under State of emergency in the South East, and for 15 days in the rest of Turkey. Amnesty International had issued an Urgent Action Alert on behalf of Talat Türkoğlu in 1987, when he was detained and feared tortured, as he had been tortured previously while in detention. The human rights organization claimed that torture was often used in Turkey against detainees. Being stripped naked and blindfolded, hosed with high pressure ice-cold water, being hung by the arms or wrists, electric shocks, beating the soles of the feet, death threats and sexual assaults were among the forms of torture used in Turkey ■



Hasene Türkoğlu attending the fifty third week of the Saturday Mothers protest. She is wearing a shirt with a photo of her mission husband, Talat, embossed upon it.

FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1996

Message to Erbakan: Army not against Refah forming a coalition government

Denial: DYP claims that military does not want pro-Islamic Refah Chairman Erbakan because he will head the Supreme Military Council as prime minister. Army denies this

By **Ilnur Çevik**
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Pro-Islamic Welfare Party (Refah) Chairman Necmettin Erbakan has received word from the military that the Armed Forces are loyal to democracy and will not object to him becoming prime minister through the parliamentary system, Refah sources told the Turkish Daily News on Thursday.

According to the sources who asked not to be named, the military feels the center-right politicians are trying to make the Armed Forces their scapegoat and that this will not be tolerated.

Outgoing Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz had virtually nailed an agreement with Erbakan three months ago for a coalition partnership but decided to scrap the deal at the last minute to form a coalition with the

True Path Party (DYP). At the time there were speculations that the military had dissuaded Yılmaz from forming the coalition with Erbakan and had forced him into a partnership with the DYP.

The TDN learned from Refah sources that True Path Party (DYP) officials who are negotiating a possible coalition partnership

with the Islamists said DYP leader Tansu Çiller should be prime minister for the first six months because the military did not want Erbakan as prime minister to head their Supreme Military Council meetings scheduled for early August.

The military reportedly does not care who is prime minister and thus chairs the Supreme Military Council. The prime minister is the symbolic head of the council but does not take part in the deliberations and decision-making process of the council which decides on promotions, appointments and retirements of top level military officials. Refah was reportedly told as the presence of the prime minister is a mere formality there is no reason why Erbakan or someone else should not lead the council. Sources said the military prefers to keep a certain distance from Refah but this does not mean it will oppose the party from coming to power as a coalition partner.



Erbakan in the past always claimed the military had not objected to him becoming prime minister. Now it seems he has been proven right.

Human Rights Watch/ Helsinki charges Turkey with forcible evictions

By Zafer F. Yörük

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Human Rights Watch/ Helsinki (HRW) criticized Turkey for failing to assist the forcibly displaced in the South East of the country. The New York-based human rights organization says in a report that, according to official government estimates 312,000, but probably around as high as two million individuals have been displaced as a result of the depopulation of some 2,685 villages and hamlets in the southern provinces since 1984.

The report claims that most of the depopulation of the villages in the South East, much of which has occurred since 1992, is the result of a government counter insurgency campaign intended to deprive the separatist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) of logistic support.

"Many of the houses in depopulated villages are destroyed, and at times the belongings of the displaced — including farm animals and implements — are wrecked along with their homes", the report continues.

According to HRW, Turkey has violated the Geneva Convention, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the Turkish Constitution by the forced evacuation of villages and hamlets in the South East. The HRW report's main focus is on the Turkish government's responses to the humanitarian needs of the forcibly displaced which the report finds both

"late and largely inadequate." If the extended kinship relations of Kurds in southeastern Turkey, allowing the displaced to find shelter with extended family members, did not exist the problems would reach to a crisis level, the HRW claims.

The report states the following on the defects of government projects aiming to deal with these migrants such as the "Central Villages Project" or the "Return to the Villages" scheme of the "Southeast Restoration Project":

"The projects were either inadequate or poorly executed, and as a result little became of them. Attempts by displaced persons to get state compensation for crops, homes or belongings destroyed have usually been unsuccessful." HRW also criticizes the Turkish government for not allowing international aid organizations, such as the UNHCR or the ICRC, to offer their services to displaced Kurds.

HRW's recommendation to Turkish government is to abide by international law in the conduct of military operations, limiting decisions to forcibly evacuate civilians to expressly stated reasons of military necessity; provide an adequate compensation scheme to restore the civilian population to the status quo ante; form an independent commission to investigate the depopulation of villages and hamlets; pay indemnity to all those displaced and; prosecute and punish those members of the military or police forces who knowingly violate the government's obligations.

The human rights organization repeats in this report its previous call to the European Union, the Council of Europe and the US government to end all military sales and security aid to Turkey until such time as Turkey no longer engages in a pattern of gross human rights abuses. In addition HRW urges these bodies to put pressure on Turkey to carry out the

recommendations of its report. The United Nations is urged by the HRW to investigate village evacuations in southeastern Turkey through their Secretary General's Special Representative on Internally Displaced Persons.

HRW also urged the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) to refrain from attacks on civilians and cease any actions that contribute to forced migration, such as attacks against village guard villages.

The HRW report titled "Turkey's Failed Policy to Aid the Forcibly Displaced in the Southeast" is the second report issued by this organization in 1996 and came out at a time when the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Habitat II, is being held in Istanbul. The HRW representative to the UN, Joanna Weschler was in Turkey on Tuesday to observe a court hearing at the Istanbul State Security Court of the trial Savasa Karsi Baris magazine's editor who is charged with separatist propaganda by publishing excerpts from a 1995 report of the HRW titled "Weapons Transfers and Violations of the Laws of War in Turkey".

Le Refah au pouvoir à Ankara ?

Sous l'arbitrage

Erbakan est chargé à nouveau de former le gouverne

par **Cem Serdengecti** et **Philippe Doucet**

La Turquie, qui a conclu il y a quelques mois un accord de libre-échange avec l'Union européenne, va-t-elle basculer dans le camp des républiques islamiques ? Tansu Ciller et Mesut Yilmaz, les deux dirigeants des partis laïques turcs de centre-droit, n'étaient pas fiers voici une semaine, à la sortie du palais présidentiel de Cankaya. Incapables de s'entendre, ils venaient de contraindre le président Suleyman Demirel, qui leur est pourtant favorable, à faire appel à l'islamiste Necmettin Erbakan en vue de former le gouvernement.

Retour à la case départ. Au début de janvier, Erbakan avait déjà été chargé de composer l'équipe gouvernementale après la victoire relative de sa formation (le parti de la Prospérité, en turc *Refah Partisi* ou RP) aux élections législatives du 24 décembre 1995.

Mais, avec 158 sièges seulement sur 550, le Refah ne pouvait pas gouverner sans alliés. Necmettin Erbakan n'en a pas trouvé et a dû jeter l'éponge le 19 janvier.

Une alliance des deux rivaux du centre-droit, le parti de la Juste Voie de Tansu Ciller (DYP, 134 sièges), et le parti de la Mère Patrie de Mesut Yilmaz (Anap, 126 sièges), laissait espérer un dénouement rapide. Il n'en a rien été. La crise n'a pris fin qu'après six semaines de rebondissements rocambolesques et la menace du président Demirel de provoquer de nouvelles élections. Au début du mois de mars, Mesut Yilmaz devenait péniblement premier ministre, à travers un système de rotation du pouvoir : à la fin de l'année, il s'engageait à céder ses fonctions à Tansu Ciller.

Cette fragile et complexe mécanique n'a pas tenu longtemps. Le 14 mai, la Cour constitutionnelle annule le vote de confiance obtenu par le gouvernement auprès du Parlement. Dix jours plus tard, Ciller porte le coup de grâce en retirant son soutien à Yilmaz.



Une manifestation du parti islamiste Refah à Istanbul. Drapeaux rouge et blanc.

Mme Ciller est en effet sous la menace de deux enquêtes parlementaires pour corruption, déclenchées par le Refah, à propos des privatisations de Tedas, l'EDF turque, et de Tofas, un constructeur d'automobiles. Elle est notamment accusée d'avoir détourné 35 millions de francs de fonds publics. L'Anap semble avoir aidé le Refah à lancer ses accusations. Tansu Ciller ne pouvait que chercher à se venger.

Quarante-cinq jours de rigueur

Pour Necmettin Erbakan, c'est un triomphe. Il a fait chuter la coalition laïque, l'a divisée, et il est devenu l'homme du recours. D'autant qu'aux municipales son parti vient de renforcer ses positions, obtenant un bon tiers de l'électorat en moyenne

nationale. Le président Demirel lui a donné les quarante-cinq jours de rigueur pour constituer un nouveau cabinet.

Le chef du Refah compte à la fois sur la Juste Voie et la Mère Patrie pour former sa coalition. Il ne nourrit aucune confiance dans les partis de gauche — le parti social-démocrate (DSP) et le parti républicain du peuple (CHP). D'ailleurs, ces derniers perdent constamment des voix depuis plusieurs années : ils n'ont plus qu'un rôle de deuxième force d'appoint.

A travers une vaste opération de séduction, Erbakan se tourne en priorité vers les députés de l'Anap, qui lui ont montré le moins d'hostilité dans le passé.

Il n'hésite pas à leur dire qu'il se considère comme le « frère aîné » de Mesut Yilmaz. Mais pour le moment,

de l'islam

ment. Cette fois, il a ses chances.



Le vert, couleur de l'islam, est interdit.

celui-ci ne lui a guère retourné ses sentiments fraternels.

Erbakan pourrait mieux s'entendre avec Tansu Ciller. En redevenant premier ministre, celle-ci pourrait espérer échapper à ses tracasseries judiciaires ou au moins les différer. « Mme Ciller pourra-t-elle vraiment éviter d'aller à la Cour suprême en entrant dans le harem du Refah ? » s'interroge cependant Güngör Mengi, un éditorialiste du quotidien *Sabah*.

Une vingtaine de ses députés menacent de démissionner si elle continue à entretenir des contacts avec le Refah. Et dans ce cas, plus d'espoir de majorité au Parlement.

Erbakan, il y a encore quelques semaines, disait que « les imitateurs de l'Occident dansaient leur dernier tango ». Il a changé radicalement de discours. Il se déclare maintenant

pour l'union douanière avec l'Union européenne, l'adhésion à l'Otan, la démocratie pluraliste, le bikini sur les plages, le raki (l'alcool national) et même la laïcité.

— Necmettin Erbakan est prêt à tout pour s'asseoir dans le fauteuil de premier ministre, dit-on à Ankara. C'est à la fois Machiavel et le loup du *Petit Chaperon rouge*...

La plupart des militants du Refah tiennent en effet un langage fort différent de celui de leur chef. Ils veulent, par exemple, développer les liens avec l'Irak ou la Syrie, qui héberge pourtant Abdullah Öcalan, surnommé « Apo », le chef du PKK kurde.

Ils dénoncent également l'accord militaire récemment conclu avec Israël et exigent des précisions sur l'entraînement de pilotes de chasse turcs sur des avions israéliens.

L'inflation frôle

100 % par an

Face à la détermination du Refah, les partis laïques apparaissent lymphatiques et en panne d'idées. Une partie de l'électorat, toutes tendances confondues, leur reproche d'avoir laissé filer les choses. Ils ne se sont guère montrés efficaces dans la lutte contre l'inflation, devenue chronique (environ 100 % par an), la corruption, le marché noir, le gouffre financier que représentent les entreprises publiques et la guerre dans l'Est.

On évoque de plus en plus Turgut Özal, premier ministre et président de 1983 à 1993. Avant lui, la Turquie achetait de l'électricité à ses voisins. Et après six ans d'un pouvoir certes autocratique, mais dynamique, elle leur en vendait.

Les Turcs sont déçus par la mollesse et le conformisme de leurs gouvernants. Jeunes, formés en Occident, polyglottes, Tansu Ciller et Mesut Yilmaz représentent pourtant un rêve partagé par beaucoup : celui

d'un pays moderne développant ses richesses avec les méthodes et les technologies de l'Ouest. Bref, une Turquie « kémaliste », fidèle aux principes de Kemal Atatürk.

Les chefs de la Juste Voie et de la Mère Patrie ont au plus jusqu'à la fin de juillet pour renégocier une nouvelle alliance et contraindre Necmettin Erbakan à un deuxième départ. Ou décider de passer la main.

Un autre facteur accélère encore le jeu politique turc. La mission de la force de soutien (*Pro ide Comfort*), mise en place dans l'est du territoire après la guerre du Golfe pour protéger les Kurdes d'Irak de la colère de Saddam Hussein, arrive à son terme.

Cette force multinationale a empêché les Kurdes de Turquie de suivre leurs cousins d'Irak sur la voie de la sécession. Les Etats-Unis, alliés traditionnels de la Turquie, ne cachent pas qu'ils aimeraient voir le Parlement d'Ankara voter le renouvellement de son mandat.

Une inconnue de taille demeure : l'armée. On la dit toujours foncièrement kémaliste. L'arrivée au pouvoir des islamistes pourrait donner l'occasion de voir à quel point.

« L'armée est un volcan qui entre en éruption tous les dix ans », constate-t-on à Ankara et à Istanbul. Dernière intervention en date : le coup d'Etat de 1980. ●

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Syrie-Turquie

La Syrie masse des troupes à la frontière turque, selon un journal

BEYROUTH, 15 juin (AFP) - La Syrie a massé près de 40.000 soldats le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie à la suite d'informations sur l'implication d'Ankara dans une série d'explosions en Syrie ces dernières semaines, a rapporté samedi le quotidien saoudien al-Hayat.

Des voyageurs en provenance de la frontière turque ont fait état d'un climat de tension et d'échanges de tirs du côté turc, qui "semble en état d'alerte permanente", ajoute le journal, publié à Londres.

Ces voyageurs ont fait état de l'arrivée "pour la première fois" de renforts syriens dans les zones frontalières, ajoute al-Hayat.

Selon le journal, une des explosions en Syrie --qui n'ont pas fait de victime-- est due à une voiture piégée qui a sauté le 6 mai dans la région de Bassatine, dans la banlieue de Damas, non loin du domicile du chef du Parti des travailleurs kurdes (PKK) Abdallah Ocalan.

"Les forces de l'ordre syriennes ont découvert sur les lieux une autre voiture piégée qui n'a pas explosé", ajoute le journal citant une source proche du PKK, mouvement séparatiste en lutte contre le régime d'Ankara.

Une deuxième bombe, plus petite, a explosé quelques jours plus tard sur la place Marjeh de Damas, dans un terrain en construction. Deux autres bombes ont explosé en deux mois à Lattaquie (nord), poursuit le journal citant des sources bien informées à Damas qui ont démenti que ces bombes --une placée dans une voiture et l'autre dans une poubelle-- aient visé le président Hafez al-Assad.

La semaine dernière, le quotidien britannique Financial Times, citant des sources politiques arabes haut placées, avait indiqué que M. Assad, qui dispose d'une résidence secondaire à Lattaquie, avait été visé par un attentat à la bombe à Damas.

Selon des sources diplomatiques citées par al-Hayat, les services de sécurité syriens ont arrêté 80 membres de la communauté turkmène à Lattaquie à la suite de ces explosions.

Al-Hayat cite des "observateurs", selon lesquels la Syrie a accusé Ankara d'être responsable de ces explosions, qui représentent des "messages" destinés à montrer que "les services secrets turcs sont capables de menacer la sécurité de la Syrie".

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AFP /AA1234/151314 JUN 96

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Turquie-Kurdes 2èlead

77 rebelles kurdes tués dans des opérations de l'armée turque

ANKARA, 15 juin (AFP) - 77 rebelles kurdes ont été tués par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires menées dans des régions du sud-est anatolien, a rapporté samedi l'agence Anatolie, citant des sources officielles.

57 rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués lors d'opérations au sud de Cukurca, près de frontière avec l'Irak, selon un communiqué de la préfecture de l'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir cité par l'agence. Un soldat turc a été tué lors de ces accrochages, selon la même source.

16 autres rebelles kurdes ont été tués sur le mont de Bagok, au nord-est de Nusaybin, région frontalière avec la Syrie, selon le communiqué. Quatre rebelles ont été abattus par ailleurs à Gurpınar (sud-est, province de Van).

Ce bilan porte à 199 le nombre total des rebelles kurdes tués depuis mercredi, dont 146 dans la seule région de Cukurca, le long de la frontière turco-irakien, où les troupes turques effectuent depuis plusieurs jours une opération ponctuelle contre le PKK.

Vendredi, le quotidien turc Hurriyet avait rapporté que 5.000 hommes de l'armée turque avaient pénétré cette semaine en territoire irakien afin de pourchasser les rebelles du PKK qui l'utilisent comme base arrière pour mener des attaques contre les cibles turques.

Les opérations contre le PKK se poursuivaient samedi, selon le communiqué.

L'armée turque a intensifié ses opérations contre le PKK depuis début avril dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, tuant près de 750 rebelles.

Un cessez-le-feu déclaré unilatéralement le 15 décembre dernier par le chef du PKK, Abdullah Ocalan dit "Apo", n'est pas reconnu par l'armée turque.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara dans le but de créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens. Les attaques du PKK et les opérations de l'armée ont fait en 12 ans près de 22.000 morts, civils, militaires, rebelles et policiers.

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FRS0161 4 I 0292 TUR /AFP-LR42

Turquie-Kurdes

28 rebelles kurdes tués dans des opérations de l'armée turque

ANKARA, 16 juin (AFP) - Vingt-huit rebelles kurdes ont été tués depuis samedi par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires menées dans des régions du sud-est anatolien, a rapporté dimanche l'agence Anatolie, citant des sources officielles.

Seize rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués lors d'opérations au sud de Cukurca, près de la frontière avec l'Irak, selon un communiqué de la préfecture de l'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir cité par l'agence. Un gardien de village (miliciens kurdes pro-gouvernementaux) a été tué lors de ces accrochages, selon la même source.

Douze autres rebelles kurdes ont été tués lors d'opérations dans les régions de Baskale (est, province de Van, frontalier avec l'Iran), de Sirnak (sud) et de Bagok (près de Nusaybin, frontalier avec la Syrie) selon le communiqué.

D'importantes quantités d'armes, de mines et de vivres ont été saisies dans cette dernière zone d'opération.

Ce dernier bilan porte à 227 le nombre total des rebelles kurdes tués depuis mercredi, dont 162 dans la seule région de Cukurca, le long de la frontière turco-irakien, où les troupes turques effectuent depuis plusieurs jours une opération ponctuelle contre le PKK.

L'armée turque a intensifié ses opérations contre le PKK depuis début avril dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, tuant près de 775 rebelles.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara dans le but de créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens. Les attaques du PKK et les opérations de l'armée ont fait en 12 ans près de 22.000 morts, civils, militaires, rebelles et policiers.

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Syrie-Turquie-Arabes ·lead

La Ligue arabe met en garde contre une éventuelle incursion turque en Syrie

LE CAIRE, 16 juin (AFP) - Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe, le Syrien Mouaffak al-Allaf, a mis en garde dimanche contre une incursion militaire turque en Syrie mais a affirmé ne pas croire au déclenchement d'un conflit armé entre les deux pays.

A un journaliste qui l'interrogeait sur une éventuelle incursion turque en Syrie pour pourchasser les militants kurdes du PKK, M. Allaf a répondu : "Ce serait grave si la Turquie pense faire quelque chose de ce genre".

"Il s'agirait d'une menace sans précédent contre la Syrie. Ce ne sera pas comme en Irak où les forces turques ont pénétré à plusieurs reprises dans le nord", a ajouté le responsable de la Ligue.

"De telles actions turques, dirigées contre l'Irak ou la Syrie, provoqueront un regain de tension dans la région. Elles démasqueront les intentions turques, qui ont été à l'origine de son accord militaire avec Israël d'autant que la multiplication des visites entre militaires turcs et israéliens sont inquiétantes", a estimé M. Allaf.

La Ligue "suit avec inquiétude ce qui se passe actuellement à la frontière syro-turque et le monde arabe ne restera pas les bras croisés si les informations sur des mouvements (de troupes turques) à la frontière syrienne se confirmaient", a-t-il affirmé.

M. Allaf a toutefois "exclu le déclenchement d'un conflit armé car tous ces mouvements visent à exercer une pression sur la Syrie de façon à servir Israël". Il a estimé que l'accord militaire israélo-turc "nuît aux relations arabo-turques d'autant que le peuple turc ne profitera pas de cet accord qui sert l'ennemi des Arabes et de la Turquie, c'est à dire Israël".

Ankara, a ajouté M. Allaf, "doit être attentif devant les tentatives d'Israël visant à enfoncer un coin entre les Arabes et la Turquie et profiter de la tension entre eux".

Le sommet du Caire discutera "de toutes les questions concernant la sécurité nationale arabe dont l'accord israélo-turc et le problème de l'eau" de l'Euphrate.

L'agence semi-officielle turque Anatolie a affirmé dimanche que la Syrie a massé des unités blindées dans les régions frontalières avec la Turquie. Samedi, le quotidien saoudien al-Hayat avait rapporté que la Syrie avait massé près de 40.000 soldats le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie à la suite d'informations sur l'implication d'Ankara dans une série d'explosions en Syrie ces dernières semaines.

Les relations entre la Syrie et la Turquie sont tendues depuis plusieurs années, Damas reprochant à Ankara de détourner les eaux de l'Euphrate alors que la Turquie accuse la Syrie de soutenir les séparatistes kurdes turcs.

Les rapports entre les deux pays se sont détériorés après la signature en février d'un accord de coopération militaire entre la Turquie et Israël qui prévoit notamment des vols d'entraînement des avions de chaque pays dans l'espace aérien de l'autre.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1996

Greece Drops Objection To EU Aid for Turkey

By Tom Buerkle

International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — Signaling a potential breakthrough in the tense political standoff between Athens and Ankara, Greece on Monday said it would stop blocking the release of billions of dollars of European Union aid to Turkey and 11 other Mediterranean countries.

The decision, announced by Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos at a meeting of EU foreign ministers here, followed months of strong diplomatic pressure from Greece's EU partners, who regard the 3.4 billion Ecu (\$4.9 billion) aid package as vital to stabilizing the bloc's southern and eastern Mediterranean neighbors.

The Greek move came after EU ministers endorsed a declaration calling on

Turkey to pursue "good-neighborly relations" and to submit territorial disputes with Greece to arbitration by the International Court of Justice. Greece and Turkey, both NATO allies, went to the brink of confrontation in January after Turkish sailors planted their country's flag on the disputed Aegean island of Imia.

Foreign Minister Dick Spring of Ireland, who brokered the agreement as holder of the Union's rotating presidency, called it a "very positive development."

Hans van den Broek, the EU commissioner for external relations, said, "We hope very much that this procedure can at least help develop a dialogue with Turkey that will give some relief to tension" between Athens and Ankara.

Mr. Pangalos insisted that Turkey would have to agree to the EU conditions for aid to flow.

Mr. Spring and Mr. van den Broek planned to meet with the Turkish foreign minister, Tansu Ciller, in Dublin on Wednesday.

"We have to have a response, and this response has to be positive," Mr. Pangalos said.

Mr. Pangalos refused to drop a separate Greek veto over other EU plans to extend 375 million Ecus of aid to Turkey to help the country face up to EU competition as tariffs are phased out under a customs union signed last year.

That position could force Ankara to balk at accepting any deal that did not guarantee access to those funds.

Still, EU officials said Monday's agreement was significant because the aid package was a vital element of the Union's plan to develop closer ties with its southern and eastern Mediterranean neighbors, leading to a pan-Mediterranean free-trade area around the year 2010.

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Turquie-Kurdes lead

57 rebelles kurdes tués dans la zone frontalière turco-irakienne

ANKARA, 15 juin (AFP) - Cinquante-sept rebelles kurdes ont été tués par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires au sud de Cukurca, la région frontalière turco-irakienne, a rapporté samedi l'agence Anatolie.

Un soldat turc a été tué lors d'accrochages selon la même source.

Ce bilan porte à 146 le nombre des rebelles kurdes du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), tués depuis mercredi dans la seule région de Cukurca, le long de la frontière turco-irakienne.

Vendredi, 50 rebelles kurdes avaient été tués dans des opérations de l'armée turque dans cette région.

Les troupes turques effectuent depuis plusieurs jours une opération ponctuelle contre les rebelles du PKK dans le nord de l'Irak, avait-on indiqué vendredi de sources militaires à Ankara.

Vendredi, le quotidien turc Hurriyet avait rapporté que 5.000 hommes de l'armée turque avaient pénétré cette semaine en territoire irakien afin de pourchasser les rebelles du PKK qui l'utilisent comme base arrière pour mener des attaques contre les cibles turques.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara. Cette rébellion, qui vise à créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien, situé à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, et les opérations de l'armée ont fait en 12 ans près de 22.000 morts, civils, militaires, rebelles et policiers.

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Turquie-Syrie 2èlead

Des troupes syriennes massées près de la frontière turque, selon Anatolie

ANKARA, 16 juin (AFP) - La Syrie a massé des unités blindées dans les régions frontalières avec la Turquie, a rapporté dimanche l'agence semi-officielle turque Anatolie, citant des commerçants turcs et syriens venant de Syrie.

Ces commerçants déclarent avoir vu des convois de blindés syriens qui avançaient vers la frontière turque, indique l'agence dans une dépêche datée de Nusaybin, localité proche de la frontière, près de Mardin.

Ils affirment également avoir vu des unités blindées positionnées dans plusieurs provinces syriennes frontalières de la Turquie.

L'agence n'a pas précisé quelles étaient ces provinces. La frontière syrienne, qui fait près de 800 km, est la plus longue frontière de la Turquie.

Interrogé à Ankara, l'état-major de l'armée turque s'est refusé à tout commentaire. Un porte-parole a indiqué que l'état-major était "très calme" et qu'il ne disposait pas d'informations pour la presse.

Samedi, le quotidien saoudien al-Hayat avait rapporté que la Syrie avait massé près de 40.000 soldats le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie à la suite d'informations sur l'implication d'Ankara dans une série d'explosions en Syrie ces dernières semaines.

Ces attentats ont eu lieu en mai à Lattaquie (nord) et à Damas, dont l'un non loin du domicile du chef du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie) Abdullah Ocalan, dans la capitale syrienne, selon al-Hayat.

Anatolie rapporte pour sa part, toujours en citant ces commerçants, que les attentats à la bombe en Syrie était l'oeuvre de l'organisation islamiste des Frères Musulmans.

De nombreuses explosions ont également eu lieu depuis une semaine dans les provinces syriennes frontalières avec la Turquie, selon l'agence qui ne précise pas les lieux exacts.

Elle ne donne pas non plus d'information sur d'éventuelles victimes de ces explosions, qui selon les témoins se produisent en général dans la soirée.

Selon l'agence, la Syrie a déclenché une campagne d'arrestations dans les milieux turcomans (syriens d'origine turque), qu'elle soupçonne de responsabilité dans ces explosions.

Depuis mai, Damas a commencé à exercer un strict contrôle sur les Turcs qui font du commerce frontalier avec la Syrie, indique encore l'agence. Depuis, très peu de commerçants turcs ont obtenu la permission d'entrer en Syrie, ce qui a fait doubler les prix des marchandises dans les zones frontalières.

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Les relations turco-syriennes sont froides depuis plusieurs années. Le Turquie reproche à la Syrie de donner refuge à Damas ou dans la Bekaa libanaise sous son contrôle à Abdullah Ocalan, chef du PKK, qui mène depuis 12 ans une rébellion armée dans le sud-est de la Turquie à majorité kurde pour l'établissement d'un Etat kurde indépendant.

La Syrie, avec l'Irak, reproche à la Turquie d'utiliser contre elle l'arme de l'eau en rationnant le volume des eaux de l'Euphrate qu'elle laisse passer sur son territoire, grâce à un gigantesque projet de barrages et de systèmes d'irrigation en cours de construction dans le sud-est de la Turquie. Ankara dément cette accusation.

Dernièrement, les relations se sont tendues davantage avec la signature en février d'un accord de coopération militaire entre la Turquie et Israël qui prévoit notamment des vols d'entraînement des avions des deux pays dans le ciel de l'autre.

La Syrie, ainsi que d'autres pays arabes et l'Iran, ont vivement condamné cet accord. Damas et Téhéran ont estimé qu'il les visait, ce qu'Ankara a catégoriquement démenti.

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Irak-Turquie-Kurdes

Bagdad proteste contre une nouvelle "invasion" turque dans le nord de l'Irak

BAGDAD, 16 juin (AFP) - L'Irak a protesté dimanche contre une opération militaire turque dans le Kurdistan irakien et a demandé à Ankara de mettre fin au plus tôt à cette nouvelle "invasion".

Selon un porte-parole du ministère irakien des Affaires étrangères, cité par l'agence officielle INA, "des troupes terrestres turques ont pénétré sur une profondeur de 10 km en territoire irakien alors que l'aviation d'Ankara bombardait des villes et des villages irakiens sous prétexte de poursuivre des auteurs de troubles, qui menacent la sécurité nationale de la Turquie".

Le porte-parole n'a pas précisé quand cette opération turque a eu lieu. Il a exprimé les "profonds regrets" de Bagdad à la suite de cette "nouvelle invasion qui viole la souveraineté et l'intégrité territoriale" de l'Irak et constitue "une atteinte au droit international, à la Charte des Nations unies ainsi qu'aux relations de bon voisinage" entre les deux pays.

Vendredi, on avait indiqué de source militaire à Ankara que l'armée turque avait effectué cette semaine une opération ponctuelle contre les rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) dans le nord de l'Irak.

Selon cette source, cette opération était "ponctuelle" et n'était pas comparable à celle menée en mars-avril 1995 contre le PKK en territoire irakien où l'armée turque avait déployé 30.000 à 35.000 hommes.

Le nord de l'Irak, qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad depuis 1991, sert de base arrière au PKK et est le théâtre d'une lutte d'influence entre les diverses factions kurdes irakiennes.

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Syria's Consistent Pattern / Terrorism, Drug Trafficking and Counterfeiting

How Assad Plays All Sides Against Middle

By Elaine Sciolino and Douglas Jehl
New York Times Service

FOR FIVE hours on April 22, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher held intense discussions with President Hafez Assad of Syria at his presidential palace in Damascus to end the fighting between Israel and Muslim guerrillas in southern Lebanon.

While Mr. Christopher paid court, a few miles away at Damascus International Airport, an Iran Air 747 unloaded Katyusha rockets and other military equipment for delivery via Syrian military trucks for those guerrillas, American intelligence officials believe.

Five such shipments reportedly arrived between April 13 and 29. All the while, the Syrian president was receiving visits from Mr. Christopher and six other foreign ministers — from Russia, France, Italy, Spain, Ireland and Iran. Aides to Mr. Christopher say that at the time he did not know about the specific weapons shipments, only that the guerrillas were well supplied.

For more than a decade, Syria has played both ends against the middle, taking part in peace talks even as it fosters terrorism and tolerates drug trafficking and the distribution of counterfeit American currency in Lebanon's Wild West: the Syrian-controlled Bekaa region.

American officials say the election of Benjamin Netanyahu as prime minister of Israel may shift the balance. Mr. Netanyahu is opposed to exchanging the Israeli-held Golan

Heights for peace with Syria, and the United States fears that Mr. Assad will react by stepping up his support for terrorism.

An examination of Mr. Assad's record, based on interviews with current and former American officials and authorities from Israel, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey, shows a consistent pattern: Mr. Assad supports groups that put pressure on his adversaries.

The arrests in Jordan of three dozen members of Syrian-based Palestinian guerrilla groups in the last two months illustrate the role such groups can play.

Jordanian officials say the infiltrators, members of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and other militant groups, traveled in small groups, carrying machine guns and up to 200 pounds of explosives for attacks on Israeli tourists and other targets in Jordan. The groups operate from Syria while receiving money from Iran.

According to the State Department's annual report on terrorism, Syria has not been "directly involved" in a terrorist attack since 1986, when Mr. Assad's air force intelligence chief masterminded the bombing of an El Al airliner.

But Syria remains on the list of nations that support terrorism for giving groups as varied as the Islamic Palestinian group Hamas and the Japanese Red Army a place to call home, and for allowing Palestinian and anti-Turkish Kurdish guerrillas to run military training operations.

Until the Israeli election last month, American officials por-

trayed Mr. Assad, 66, as a leader who comes to decisions slowly and sees dangers everywhere, but who in recent years had come to realize that negotiating with Israel was clearly to his advantage.

Those views changed overnight. "If Assad feels there's nothing in it for him at all, he'll have an incentive to show the consequences of excluding him," a senior U.S. official said. "If the new Israeli government decides it wants to make Assad the bad guy, it will be a self-fulfilling prophecy."

Edward P. Djerejian, who was ambassador to Syria and Israel, said: "Assad feels deeply that the biggest card he has to play is that there will be no peace unless Syria is part of a comprehensive settlement. These other factors are not his main preoccupation."

Bahraini officials publicly blamed Iran recently for backing an attempted coup against their government, asserting that the suspected plotters, who were Bahrainis, were trained in both Iran and the Bekaa region. American intelligence officials call those claims credible, adding that the plotters could not have trained in the Bekaa without the knowledge and support of Syria.

As for Jordan, officials in the kingdom are reluctant to criticize Syria publicly for its support for anti-Jordanian guerrillas for fear that the publicity could undermine Jordan's tourist industry.

In an interview at his palace in Amman on June 1, King Hussein spoke angrily about what he described as the continuing infiltration. He said Jordan had intercepted "people coming

across, weapons coming across, explosives coming across and information about decisions being taken to continue it."

The king did not mention Syria by name, but Jordan protested privately through security channels to Syria. "These groups are operating out of Syria, and it's hard to believe that the Syrian government does not know about these activities," a Jordanian official said.

The United States has its grievances against Syria for similar reasons. Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, a lecturer at the University of South Florida and the head of an Islamic organization in Tampa, moved to Damascus and became head of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad last year. The United States put him on its list of terrorist organizations and seized his assets in the United States: \$2,300 from his personal account, \$15,500 from his organization.

Syria denies trying to destabilize other governments, although it regards its support for its Palestinian brethren as a duty.

"There are half a million Palestinian refugees driven from their homes by Israel who found shelter in Syria," the official daily Syria Times said in a recent commentary.

"It is natural for those refugees to have their own organizations and to cling fast to the United Nations resolutions which guarantee for them the right to repatriation."

Syria's support for Palestinian groups is not nearly as great as that of Iran. But Syria closely monitors and controls the move-

ment of Palestinians, American intelligence officials say.

With 35,000 troops as well as plainclothes intelligence officers, Syria operates like a deeply entrenched protection racket in Lebanon. Its troops have allowed parts of the Bekaa region to remain a haven for lawlessness, particularly in the drug trade and counterfeiting.

To its credit, Syria has reduced the marijuana and opium poppy crop in the Bekaa to inconsequential levels, according to American satellite photographs taken last year.

But new drug processing plants have been built in the Bekaa. Since 1993, substantial amounts of cocaine paste and morphine base have been smuggled through Lebanon, processed at the Bekaa plants, then rerouted to Europe and the Arabian Peninsula.

And Syrian officers extract large profits from drug trafficking and other illegal smuggling, American intelligence officials believe. Mr. Assad has refused to prosecute them.

For that reason, the United States has declined to certify that Syria is cooperating in efforts to combat illegal drugs. This has enraged the Syrians, who have felt they should be rewarded for helping eradicate the drug crops.

Syria also tolerates the counterfeiting of \$100 bills in the Bekaa. The Bekaa and other parts of Lebanon have produced high-quality fake \$100 bills for years. In recent years, the Lebanese and Syrian authorities have uncovered offset presses and confiscated millions of dollars and other currencies.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, JUNE 17, 1996

Turkey and Israel Spring a Realignment in the Middle East

WASHINGTON — One of the best diplomatic stories these days is a cloak-and-dagger thriller involving bombs in Syria, an assassination attempt in Turkey, missing bags of money in Ankara and covert Turkish-Israeli military cooperation. It's James Bond does the Tigris and Euphrates, and it's what Middle East leaders are really talking about.

Scene One. Our story opens in Israel in February 1996, when the Turkish military's deputy chief of staff, Cevik Bir, pays a secret visit to forge a military alliance with Shimon Peres. The deal calls for Israeli planes to practice in the open skies over Turkey and for Turkish planes to train over Israel.

This gives Israel's air force its first staging area in Asia, from which it could outflank Syria and intimidate Iran. It gives the Turks a perfect way to squeeze Syrian President Hafez Assad, who has been providing a sanctuary for Abdullah Oca-

lan, leader of the Kurdish Workers Party, the PKK, which has been fighting a bloody guerrilla war against the Turks from bases in Syria. Mr. Assad keeps Mr. Ocalan around to prevent Turkey, which is building a dam on the Euphrates, from choking off Syria's water supply.

Scene Two. At a meeting of Central Asian leaders in Ashkabad, Turkmenistan, in May, Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani meets Turkey's president, Suleyman Demirel, who had recently visited Israel. Mr. Rafsanjani, according to a participant, goes "bananas" over the Turkey-Israel pact, fulminating that "the Israelis will use it to bomb Tehran."

Scene Three. Two days later, Mr. Demirel is cutting the ribbon at a new office building in Izmit, Turkey, when Ibrahim Gumrukcuoglu, a 47-year-old pharmacist with Islamic fundamentalist leanings, steps out of

the shadows and tries to shoot him. A Demirel bodyguard deflects the gunman's arm and foils the assassination attempt.

The assailant says he attacked the president to express anger over the Turkey-Israel pact. The shooting comes days after Iran and Turkey quietly evicted several of each other's diplomats on suspicion of fo-

menting trouble.

Scene Four. In early May, a series of unexplained bomb explosions take place around Syria. The Financial Times reports that one bomb exploded on May 6 on the route that Mr. Assad was to have taken to the annual commemoration of the day Syrian nationalist rebels were executed by the Ottoman Turks in the 19th century. The Syrians round up 600 ethnic Turks living around Damascus on suspicion of involvement in the bombings.

Scene Five. Turkey's coali-

tion government collapses, and Necmettin Erbakan, head of the Islamist Welfare Party, is called on to form a new government. But the Turkish military, working behind the scenes, effectively blocks him from building a coalition, because the army fears that he would scotch the Israeli-Turkish military deal.

Word then leaks out that former Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller can't explain what happened to \$6 million from the prime minister's discretionary operations fund. Mrs. Ciller says that if she were to disclose where the money went, it could damage relations with neighboring states and possibly cause a war. Speculation in Istanbul is that the money went to Chechen rebels or for bombings in Damascus.

Meanwhile, the Turks report that a squadron of their F-4 Phantom jets have been recon-figured with Israeli electronics so that they can fire on Syrian surface-to-air missiles before the Syrians can fire on them.

What is going on here? Quite simply, it is a major strategic realignment in Middle East-Asia. Israel's peace process with the Muslim world has given Turkey the cover to openly align with Israel so that the two can undercut their common foes, Syria and Iranian-style Islamic extremism.

This realignment is a reminder that for the Peres-Rabin team the peace process was not just a romantic adventure but a strategic choice to help Israel make peace with the inner ring of countries around it so that it could deal more effectively with the real long-term threats to its security on the outer ring — Libya, Iran and Iraq.

Maybe the most important strategic relationship that the new Israeli government will inherit, and have to deftly manage, will be neither the one to the west with Egypt nor the one to the east with Jordan, but the one to the north with Turkey.

The New York Times.

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Turquie-Syrie lead

La Turquie dément toute intention d'entrer militairement en Syrie

ANKARA, 17 juin (AFP) - La Turquie a démenti lundi avoir l'intention d'effectuer une incursion militaire en territoire syrien pour pourchasser les rebelles kurdes de Turquie qui, selon elle, reçoivent l'aide de Damas. "Il n'y a aucun plan d'incursion" (en Syrie), a déclaré un porte-parole du ministère des affaires étrangères, Nurettin Nurkan, lors d'un point de presse.

"La Turquie ne constitue pas un danger pour ses voisins", a-t-il ajouté. Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe, le Syrien Mouaffak al-Allaf, avait lancé dimanche une mise en garde à la Turquie contre une éventuelle incursion en Syrie, indiquant qu'une telle incursion aurait de graves conséquences.

Par ailleurs, un exercice naval turc en cours dans les mers Egée et Méditerranée va se poursuivre dans les eaux internationales au large de la Syrie, a-t-on appris de source militaire.

"C'est un exercice d'entraînement et des exercices semblables ont déjà eu lieu dans cette zone par le passé. La Syrie n'a pas à s'inquiéter", a-t-on précisé de même source.

Les relations entre Damas et Ankara sont froides depuis plusieurs années. La Turquie accuse la Syrie d'abriter et d'aider les militants du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et notamment leur chef Abdullah Ocalan qui réside à Damas ou dans la Bekaa libanaise sous contrôle syrien. Damas rejette ces accusations.

La Syrie accuse la Turquie de lui rationner l'eau de l'Euphrate à l'aide d'une série de barrages sur ce fleuve, ce qu'Ankara dément.

Les relations syro-turques se sont encore envenimées après la signature en février dernier d'un accord de coopération militaire entre la Turquie et Israël. La Syrie se considère visée par cet accord, malgré les dénégations turques.

"Nous voulons de bonnes relations avec la Syrie mais la précondition est qu'elle cesse de soutenir le terrorisme", a déclaré M. Nurkan lors de son point de presse.

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La Marseillaise - 17 juin 1996

TURQUIE : BAIN DE SANG AU KURDISTAN

Vingt-huit combattants kurdes ont été tués ce week-end lors d'accrochages entre l'armée et le PKK (parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) dans les régions frontalières avec l'Irak, l'Iran et la Syrie, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie. Ce bilan porte à 227 le nombre total des "rebelles" kurdes tués depuis mercredi, dont 162 dans la région de Cukurca, le long de la frontière irakienne, au delà de laquelle les troupes turques ont effectué plusieurs incursions ces derniers jours. Toujours selon l'armée turque, le bilan depuis le début de l'année serait de 775 tués.

L'agence Anatolie affirme également que l'armée syrienne a massé des troupes et des blindés le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie.

Turkish Daily News

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 1996

Muslim Brothers shake the regime in Syria

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Syrian opposition group, Muslim Brothers, which has been trying to weaken the regime of the Baath Party in Syria via bombardments since May, has taken action in the settlement areas near the Turkish border, the Anatolia news agency reported.

According to reports, there were blasts in the provinces and towns near the Turkish border last week as well as in Damascus, Aleppo and Latakia. Turkish and Syrian traders coming from Syria said that although it was believed that the Muslim Brothers were responsible for the blasts, the Syrian government was maintaining that Turkmen were responsible and was detaining them and making arrests.

The traders said that the Baath government imposes strict controls over border trade and that it gives priority only to

trucks that carry cement from Turkey.

"Syria supported Hizbollah against Israel and the PKK against Turkey. The Baath government, which supports terrorism, is now weakened by the Muslim Brothers," claimed the traders. It was also reported that Syria had placed armored units at the Turkish border, which can only be seen from the Syrian side of the border and not from the Turkish side. Meanwhile, the Tehran Times newspaper, which is published in Iran, claimed that people coming from the Syria-Turkey border heard gunshots on the Turkish side.

The paper, which is said to have an affinity with the Iran Foreign Ministry, said that Turkey's Syria policy serves Israel, and that Turkey had become an ally of Israel since it signed a military training agreement in February.

Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace - 17 juin 1996

Syrie-Turquie : mouvements de troupes à la frontière

La Syrie a massé des unités blindées dans les régions frontalières avec la Turquie, a rapporté hier l'agence semi-officielle turque Anatolie. La veille déjà, le quotidien saoudien al-Hayat avait également rapporté que la Syrie avait massé près de 40 000 soldats le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie à la suite d'informations sur l'implication d'Ankara dans une série d'explosions en Syrie ces dernières semaines. A Ankara, l'état

major de l'armée turque s'est refusé à tout commentaire. Les relations turco-syriennes sont froides depuis plusieurs années. Le Turquie reproche à la Syrie de donner refuge à Damas ou dans la Bekaa libanaise sous son contrôle à Abdullah Ocalan, chef du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie), qui mène depuis 12 ans une rébellion armée dans le sud-est de la Turquie pour l'établissement d'un Etat kurde indépendant.

Courrier Picard - 17 juin 1996

La Ligue arabe met en garde la Turquie

Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe, le Syrien Mouaffak al-Allaf, a mis en garde hier contre une incursion militaire turque en Syrie mais a affirmé ne pas croire au déclenchement d'un conflit armé entre les deux pays.

A un journaliste qui l'interrogeait sur une éventuelle incursion turque en Syrie pour pourchasser les militants kurdes du PKK, M. Allaf a répondu : « Ce serait grave si la Turquie pense faire quelque chose de ce genre ».

« Il s'agirait d'une menace sans précédent contre la Syrie. Ce ne sera pas comme en Irak où les forces turques ont pénétré à plusieurs reprises dans le nord », a ajouté le responsable de la Ligue.

« De telles actions turques, dirigées contre l'Irak ou la Syrie, provoqueront un regain de tension dans la région. Elles démasqueront les intentions turques, qui ont été à l'origine de son accord militaire avec Israël d'autant que la multiplication des visites entre militaires turcs et israéliens sont inquiétantes », a estimé M. Allaf.

La Ligue « suit avec attention ce qui se passe actuellement à la frontière syro-turque et le monde arabe ne restera pas les bras croisés si les informations sur des mouvements (de troupes turques) à la frontière syrienne se confirmaient », a-t-il affirmé.

Ankara, a ajouté M. Allaf, « doit être attentif devant les tentatives d'Israël visant à enfoncer un coin entre les Arabes et la Turquie et profiter de la tension entre eux ».

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Turquie-Syrie

La Turquie minimise la tension avec la Syrie

Par Umit ENGINSOY

ANKARA, 17 juin (AFP) - La Turquie s'est attachée lundi à minimiser la tension entre elle et la Syrie voisine, affirmant que les mouvements de troupes des deux côtés de leur frontière n'avaient pas un caractère agressif.

Elle a en particulier démenti toute intention d'effectuer une incursion militaire en territoire syrien pour pourchasser les rebelles kurdes de Turquie qui, selon elle, reçoivent l'aide de Damas.

"Il n'y a aucun plan d'incursion" (en Syrie), a déclaré un porte-parole du ministère des affaires étrangères, Nurettin Nurkan. "La Turquie ne constitue pas un danger pour ses voisins", a-t-il ajouté.

Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe, le Syrien Mouaffak al-Allaf, avait lancé dimanche une mise en garde à la Turquie contre une éventuelle incursion en Syrie, indiquant qu'une telle incursion aurait de graves conséquences.

De son côté, un responsable de l'armée turque, confirmant des informations qui circulaient depuis le week-end sur des mouvements de troupes syriennes dans la région frontalière entre les deux pays, a souligné que la Turquie ne s'estimait pas visée.

"Ce sont des mouvements de troupes isolés, nous ne nous attendons pas à une agression syrienne contre nous", a-t-il dit à l'AFP.

Il a fait état d'informations selon lesquelles des explosions, rapportées récemment par la presse internationale en certains points de la Syrie, "continuaient et étaient peut-être l'oeuvre des Frères Musulmans" (organisation hostile au pouvoir). "Les mesures syriennes ont pu être prises en réaction contre cela", a-t-il dit.

Il a également confirmé des mouvements de troupes turques du côté turc de la frontière tout en les qualifiant de mouvements de routine n'ayant "rien à voir avec la Syrie". Il a ajouté que les forces turques n'étaient pas dans un état d'alerte particulier.

Ce responsable a par ailleurs tenu à souligner que la Syrie ne devait pas s'émouvoir d'un exercice naval turc en cours en Egée et en Méditerranée et qui va se poursuivre dans les eaux internationales au large de ses côtes.

"C'est un exercice d'entraînement et des exercices semblables ont déjà eu lieu dans cette zone par le passé. La Syrie n'a pas à s'inquiéter", a-t-il dit.

De longue date, les relations entre Damas et Ankara sont froides. La Turquie accuse la Syrie d'abriter et d'aider les militants du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), notamment leur chef Abdullah Ocalan qui réside à Damas ou dans la Bekaa libanaise sous contrôle syrien. Damas rejette ces accusations.

La Syrie accuse la Turquie de lui rationner l'eau de l'Euphrate à l'aide d'une série de barrages sur ce fleuve, ce qu'Ankara dément.

Les relations syro-turques se sont encore envenimées après la signature en février d'un accord de coopération militaire entre la Turquie et Israël.

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La Syrie se considère visée par cet accord, malgré les dénégations turques.
"Nous voulons de bonnes relations avec la Syrie mais la précondition est qu'elle cesse de soutenir le terrorisme", a déclaré M. Nurkan lors de son point de presse.

La tension syro-turque devrait être abordée lors du prochain sommet de la Ligue Arabe au Caire cette semaine.

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OTAN-Turquie-Syrie

L'OTAN suit "très attentivement" la situation entre la Turquie et la Syrie

BRUXELLES, 17 juin (AFP) - L'OTAN suit "très attentivement" la situation entre la Turquie, membre de l'Alliance atlantique, et la Syrie, et n'a pas entrepris de démarche particulière pour faire baisser la tension entre les deux pays, a-t-on indiqué lundi de source diplomatique.

"Chaque mouvement de troupes, qu'il soit normal ou anormal, dans les régions proches" d'un Etat membre de l'OTAN "est un facteur de préoccupation" et "nous suivons de très près" la situation militaire le long de la frontière entre la Turquie et la Syrie, a indiqué un diplomate au siège de l'Alliance.

Selon Ankara, les mouvements de troupes perceptibles depuis ce week-end des deux côtés de cette frontière n'ont pas un caractère agressif. La Turquie a démenti en particulier toute intention d'effectuer une incursion militaire en territoire syrien pour pourchasser les rebelles kurdes de Turquie qui, selon elle, reçoivent l'aide de Damas.

Le secrétaire général adjoint de la Ligue arabe, le Syrien Mouaffak al-Allaf, avait pour sa part lancé dimanche une mise en garde à la Turquie contre une éventuelle incursion en Syrie, indiquant qu'une telle incursion aurait de graves conséquences.

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AFP /AA1234/171600 JUN 96

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Turquie-Syrie 3èlead

L'armée turque confirme les mouvements de troupes syriennes

ANKARA, 17 juin (AFP) - Un responsable de l'armée turque a confirmé lundi de récents mouvements de troupes syriennes dans les régions frontalières de la Turquie, mais a estimé que ces mouvements ne visaient pas la Turquie.

Cette source militaire contactée par l'AFP à Ankara a confirmé également des mouvements des troupes turques du côté turc de la frontière, tout en ajoutant que "ce sont des mouvements de routine qui n'ont rien à voir avec la Syrie".

"Nous disposons d'informations sur des mouvements de troupes syriennes mais ceux-ci ne visent pas la Turquie et ne nécessitent pas de contre-mesures de la part de la Turquie. Ce sont des déplacements isolés. Nous ne nous attendons pas à une agression syrienne", a poursuivi ce responsable.

"Nous avons des mouvements de troupes en Turquie mais ceux-ci ne visent pas la Syrie, a-t-il ajouté. Ces mouvements concernent soit la sécurité intérieure soit la formation militaire".

C'est la première confirmation officielle, tant du côté turc que syrien, de mouvements de troupes dans les régions frontalières entre les deux pays.

Le quotidien saoudien al-Hayat avait rapporté samedi que la Syrie avait massé près de 40.000 soldats le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie à la suite d'informations sur l'implication d'Ankara dans une série d'explosions en Syrie ces dernières semaines.

L'agence semi-officielle turque Anatolie, citant des commerçants turcs et syriens venant de Syrie, avait fait état dimanche de mouvements d'unités blindées syriennes dans les régions syriennes frontalières avec la Turquie, sans préciser leur emplacement précis.

La frontière turco-syrienne est longue de près de 800 km.

Ce responsable turc a précisé qu'il "n'est pas possible de dissimuler" des préparatifs de grande envergure de deux parties l'une contre l'autre.

Selon lui, les troupes turques situées dans les régions frontalières avec la Syrie ne sont pas actuellement en état d'alerte ou de vigilance accrue.

Les troupes postées dans la province turque de Hatay, dans la zone ouest de la frontière, n'ont pas été renforcées, selon ce responsable militaire.

La région de Hatay, sur laquelle la Syrie a des revendications territoriales depuis près de 50 ans selon Ankara, constitue parfois un point de passage depuis le territoire syrien de rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), en rébellion armée contre Ankara.

"Nous avons des informations faisant état de la poursuite des explosions en Syrie et d'activités des Frères musulmans (organisation hostile au régime syrien). Les mouvements syriens peuvent être liés à la sécurité intérieure", a ajouté par ailleurs le responsable militaire turc.

Des attentats ont eu lieu en mai à Lattaquie (nord) et à Damas, dont l'un non loin du domicile du chef du (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie) Abdullah Ocalan, dans la capitale syrienne, selon al-Hayat.

Selon lui, l'armée turque a des informations selon lesquelles les autorités syriennes ont procédé à des arrestations ces derniers jours, notamment dans les milieux turcomans (syriens d'origine turque), que les autorités syriennes soupçonnent de responsabilité dans ces explosions.

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La Turquie attend avec impatience la réouverture du marché irakien

Le débouché irakien était considéré comme le deuxième marché intérieur de la Turquie. D'autant plus précieux que le transit du pétrole était particulièrement lucratif pour Ankara. Les hommes d'affaires turcs ont maintenu des liens étroits avec leurs homologues de Bagdad.

Dirigeant l'adoption de la résolution 986 constitue pour la Turquie « une très bonne nouvelle », comme l'explique Serif Egeli, président du Conseil d'affaires turco-jordanien sur le Moyen-Orient, relève de l'euphorisme. Car pour bon nombre d'industriels, l'Irak constituait jusqu'à l'embargo « une sorte de deuxième marché intérieur », souligne un homme d'affaires. Il absorbait environ 25 % des exportations. Selon les statistiques irakiennes, la Turquie se hissa alors au deuxième rang des fournisseurs de l'Irak après les Etats-Unis en 1988 ; elle était son troisième client après les Etats-Unis et l'Union soviétique. En outre, cette interdépendance forte des échanges commerciaux stimulait de nombreux secteurs industriels et agricoles mais aussi tertiaires comme le transport routier : pas moins de 250.000 camions turcs faisaient la navette avec les grandes villes irakiennes.

L'embargo imposé à l'Irak a porté un coup très rude à l'économie turque : bon an mal an, selon

les experts à Istanbul, les exportations atteignaient environ 1,5 à 2 milliards de dollars, mais grimpaient à 8-10 milliards de dollars en tenant compte du transit du pétrole, une source de revenus substantiels. Le pétrole raffiné était acheminé en Turquie, stocké dans des zones portuaires puis réexporté. En outre, deux oléoducs parallèles d'une longueur de 1.300 km ont la capacité d'acheminer jusqu'à 160 millions de tonnes par an de pétrole brut, soit environ 440.000 barils par jour.

Avant la guerre du Golfe (chiffres du quatrième trimestre 1989), la capacité d'exportation de brut de Bagdad vers la Turquie était de 1.500 millions de b/j, et pouvait atteindre 2 millions b/j avec le doublement de l'oléoduc (ITP).

Réorientation vers l'Europe

Conséquence logique de la fermeture du marché : Ankara a réorienté progressivement ses exportations vers l'Asie centrale et l'Europe. L'an dernier, l'Union européenne a absorbé 51,2 % des exportations turques contre 47,7 % en 1994. Le fret routier s'est lui aussi redéployé, à l'image des flux commerciaux, privilégiant l'Asie centrale et la Russie.

S'il a pu, en grande partie, absorber l'impact du choc de la fermeture du marché, Ankara a aujourd'hui tout à gagner de la levée partielle de l'embargo. Les denrées

classiques - alimentaires et médicaments - que Bagdad est désormais autorisé à importer sont disponibles en Turquie. « Les godas alimentaires sont les mêmes de chaque côté de la frontière », souligne un homme d'affaires. Quant aux produits pharmaceutiques, « ils sont produits en majorité sur le territoire turc en association avec des partenaires étrangers comme Sandoz, Ciba-Geigy ou Bayer », indique un autre.

Au pire, même si « les Irakiens ne s'approvisionnaient pas chez nous, les cargaisons pourraient être acheminées par nos camions », explique Serif Egeli. Selon lui, « le transport par la Turquie reste meilleur marché et plus rapide, notamment pour les produits d'origine européenne ». En transitant par Amman (Jordanie), ces mêmes marchandises doivent au préalable franchir le canal de Suez, ce qui génère des coûts supplémentaires. Quant au golfe d'Aqaba, il reste une route possible pour acheminer les produits venant d'Asie. En outre, la réouverture du marché irakien va libérer à nouveau la voie aux routiers turcs vers l'Arabie saoudite, le Koweït ou encore les Emirats.

Contact maintenu

Durant les cinq années de l'embargo, les firmes turques ont gardé le contact avec leur voisin. Une importante délégation turque doit d'ailleurs se rendre prochainement

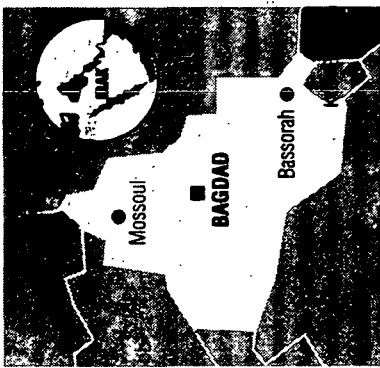
à Bagdad. Preuve de l'intérêt que porte Bagdad à Ankara : le ministre du Pétrole de Saddam Hussein est venu en Turquie avant même d'être rendu à Vienne à la conférence de l'Opep, puis la semaine dernière à Paris.

Le moral des dirigeants turcs est d'autant plus au beau fixe que la remise en état du pipeline fermé depuis cinq ans ne doit prendre que quelques semaines, le temps d'effectuer les modifications techniques pour assurer un redémarrage à débit réduit, expliquent les experts. Si ce processus de réouverture se poursuit, « d'ici un à deux ans, l'Irak sera de nouveau ouvert et le commerce comme les investissements vont reprendre de plus belle », pronostique Nihat Gökyigit, membre du patronat turc.

Certes, mais il reste le problème délicat du Kurdistan que les Turcs omettent souvent de mentionner. S'ils considèrent que les problèmes liés à cette région frontalière ont été exacerbés par la fermeture du marché voisin, ils passent en revanche sous silence les diverses interventions militaires de l'armée turque au Kurdistan irakien contre les rebelles du Parti des travailleurs (PKK).

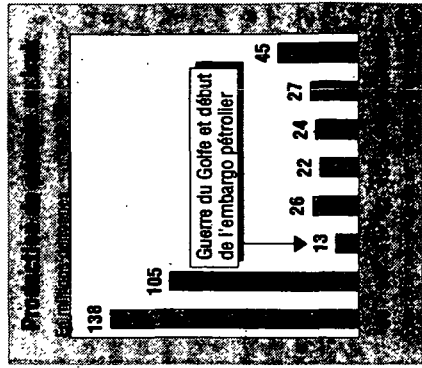
Après les opérations de 1995, de nouvelles offensives ont été menées, pas plus tard que la semaine dernière. De quoi relancer les tensions.

MICHEL DE GRANDI



Classement PNUD * : 106^e
 * Réalisé pour 174 pays en fonction de l'indice composite créé par le Programme des Nations-Unies pour le Développement, intégrant pouvoir d'achat, espérance de vie, alphabétisation des adultes.

● L'absence quasi-totale de données chiffrées ne nous permet pas de publier les statistiques relatives au PNB et au PNB par habitant. Tandis que la population est évaluée à 21-22 millions d'habitants selon les sources, seul le PNUD place l'Irak au 106^e rang sur 174.



Turkish Daily News

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1996

Kurdish infighting in N. Iraq

KDP forces kill leading Kurdistan Conservative Party figure

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA - A leading political figure and one of the leaders of the Surci family, Hussein Surci, was killed by Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) forces in northern Iraq on Sunday morning, the Anatolia news agency reported.

In total, seven were killed during clashes.

The KDP, led by Messud Barzani had accused the Kurdistan Conservative Party (KCP) of spying and encouraging hostilities in the region. In return the KCP accused the KDP of attacking its villages

Surci was a leading figure in the known to be pro-British KCP. The Ankara representative of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), Sehzad Saib, said that there were some problems between the KDP and the KCP.

Last Friday the two parties made a peace agreement but on Sunday KDP forces attacked a pro-KCP village, Serciya.

Saib said that the KDP wanted to control the whole of northern Iraq and for that reason they have been attacking the KCP.

The PUK, led by Jalal Talabani, are the main rivals to the KDP but are currently observing a ceasefire.

The KCP was established in Ankara after the Kurdish uprising against Saddam Hussein in 1991. Their main aim is for a referendum for Musul Province, whereby the whole population of Musul Province (Kurds and non-Kurds alike) would determine whether to become independent, join with Turkey or to stay with Iraq.

The KCP particularly wants independence but would settle with joining the Turkish Republic.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1996

Iraq Called Unbending on Arms Inspections

Visit by UN Official Expected to Fail

Baghdad Gets Into Disarmament Forum

Reuters

BAGHDAD — Iraq is unlikely to give in to pressure to change its stand on blocking inspection by United Nations weapons experts when a senior UN official, Rolf Ekeus, visits Baghdad, diplomats and analysts said Monday.

They said they expected that Iraq's government, angered by another search of its facilities, would be uncooperative unless the UN offered a timetable for the end of its disarmament activities here.

Baghdad, the diplomats and analysts said, will demand that the UN commission, which is overseeing the scrapping of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction under the 1991

Gulf War cease-fire, introduce fresh inspection procedures.

Mr. Ekeus, the commission chairman, is due in Baghdad on Wednesday. A team of 53 UN arms experts left the Iraqi capital Sunday after futile attempts to gain access to five installations that Iraq has declared vital to its sovereignty.

The commission suspects that Iraq is still hiding 15 long-range missiles and documents about its weapons programs.

Iraq insists it has nothing left to hide and accuses the commission of delaying the lifting of curbs on its oil exports, part of comprehensive UN trade sanctions imposed for its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Reuters

GENEVA — Iraq won a long battle for membership in the international Conference on Disarmament Monday after promising not to veto any of the body's decisions for at least two years.

After a weekend of closed-door negotiations, the 38 members of the influential United Nations-sponsored forum agreed by consensus to admit 23 new members, including Iraq, Syria, Israel, North Korea and South Africa.

The United States blocked the forum's expansion three years ago, arguing that Iraq should not be allowed to hold veto power on the conference — which always op-

erates by consensus — while it is still under UN sanctions for its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Under a rather cumbersome compromise brokered by South Africa, all 23 will have to forgo their veto right for at least two years and Iraq would have to do so for even longer if it remained under UN sanctions.

The U.S. ambassador, Steven Ledogar, said that Washington's essential condition had been met — Iraq alone could not block the work of the conference — although he said the compromise blurred the fact that Iraq had been the only obstacle to expanding the forum's membership.

L'armée de Damas à la frontière turque

L'accord israélo-turc fait enrager la Syrie qui aurait déployé 40.000 soldats.

Visiblement, Damas n'a pas apprécié le récent accord militaire entre Ankara et Jérusalem. Et il l'a fait savoir à sa manière, en organisant des mouvements de troupes dans les régions frontalières de la Turquie. Le quotidien saoudien *al-Hayat* avait rapporté samedi que la Syrie avait massé près de 40.000 soldats le long de sa frontière avec la Turquie à la suite d'informations sur l'implication d'Ankara dans une série d'explosions en Syrie ces dernières semaines. Les autorités turques, elles, cherchent à dédramatiser la situation et le porte-parole du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères, Nurettin Gürkan, déclarait hier qu'il n'y avait pas «*de plan militaire syrien visant le territoire turc*». Il a aussi souligné qu'Ankara «*ne menaçait pas du tout l'intégrité territoriale de la Syrie*» et que «*le traité turco-israélien n'était pas dirigé contre un pays tiers*».

La tension n'en est pas moins vive entre les deux pays séparés par quelques 800 km de frontière. Un haut responsable de l'état-major de l'armée turque a d'ailleurs reconnu que les troupes turques s'étaient récemment déployées tout le long de la frontière pour renforcer «*la sécurité frontalière*». Il a justifié cette mesure par «*l'accroissement des troubles internes en Syrie*», ce qui soit traduit une dégradation effective de la situation intérieure, soit sert de prétexte pour justifier le déploiement de l'armée turque. De son côté, l'Otan, dont la Turquie est l'un des piliers, a fait savoir qu'elle «*suivait de très près les développements de la situation*».

Si on ne peut exclure une aggravation des problèmes intérieurs dans la Syrie d'Hafez el-Assad, force est cependant de constater que cette montée de la tension survient au moment même où la Turquie et Israël se découvrent des intérêts économiques et, surtout, militaires communs au

point de signer en février un traité de coopération. Les deux pays ont ainsi convenu de partager les renseignements touchant à la sécurité militaire et d'entraîner de concert leurs pilotes de guerre. Depuis début juin, huit F-16 israéliens volent dans l'espace aérien turc. Israël Aircraft Industries va de son côté renforcer la flotte turque de F-4 Phantom. Cette coopération militaire doit encore se développer: des manœuvres navales conjointes sont prévues le mois prochain et, pour ce qui concerne l'aviation, il est convenu d'effectuer des exercices de ravitaillement en vol. Enfin, Israël va entraîner les forces turques à empêcher les infiltrations terroristes à ses frontières.

Dès lors, pour Damas, la stratégie développée par ses deux voisins ressemble fort

à une manœuvre d'encerclement, d'autant qu'Ankara s'emploie aussi à séduire la Jordanie. Ce traité survient alors que les relations sont déjà traditionnellement mauvaises entre la Turquie et la Syrie. Ankara n'a de cesse de critiquer le régime d'Hafez el-

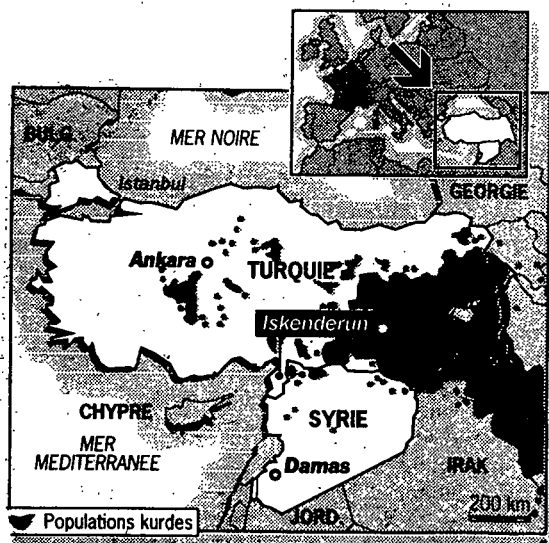
Assad, accusé d'être le «*protecteur*» de la rébellion kurde; le chef de celle-ci, Abdullah Ocatan, dit Apo, vit effectivement depuis une dizaine d'années à Damas et au Liban

du nord sous contrôle syrien. De son côté, Damas n'a toujours pas accepté que la région d'Alexandrette (Iskenderun, en turc), ne lui ait pas été restituée par Ankara qui l'a annexée avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Elle ressent aussi comme une injustice la construction de barrages sur l'Euphrate, fleuve dont elle est dépendante pour

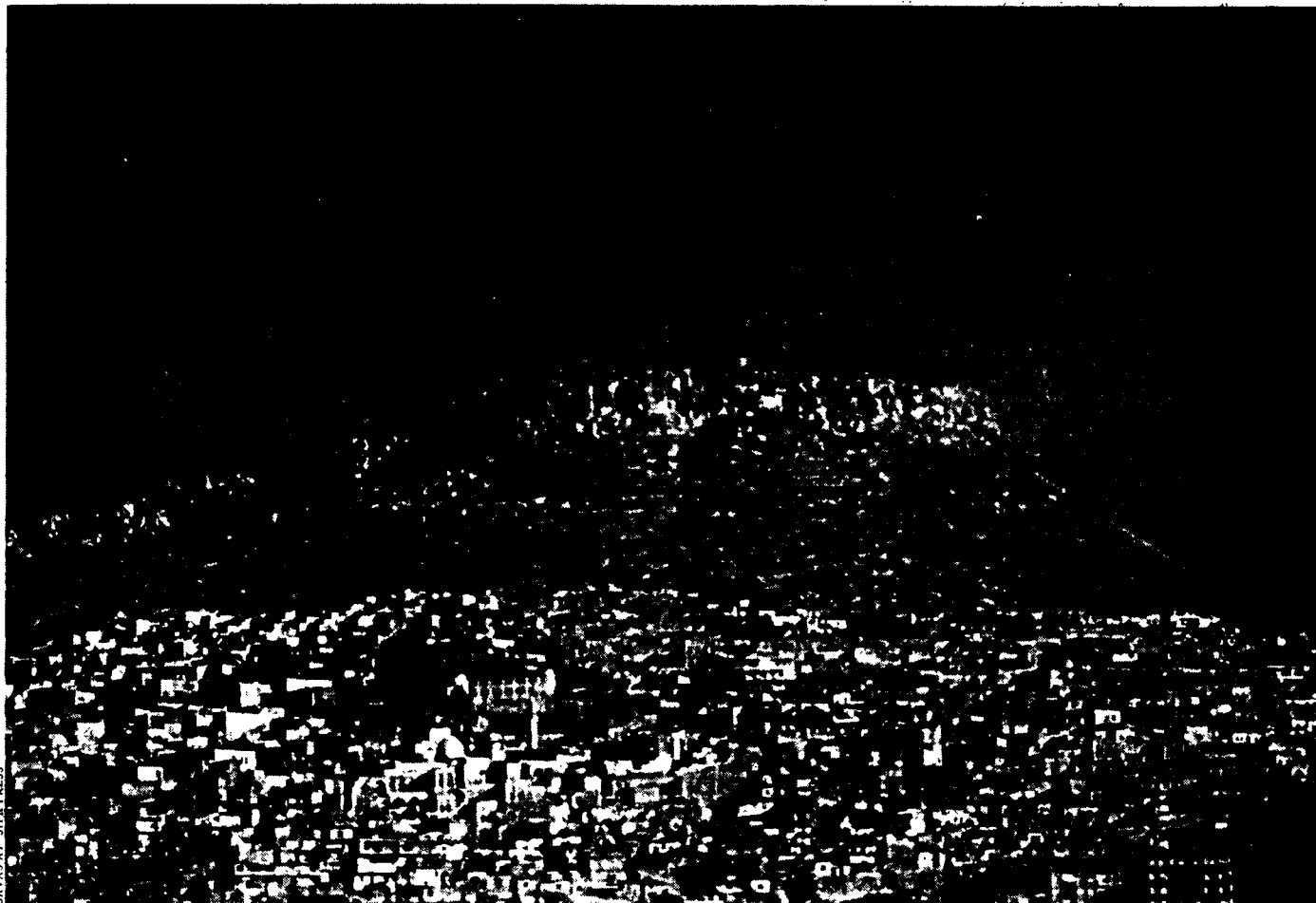
«*La Turquie ne menace pas du tout l'intégrité territoriale de la Syrie.*»
Nurettin Gürkan, ministre turc des Affaires étrangères

Iskenderun (Alexandrette)

Cette ville et ses alentours, la région du Hatay pour les Turcs, le Sandjak d'Alexandrette pour les Français, bénéficiait, en vertu de l'accord franco-turc de 1921, d'un statut autonome au sein de la Syrie sous mandat français. Sa population était hétérogène (40% de Turcs, 30% d'Arabes alaouites, 20% de chrétiens pour la plupart Arméniens, 10% d'Arabes sunnites). En 1938, alors que se précisait la perspective de l'indépendance syrienne, les Français créent un condominium avec les Turcs sur cette région cédée totalement un an plus tard à Ankara dont Paris recherchait l'alliance face à Hitler. Quelque 50.000 Arabes et Arméniens se réfugièrent alors en Syrie. Damas n'a jamais reconnu cette cession et revendique toujours cette région qui, sur ses cartes, figure toujours comme une partie intégrante de son territoire. Les autorités turques accusent les Syriens d'y couvrir les activités des rebelles kurdes du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatistes), en guerre contre Ankara depuis douze ans.



LIBÉRATION — 18 juin 1996



SAVASAY SIPA PRESS

A Mardin, dans le Sud-Est anatolien, sont déployés les radars de l'Alliance atlantique dont la Turquie est l'un des piliers.

son approvisionnement en eau. En mai, Hafez el-Asad avait obtenu le soutien de la Ligue arabe, qui avait solennellement protesté contre «l'attitude d'Ankara qui se sert de l'eau comme un moyen de chantage».

A Ankara, on fait savoir que des troubles ont eu lieu dernièrement à Damas, Alep et Lattaquié où des bombes auraient explosé. Les Frères musulmans et un groupe de Turkmènes seraient derrière cette opération de déstabilisation du régime d'Assad. Mardi dernier, le *Financial Times* faisait même état d'une tentative d'attentat comme le

président syrien. La presse turque consacrait hier ses premières pages à la tension turco-syrienne. Le quotidien *Yeni Yüzyil* (libéral), ouvrant ses colonnes aux spécialistes israéliens, affirmait à la une que «la Syrie va se noyer dans un bain de sang». La presse islamiste, elle, poursuit ses attaques contre la coopération turco-israélienne, tout en soulignant qu'un gouvernement islamiste «pourrait avoir de bonnes relations avec l'Etat hébreu». Ce nouveau foyer de crise s'installe alors que les relations entre Ankara et ses

autres voisins deviennent de plus en plus tendues. Sur sa frontière irakienne, la Turquie est engagée dans la lutte contre les militants armés du PKK et effectue de fréquentes incursions dans le nord de l'Irak pour les poursuivre. Avec la Grèce, elle a été au bord du conflit armé en janvier à cause d'un groupe d'îlots en mer Egée dont les deux pays se disputent la souveraineté. Avec l'Iran, les relations se dégradent également, Téhéran s'estimant menacé par l'accord militaire israélo-turc. Toutefois, c'est cet-

te nouvelle crise qui retient l'attention. En mars, les chaînes de la télévision turques avaient diffusé un film sur un scénario préparé par l'état-major turc sur l'incursion probable des forces syriennes dans le sud-est de l'Anatolie. Des tableaux comparaient les forces militaires des deux pays et montraient sur des cartes l'avance des troupes syriennes et la résistance de l'armée turque. Mais, de l'avis général des observateurs, des affrontements entre les armées des deux pays ne sont pas pour demain ●

J.-P.P., M.S. et MUSA,
AKDEMİR (à Istanbul).

Spannungen zwischen Syrien und der Türkei Gegenseitiger Vorwurf der Truppenkonzentration an der Grenze

Syrien und die Türkei haben sich gegenseitig beschuldigt, an der gemeinsamen Grenze Truppen zu konzentrieren. Dies belastet die seit Wochen angespannten Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Ländern zusätzlich. Damaskus fühlt sich durch die erwartete Blockierung des Nahost-Friedensprozesses und die Militärkooperation Israels mit der Türkei bedroht.

vk. Limassol, 18. Juni

Der syrische Vizepräsident Khaddam hat sich am Dienstag persönlich darum bemüht, Berichte der türkischen Nachrichtenagentur Anatolia über syrische Truppenkonzentrationen an der Grenze zur Türkei zu dementieren. Er sprach aber seinerseits von einem türkischen Aufmarsch im Grenzgebiet. Solche Provokationen kämen von Zeit zu Zeit vor, und Syrien unternehme nichts dagegen, meinte der syrische Vizepräsident. Während sich Vertreter der Nato voller Sorge über die Vorgänge zwischen der Türkei und Syrien äusserten, lehnte der Generalstab in Ankara jeden Kommentar ab. Es gebe, teilte er mit, keinen Anlass zur Beunruhigung. Niemand habe Feindseligkeiten im Sinn. Die Agentur Anatolia hatte am Sonntag gemeldet, türkische und syrische Händler hätten neulich gepanzerte syrische Verbände beobachtet, welche sich in Richtung Türkei bewegten oder Stellungen unweit der Grenze bezögen. Seit der Unterzeichnung des türkisch-israelischen Abkommens über eine militärische Zusammenarbeit am 23. Februar haben sich die Spannungen zwischen Damaskus und Ankara verschärft. Ein Vertreter des Aussenministeriums in Ankara hielt letzte Woche den Syrern vor, sie stünden zu Recht auf der amerikanischen Liste der Sponsoren von Terroristen, denn sie unterstützten nicht nur Abdallah Öcalan und seine kurdische Arbeiterpartei PKK, sondern auch den libanesischen Hizbullah und die palästinensische Hamas-Bewegung, um daraus politischen Nutzen zu ziehen.

Berichte über Bombenanschläge

Im Mai sollen nach Darstellung des amerikanischen Aussenministeriums vor allem im nördlichen Teil Syriens mehrere Sprengladungen explodiert sein. Ein arabischer Diplomat erklärte, am 6. Mai sei eine Bombe neben einer Strasse hoch gegangen, welche Präsident Asad habe benutzen wollen. Doch sei niemand zu Schaden gekommen, weil zuvor die Reisepläne des Präsidenten geändert worden seien. Die Geheimpolizei habe rund 600 Personen, vor allem unter den in Syrien ansässigen Turkmenen, verhaftet. Gemäss der Agentur Anatolia haben Muslimbrüder letzte Woche in Nordsyrien mehrere Bomben gelegt.

Der syrische Informationsminister Salman dementierte die amerikanische Meldung, die keine genauen Örtlichkeiten oder Daten enthalten hatte. Er hielt sich besonders über den späten Zeitpunkt ihrer Veröffentlichung – Ende Mai – auf und sagte, solche leeren Behauptungen dienten der Ablenkung vom katastrophalen israelischen Wahlresultat und von Netanyahus Erklä-

rungen gegen den Friedensprozess. In ähnlicher Weise reagierte die syrische Propaganda nun auf die Berichte über Truppenverschiebungen. Diese, hiess es, lenkten von der türkisch-israelischen Militärkooperation ab und erhöhten den Druck auf Syrien, sich den israelischen Bedingungen bei den Friedensverhandlungen zu beugen.

Ein syrischer Regierungsvertreter beklagte sich letzte Woche auch ausgiebig über Jordanien, welches immer mehr die Interessen Amerikas und Israels gegenüber den Arabern verfechte. Nach dieser Darstellung übt Amman mit Hilfe der Golfstaaten Druck auf die Syrer aus, damit diese ihre Haltung gegenüber terroristischen Organisationen klären. Beim Gipfeltreffen von Sharm ash-Sheikh habe Jordanien die Bekämpfung der islamischen palästinensischen Opposition verlangt und später einige ihrer Führer abgeschoben. Jordanien forcire auch über Gebühr die Normalisierung der Beziehungen mit dem jüdischen Staat. König Hussein sei sofort nach der Unterzeichnung des israelisch-türkischen Abkommens nach Ankara geeilt, um seine Beitrittsabsichten anzumelden. Die Syrer erinnern schliesslich daran, dass Jordanien den Aufstand der syrischen Muslimbrüder Anfang der achtziger Jahre unterstützt habe, wofür sich der König später öffentlich habe entschuldigen müssen.

Neues Bedrohungsbild für Damaskus

All diese Elemente deuten darauf hin, dass Syrien sich in der Region exponiert und bedroht fühlt. Der für Damaskus ungünstige Verlauf des Friedensprozesses und zuletzt der Wahlsieg Netanyahus in Israel lassen die syrischen Aussichten, sich ohne grössere politische Opfer ins pro-amerikanische Lager zu schlagen, als gering erscheinen. Damaskus fühlt sich in die Zange genommen durch Israel, Jordanien und die Türkei. Vor diesem Hintergrund würde eine Verlegung der syrischen Streitkräfte, welche bisher vor allem an der südwestlichen Front konzentriert waren, in den Norden als sinnvoll erscheinen. Wühlarbeit und Guerillaaktionen von Klientelen sind den Syrern auch nicht neu, sowohl in Ankara wie in Damaskus rechnet man mit der Möglichkeit von Bombenkampagnen, als deren Instrumente die PKK in der Türkei und gewalttätige Turkmenen in Syrien dienen könnten. Zur Flankensicherung dürfte Damaskus seine strategischen Beziehungen zu Teheran und den nachbarschaftlichen Austausch mit dem Irak fördern. Ein Regierungsvertreter in Teheran beteuerte am Sonntag, jede Verschärfung des Verhältnisses zwischen der Türkei und Syrien bedrohe direkt die Sicherheit Irans.

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Turquie-Kurdes

28 rebelles kurdes tués dans des opérations de l'armée turque

ANKARA, 19 juin (AFP) - 28 rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires et combats dans la province de Van, frontalière avec l'Iran, a-t-on annoncé mercredi de source officielle.

Ces opérations ont été déclenchées après l'enlèvement par un groupe de rebelles du PKK de 12 bergers et de près de 2.000 moutons dans la région de Gurpinar (Van), indique un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir (sud-est), chargée de la coordination de la lutte contre la rébellion armée du PKK depuis 1984 contre Ankara.

Alerté par un berger qui a pu s'évader, les forces de l'ordre ont poursuivi les rebelles en fuite vers la frontière avec l'Iran et tué 28 d'entre eux dans la région de Gurpinar, ajoute le communiqué cité par l'agence Anatolie. Quatre bergers ont pu échapper aux preneurs d'otages lors de ces opérations, précise-t-on de même source.

Le communiqué n'indique pas la date exacte de ces opérations et combats ainsi que le sort des sept autres bergers.

Un soldat turc et quatre "protecteurs de village", miliciens pro-gouvernementaux armés par l'Etat, ont été blessés lors des combats.

Ce bilan porte à au moins 255 le nombre total des rebelles kurdes tués depuis le début de la semaine dernière, dont 162 dans la seule région de Cukurca, le long de la frontière turco-irakien, où les troupes turques avaient effectué depuis plusieurs jours une opération ponctuelle contre le PKK en territoires turc et irakien.

L'armée a intensifié ses opérations contre les maquisards kurdes depuis début avril dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, à majorité kurde, tuant près de 800 rebelles d'après les bilans annoncés par les autorités.

La rébellion armée du PKK dans le but de créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens et les opérations de l'armée ont fait en 12 ans près de 22.000 morts, civils, militaires, rebelles et policiers.

CE/bm t.f

AFP /AA1234/191326 JUN 96

FRS0262 4 I 0141 TUR /AFP-IE63

Turquie-Kurdes

La Turquie prolonge le mandat de la force de protection des Kurdes

ANKARA, 19 juin (AFP) - Le Parlement turc a prolongé pour un mois le mandat de la force multinationale basée en Turquie, chargée de protéger les Kurdes d'Irak.

Le Parlement a accepté mardi une requête du gouvernement proposant de prolonger le mandat de la force, qui expirait le 30 juin, jusqu'au 31 juillet par 257 voix pour et 195 contre.

L'opération "Provide Comfort" été instaurée en 1991 à la suite de la guerre du Golfe pour protéger les Kurdes d'Irak du nord contre les attaques des soldats de Bagdad.

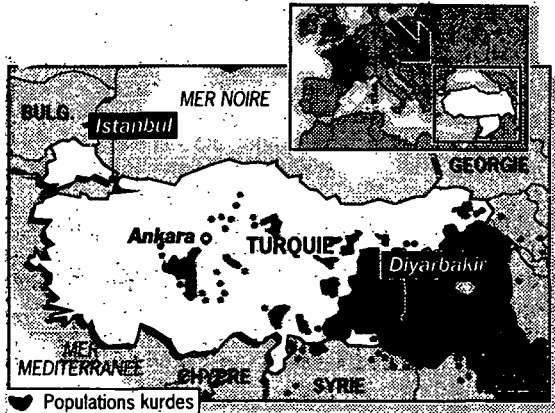
La force aérienne, composée d'avions de combat américains, britanniques et français, est déployée principalement sur la base d'Incirlik (sud). Elle dispose également d'un commandement opérationnel dans le nord de l'Irak.

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AFP /AA1234/191131 JUN 96

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Au moins dix morts dans deux attaques terroristes en Turquie



Sept personnes ont été tuées et quinze autres blessées dans une attaque à main armée samedi soir à Diyarbakir, chef-lieu du Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde. Un groupe de rebelles kurdes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) a tiré sur une centaine de personnes qui dînaient dans un restaurant en plein air à une quinzaine de kilomètres de la ville, tuant notamment

trois enfants et une femme enceinte.

Par ailleurs, un «terroriste» a été tué et quatre policiers ont été blessés à Istanbul, lors d'une attaque contre un groupe de policiers patrouillant près du bâtiment qui abrite les locaux d'une organisation de quartier du Parti de la juste voie (DYP, droite) de l'ancien Premier ministre Tansu Ciller.

Cette recrudescence d'actions terroristes a lieu alors que la crise gouvernementale s'enlise. Les deux grands partis de la droite libérale pensent à ressusciter leur coalition démissionnaire, tombée le 6 juin dernier en raison de querelles incessantes entre Tansu Ciller et Mesut Yilmaz de l'Anap (Parti de la mère patrie).

Tansu Ciller reste engagée dans des négociations avec les islamistes du Refah, (Parti de la prospérité) première force politique du pays depuis les élections législatives de décembre dernier. Mais elle doit faire les comptes avec une opposition croissante au sein de son parti que cinq députés ont déjà quitté pour se rallier à l'Anap, faisant de ce dernier le second parti au Parlement, avec 131 sièges sur 550. Une vingtaine d'autres ont annoncé qu'ils feraient de même en cas d'alliance avec les islamistes, privant ainsi le gouvernement de la majorité à la chambre. (D'après AFP)

Libération — 24 JUN 1996

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Turquie-Kurdes

Arrestation d'une trentaine de cadres d'un parti pro-kurde

ANKARA, 24 juin (AFP) - Près d'une trentaine de cadres du Parti de la démocratie du peuple (HADEP) ont été arrêtés tôt lundi matin à la suite d'un congrès de cette formation pro-kurde, a indiqué l'agence de presse Anatolie.

Au cours du congrès, a précisé l'agence, le drapeau turc a été jeté et remplacé par des drapeaux du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

La Cour de sûreté d'Ankara a ouvert une enquête dès dimanche soir pour identifier les personnes qui ont porté atteinte au drapeau national, selon Anatolie.

Les dirigeants du HADEP arrêtés alors qu'ils quittaient le lieu de la réunion sont le président du parti Murat Bozlak, quatre vice-présidents, le secrétaire général et environ 25 d'autres responsables, a précisé l'agence.

ue/nj/bm t.f
AFP /AA1234/240916 JUN 96

Le Monde — 19 juin 1996

La tension monte entre la Turquie et la Syrie

A quelques jours du sommet arabe du Caire,
Damas juge que les récentes décisions
prises par Ankara lui sont hostiles

DAMAS

de notre envoyée spéciale

A quelques jours du sommet arabe du Caire, le premier depuis six ans, la tension monte entre la Syrie et la Turquie, alors que rien sur le terrain ne paraît justifier cette dégradation. Si, en privé, la plupart des Syriens attribuent à l'armée turque la responsabilité des explosions qui ont récemment eu lieu dans le pays, le gouvernement s'est bien gardé jusqu'à maintenant de toute accusation, alors que, selon de bonnes sources, plusieurs personnes arrêtées auraient avoué avoir agi pour le compte de la Turquie.

Le quotidien britannique *Financial Times* avait rapporté, mardi 11 juin, qu'une bombe avait explosé, le 6 mai, sur une route qu'aurait dû emprunter plus tard le chef de l'Etat syrien, Hafez El Assad, pour se rendre à une cérémonie annuelle à la mémoire de nationalistes exécutés par l'Empire ottoman. Le département d'Etat américain avait fait état, quelques jours auparavant, d'explosions en Syrie, dont il n'était pas en mesure de déterminer l'origine. Selon des informations recueillies par *Le Monde*, ces explosions ont pu être le fait de certains services turcs, exaspérés par le soutien que Damas apporte aux extrémistes kurdes turcs du PKK.

RÉSERVISTES MOBILISÉS

Traditionnellement difficiles, les relations syro-turques se sont tendues depuis la fin de l'année, avec, d'une part, les accusations syro-irakiennes sur une réduction, par Ankara, du débit des eaux de l'Euphrate et surtout, d'autre part, la signature, en février, d'un accord

militaire israélo-turc. Accord qui a particulièrement inquiété Damas, qui y voit une tentative d'encerclement sur ses frontières nord et sud.

En pleine offensive israélienne au Liban, en avril, la Syrie avait mobilisé certains réservistes pour les envoyer sur sa frontière nord, mais aurait, depuis, allégé son dispositif. A l'heure actuelle, les chiffres cités - 40 000 hommes et 1 200 chars - sont, selon des témoins revenant du Nord, très largement surestimés. En tout état de cause, un mouvement d'une telle ampleur ne pourrait passer totalement inaperçu et semble au-delà des capacités de l'armée syrienne.

Selon des voyageurs qui ont traversé la frontière ces dernières quarante-huit heures, si les contrôles côté turc sont stricts, aucune mesure de sécurité supplémentaire n'a été prise du côté syrien. La tension inquiète toutefois d'autant plus la Syrie que les Etats-Unis ont accordé leur soutien public à Ankara et que l'OTAN s'est déclaré « préoccupé » par la situation à la frontière. Cette affaire est perçue par Damas comme une forme de pression pour la reprise des négociations de paix avec Israël.

Lors d'une récente rencontre à Damas, le président syrien et son homologue égyptien, Hosni Moubarak, ainsi que le prince héritier d'Arabie saoudite, Abdallah Ben Abdel Aziz, avaient appelé la Turquie à reconsidérer son accord militaire avec Israël, à adopter une politique de bon voisinage et à respecter les intérêts arabes.

Françoise Chipaux

THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 1996

Turkish Daily News

New Turkish assault and reconnaissance plane for Southeast on drawing board

TAI plan: Officials said it would have cannon, rocket launcher and camera



By Metehan Demir

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI) is working on an assault and reconnaissance light aircraft type that could be used in the Southeast. If the Turkish Armed Forces approve, the company said it would be ready to produce in 1997, the Turkish Daily News learned on Wednesday.

Company officials, who asked to remain anonymous, said that this model, which would look like a Cessna, could be used in security operations in the Southeast because of its firing ability and higher thrust that brings higher maneuverability. They said that the armed version of this aircraft, which was specially improved by the TAI, would be able to land and takeoff on short earthen runways.

The model of the aircraft they are working on was taken from a design created by the Sadler Company in the United States. The TAI model is, however, a much improved model.

TAI is also working on a pilotless model of the aircraft. The sources pointed out that they are planning to affix a camera, that could observe ground movements; a machine gun; and a rocket launcher to the light aircraft.

With these additions, the aircraft could meet Turkey's needs in the field of fighting terrorism in the Southeast, the sources said.

The aircraft would have bigger engine and stronger thrust, the officials said. They also added that the aircraft would have slightly different body that would give extra agility to the plane.

The officials noted that it would have folding wings, that means it could be transported from one region to another by rail or road. The cost of a aircraft is expected to be between \$300,000 and \$400,000.

They added that earlier, negotiations to get permission from the Sadler firm had been successful.

The officials said that a prototype is expected to ready to fly by next year. They said that despite unofficial contacts, the model has not yet been officially approved by the relevant organizations but that the company was optimistic.

Socialists in EU want amnesty in Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Socialist Group, which has the greatest number of seats in the European Parliament, in a draft resolution has called on the Turkish government to declare an amnesty to release those who have been tried in court under laws, which are "contrary to freedom of speech and human rights," the Anatolia news agency reported.

It was stated that the new government should put an end to operations carried out in Southeast Anatolia and find a peaceful solution to the problem. The draft resolution contains statements such as "the European Parliament summons the new government to keep her word with respect to the European Convention on Human Rights."

It was also pointed out that the EU Council of Ministers should put the Southeast Anatolia problem on the agenda of the Organization of Cooperation and Security in Europe. In another draft resolution prepared for the summit in Florence, the Socialist Group has said that the EU is worried about the human rights situation in Turkey.

The Guardian Thursday June 2nd 1996

Border tension worsens in Turkish-Syrian row

Troop movements are creating a potential flashpoint, **Owen Bowcott** in Nusaybin writes

A STRIDE the old Silk Road and a strategic border-crossing into Syria, the bazaars of Nusaybin should be bustling. In the cool recess of a covered arcade, shops are packed with portable phones, video cameras and watches.

But the market traders squat listlessly on their low stools and drink sweet tea undisturbed. Either side of the Turkish town a double line of barbed wire and watch towers stretches away into the heat haze, marking what is emerging as a potential new flashpoint in the Middle East.

The diplomatic stand-off between Ankara and Damascus — caused by bombs in Syria, closer military ties between Turkey and Israel and a dispute about water rights — has led to reported troop movements.

Commercial relations between the countries, which share a 548-mile border, have been damaged severely. Local shopkeepers

claim the border has been closed to Syrians seeking cheaper electronic goods in Turkey for the past two months. Ankara insists the road remains open.

"No one comes here anymore," one trader said. "The government wants to prevent the PKK [Kurdish Workers' Party] from entering the country from Syria."

The army presence on the Turkish side is visible everywhere. The mountain town of Mardin is dominated by radar installations scanning the Mesopotamian plain and the approaches to Syria below.

Progress along the main road to Iraq and the east, which runs beside the border for 30 miles, is slowed by fortified barracks and armoured checkpoints. In most places Syria — which provides a refuge for the PKK chief, Abdullah Ocalan — is merely a field or two away to the south.

Relations between the countries, which dispute the border near the Mediterranean, have worsened as Turkey has built more dams to irrigate its fields. The project, Syria claims, has reduced the flow of water down the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and damaged agricultural output.

A military deal signed by

Israel and Turkey in February, which provides for reciprocal airforce training flights and naval visits, left Syria feeling encircled and further isolated within the Middle East peace process.

Recent bombings in Damascus have been blamed on Turkish military intelligence (MIT). No one was injured by the explosions, but Syrian authorities claim they are meant to undermine the country's status before the Arab summit in Cairo this weekend.

"With these explosions they are trying to confuse Syria's standing," a Syrian official said yesterday.

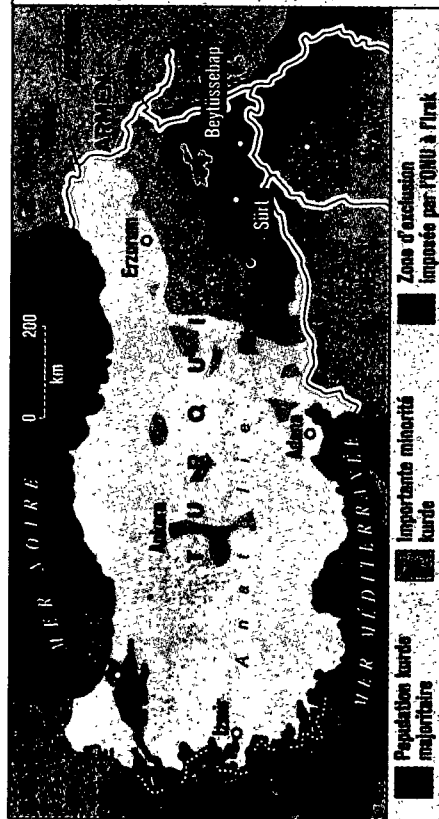
The attacks, he said, were not the work of the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood, as Turkey claims: "Turkey has been deploying its forces along the border for a long time. They are doing this to increase tension in the region."

Turkey said yesterday that improving ties with Syria depended on Damascus withdrawing alleged support for PKK rebels fighting a separatist campaign in south-east Turkey.

"Stopping Syrian support for terrorism is the first condition for meaningful talks between Turkey and Syria," a foreign ministry spokesman, Omer Akbel, said.

KURDISTAN TURC Créés "provisoirement" il y a bientôt dix ans pour de la guérilla autonomiste du PKK, les "gardes de village" sont aujourd'hui 50 000. Armés par l'Etat, ils n'en font pourtant qu'à leur tête, terrorisant à leur tour les habitants.

Les miliciens anti-PKK sont devenus incontrôlables



La Turquie

Superficie : 779 452 km².
 Population : 58,6 millions en 1992.
 (Prévisions : 69,7 millions en l'an 2000, 100 millions en 2020).
 Ethnies : Turcs : 79 à 90 %, Kurdes 9 à 19 % (Chiffres variables en fonction des origines mixtes), Arabes : 1,2 %.
 PNB : 115,7 milliards de dollars (1992), 1 975 dollars par hab.
 Classement mondial du PNUD : 68^e rang, selon les indicateurs du développement humain (IDH) en 1994.

Güçlükonak [Kurdistan turc], où l'on a trouvé des cadavres calcinés de paysans à l'intérieur d'un minibus incendié. Selon certains, il s'agit de miliciens des "gardes de villages" récalcitrants au combat et qui auraient été préalablement liquidés par l'armée avant d'être placés dans le véhicule, mais ces accusations n'ont pas trouvé suffisamment d'écho (l'armée, elle, a accusé le PKK d'avoir incendié le minibus). Dans la deuxième affaire, à Beytüşsebat [voir carte], les miliciens ont assiégé la préfecture, débordant les forces de l'ordre pour "sauver" un des leurs, qui venait d'être condamné par le tribunal.

L'existence de ce système de milices pour encadrer les villageois constitue aujourd'hui l'une des difficultés les plus aiguës dans le conflit kurde. Ceci est souligné dans de nombreux rapports ou enquêtes parlementaires réalisés ces derniers temps sur la "question du Sud-Est" [nom "officiel" de la guerre au Kurdistan pour les autorités d'Ankara].

Viols, séquestrations, pillages, trafics d'armes et de drogue

En général, les vues convergent : il faut, progressivement, aller vers la dissolution de ces milices. Car on constate qu'elles sont à l'origine de plusieurs problèmes graves dans la

région. Alors qu'elles étaient censées combattre la terreur du PKK, elles-mêmes créent, d'après les rapports, "une autre terreur", en se servant des moyens mis à leur disposition par l'Etat. Deux mille procès sont déjà ouverts contre eux ! Sans compter qu'elles sont parfois soupçonnées "d'aider et d'héberger le PKK"... La plupart des accusations portent cependant sur des crimes honteux, comme "des vols à main armée, des séquestrations de jeunes filles, des viols, des pillages et des trafics (d'armes et de drogue)".

Lorsqu'on envisage la suppression du système des milices, se pose alors le problème de leur réembauche. Privées de la sécurité sociale et du droit à la retraite, ces personnes, dotées d'un statut provisoire, sont inquiètes pour leur avenir. La conséquence est qu'elles s'opposent à la levée de l'état d'urgence, conscientes qu'elle serait pour eux synonyme de chômage.

On dénombre 55 000 "gardes" appointés dans le Sud-Est. Mais il en existe de nombreux autres qui sont volontaires et ne perçoivent aucun salaire. Pour pouvoir devenir militaires, il faut remplir certains critères, comme l'obligation de ne pas être impliqué ou avoir été condamné dans une affaire de vengeance (très fréquentes dans la région). Le député Bülent Tanla, qui a récemment enquêté sur la question, rappelle que cette clause a été rajoutée à la loi régissant cette organisation car "on a constaté que des règlements de compte personnels se faisaient avec les armes distribuées par l'Etat". Mais, malgré cette mesure, Tanla explique qu'une grande partie des gardes viennent de tribus

Le système, qui devait être à l'origine "provisoire", des "gardes de village", prévu [en 1987, Turgut Özal étant alors Premier ministre] pour protéger les paysans du sud et de l'est de l'Anatolie contre la terreur du PKK [partie autonomiste kurde partisan de la guérilla], continue d'exister, indépendamment de l'Etat et malgré celui-ci.

Le débat concernant le maintien ou non de ce système est revenu à l'ordre du jour avec deux récentes affaires. La première a eu lieu à

➔ adverses, de groupes ou de familles qui poursuivent entre eux une vendetta. "L'Etat s'est aperçu du problème, mais il ne suffit pas de faire une loi, il faut veiller à son application, poursuit le parlementaire. En fait, il est difficile de savoir si quelqu'un est impliqué dans une vendetta avant qu'il ne passe à l'action et qu'il ne soit condamné pour un crime."

A part les vendettas entre familles, on sait qu'il y a aussi des bagarres entre différentes tribus dans cette région qui conserve encore les traces d'un système féodal. Tous les rapports préparés ces derniers temps soulignent que le système des milices ne fait qu'aggraver cette situation. Certains gardes agissent comme un Etat dans l'Etat, abusant des armes et de l'autorité qui lui sont conférées par ce dernier.

Selon Sefik Can, député du CHP [Parti populiste républicain, social-démocrate], élu à Sûrt [voir carte], tous ceux qui sont armés par l'Etat se retrouvent en situation de supériorité par rapport à leurs adversaires. "Chaque fois que quelqu'un devient garde dans un village, vingt ou trente personnes fuient à cause de la pression exercée sur elles. Avec les

armes fournies par l'Etat, les gardes punissent les habitants, dit Can. Ce système de milices n'a en fait jamais répondu aux attentes. L'argent que l'Etat leur verse va finalement au PKK, auquel ils reversent la moitié de leur salaire. Et puis ils se livrent aux trafics en tout genre, allant des armes jusqu'à l'héroïne. En fait, tout ceci n'est pas un secret pour l'Etat", ajoute-t-il.

Des confrontations armées avec les forces de sécurité

Une autre voix s'élève contre l'autorité excessive accordée aux milices, c'est celle d'Attila Durak, rédacteur en chef du journal de Sûrt, "Le dernier mot". Il explique que tous les contrôles dans la région sont du ressort des milices. "Il y a des vérifications d'identité aux entrées et sorties des villages. Comme si on entrait dans un pays étranger, indique-t-il. Officiellement, les miliciens sont censés se soumettre aux ordres des postes de police, mais dans la réalité ils font ce qu'ils veulent. S'ils ont envie de procéder à des vérifications d'identité dans tel ou tel village, personne ne peut s'opposer à eux." D'ailleurs, on constate que,

parfois, si leurs intérêts l'exigent, ces milices n'hésitent pas à entrer dans des confrontations armées avec les Forces de sécurité, allant même jusqu'à blesser des soldats avec les armes que leur a fournies l'Etat. Enfin, un rapport commandé par l'Union des chambres professionnelles de Turquie précise que certaines personnes, après avoir commis un crime, choisissent de devenir gardes avec l'objectif de se cacher sous les ailes de l'Etat et d'échapper ainsi à la justice.

Les dirigeants des organisations civiles [au Kurdistan] affirment que "les milices ne sont pas aimées dans la région" et que "des gens ont été en quelque sorte contraints à devenir gardes de village. Ils choisissent ce métier sous contrainte officielle et faute d'autre activité économique, car, dans les conditions de vie difficiles des villages isolés, un salaire de garde possède une grande valeur économique aux yeux de la population". Le maire de Hakkari, Abdurrahman Keskin, ajoute : "Dans notre région, ce système de milices est devenu un véritable secteur d'activité économique. Si l'on veut le supprimer, il faut mettre autre chose à sa place. On ne peut pas laisser tomber les gens comme ça." ●

Safak Altun et Ayten Ovrur

LE POINT — 22 JUIN 1996

Certes, les relations entre Damas et Ankara n'ont jamais été chaleureuses, mais, ces dernières semaines, elles sont devenues franchement exécrables, au point d'amener Syriens et Turcs à masser des troupes

guerre au Proche-Orient.

L'histoire commence en février dernier, lorsque Cevik Bir, chef d'état-major turc, se rend secrètement en Israël pour signer un accord de coopération militaire.

DAMAS-ANKARA MANŒUVRES SOUS TENSIONS



sur leur frontière commune. Gesticulation ? Probablement. Malgré les rumeurs alarmistes, nul ne croit à l'imminence d'une nouvelle

Pour les Syriens, l'accord semble lourd de menaces. Ils se sentent pris en tenaille entre Israël et la Turquie, à laquelle les oppose un vieux

contentieux territorial. Ils n'ont jamais admis qu'à la veille de la Seconde Guerre mondiale la France ait donné à la Turquie le sandjak d'Alexandrette (la région d'Iskenderun pour les Turcs), qu'ils estiment faire partie de la Syrie. Sans oublier que Damas n'apprécie pas que les Turcs contrôlent les barrages sur l'Euphrate, leur seule source d'approvisionnement en eau.

Depuis longtemps déjà, pour conserver un moyen de pression sur son voisin, Hafez el-Assad a fait de son

pays un sanctuaire pour le chef du PKK (le parti kurde qui mène une lutte à mort contre Ankara). Début mai, des bombes ont explosé en Syrie. A l'origine des attentats : sans doute les services secrets turcs. Alors, en réponse, Damas a massé des troupes sur sa frontière nord. Mais Hafez el-Assad ne se fait guère d'illusions. L'accord passé entre Israël et la Turquie n'a rien de conjoncturel. Il traduit pour l'Etat hébreu un choix stratégique : s'assurer un allié de poids face à l'Iran. ■ MIREILLE DUTEN

Les Etats-Unis misent sur les généraux turcs

Washington s'appuie sur l'armée turque pour avancer sur deux dossiers clés : la Bosnie et la mise en place d'un « nouvel ordre » au Moyen-Orient

Acteur influent de la vie politique à Ankara, l'armée turque est aussi considérée par les pays occidentaux comme une pièce maîtresse dans une région parmi les plus troublées du monde. Deuxième armée de l'Otan, forte d'environ 500 000 hommes, elle constitue le pilier du dispositif de sécurité au sud-est des territoires couverts par cette organisation. Elle est aussi un fer de lance de la diplomatie américaine dans la région.

La visite au début de cette semaine du président turc Suleyman Demirel à Sarajevo, Mostar et Zagreb a souligné l'intense coopération entre Ankara et Washington

dans le réarmement de l'armée bosniaque. La Turquie a déjà accueilli un contingent de 200 soldats des unités musulmanes dans le cadre d'un programme de 700 millions de francs lancé par les États-Unis. D'autres vont suivre. L'armée turque, qui lors de l'offensive croato-bosniaque de l'été dernier avait pioché dans ses stocks pour approvisionner ses alliés, est jusqu'à présent la seule à participer activement à l'entraînement des troupes de Sarajevo.

Ankara a par ailleurs signé le 23 février dernier un accord de coopération militaire avec Israël qui dessine les contours du « nouveau Moyen-Orient » souhaité par Washington. L'accord

prévoit l'organisation de manœuvres communes aériennes et navales, des échanges de technologies et de renseignement et une coopération entre les industries de défense des deux pays. Dès avril, une escadrille de F 16 israéliens a effectué des missions en Turquie, poussant des vols de reconnaissance jusqu'à la frontière iranienne.

Début juin, des pilotes d'essai turcs ont volé à bord de prototypes du futur chasseur israélien Lavi, équipé d'un système radar dont Israël voudrait équiper 54 Phantom F 4 turcs. Un contrat d'un montant de 3 milliards de dollars qui n'attend plus que le bouclage

du montage financier par des banques israéliennes.

L'accord israélo-turc a suscité un tollé des pays arabes qui entendent aborder le sujet lors de leur sommet au Caire le week-end prochain. Il a été aussi condamné par le Refah. « Nous l'annulerons si nous arrivons au pouvoir », affirmait le 2 juin son vice-président en charge des affaires étrangères, Abdullah Gul. En menaçant certains des intérêts prioritaires des États-Unis dans la région, le Refah est certain de trouver l'armée turque sur son chemin.

Jean-Christophe
PLOQUIN
(avec Joël DAVID
à Jérusalem)

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1996

UN Officials Destroy Iraq Germ Plant

The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, New York — UN weapons monitors have destroyed a huge Iraqi weapons plant used to manufacture botulism, anthrax and other germ-warfare agents, the United Nations announced Thursday.

A UN video of the destruction showed workers dynamiting buildings, smashing equipment with trucks and spraying water on chemicals. The destruction began last month and ended Thursday.

"It is a dangerous site because it is specially designed for the production of biological weapons," Rolf Ekeus, the chief weapons monitor, told United Nations Television.

Monitors said Iraq cooperated in the plant's destruction, and the video showed inspectors watching as Iraqi workers smashed equipment.

Iraq said last week that it would no longer allow UN inspectors into sensitive bases suspected of housing material related to its banned weapons programs. The UN has demanded unrestricted access to sites, and Mr. Ekeus is currently in Baghdad to discuss the future of the mission.

UN monitors are ordered to dismantle Iraqi programs for producing long-range missiles and chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

The UN has said it will not lift the crushing economic embargo it imposed against Iraq after Baghdad's 1990 invasion of Kuwait until Iraq fully cooperates with the monitors.

Iraq originally said that Hakam, a sprawling site 60 kilometers (40 miles) southwest of Baghdad, was built to produce animal feed.

But under pressure from UN monitors, Iraq admitted in July 1995 that the plant was built to produce and test germ-warfare agents.

"I think it's important that the Iraqis cooperated" in its destruction, "but it also illustrates the problems of getting the full story of Iraq's programs from the Iraqis," said Charles Duelfer, deputy chief of the monitoring program.

The destruction of the plant took four weeks. Each building was destroyed, and hundreds of pieces of equipment such as fermenters and spray dryers used to make biological toxins were smashed or embedded in concrete.

Although Iraq had missiles and bombs filled with germ-warfare agents ready for use during the Gulf War, there is no evidence they were used.

Turquie

L'armée veille discrètement sur la vie politique turque

Alors que le leader islamiste Necmettin Erbakan effectue un dernier tour de piste pour tenter de former un gouvernement, les militaires jouent les arbitres

ISTANBUL

De notre correspondant

Necmettin Erbakan, le chef du Refah, le Parti islamiste turc, aura jeudi une rencontre déterminante avec l'ancien premier ministre conservateur Tansu Ciller. De leur entrevue dépendent les chances du leader islamiste de former le prochain gouvernement. En cas d'échec, il sera sans doute appelé par le président de la République à passer la main à un autre chef de parti.

Ce revers ferait entrer la Turquie dans son sixième mois de crise gouvernementale. Depuis les élections du 25 décembre dernier, la Turquie est en effet ballottée d'un candidat premier ministre à l'autre. Une éphémère coalition des deux principaux partis de droite s'est effondrée en mai après moins de trois mois d'existence.

Un acteur omniprésent et discret observe ce ballet politique : l'armée. La montée en puissance du Refah, qui est devenu le premier parti de Turquie, inquiète une institution attachée aux principes fondateurs de la Turquie moderne, notamment celui de la laïcité. En février, Mesut Yilmaz, dirigeant de la droite libérale, avait attribué à une pression de l'état-major son renoncement à la formation d'une coalition avec les islamistes, alors que 95 % des portefeuilles avaient déjà été distribués.

Dans un pays qui a connu trois coups d'État militaires de 1960 à 1980, l'hypothèse d'une intervention de l'armée est à nouveau agitée depuis que le Refah a emporté



L'armée turque s'inquiète de la montée en puissance du parti islamiste.

une victoire éclatante aux élections municipales de mars 1994. L'événement est très peu probable mais son éventualité permet paradoxalement aux défenseurs de la laïcité de se rassurer. « Avec l'armée, nous ferions un saut de dix ans en arrière, avec les islamistes, de cinquante », résume un journaliste turc.

Necmettin Erbakan nie que les militaires soient hostiles à son parti. « Notre héroïque armée est née des entraîles de notre peuple » et ne saurait s'opposer au Refah, mouvement lui aussi « populaire », proteste-t-il. Pourtant, dix jours avant les dernières élections, 18 officiers et 32 sous-officiers ont été exclus de l'armée à cause de leurs opinions islamistes. En mars, un député islamiste accusa l'armée d'être l'ennemie de la religion

après l'interdiction par le commandement général de la gendarmerie des salles de prière dans les casernes. La « nostalgie pour la charia entretenue par des religieux factieux ne saurait endommager l'armée », déclara alors un « haut responsable militaire » dont les propos furent diffusés par l'agence de presse semi-officielle *Anatolie*.

Le cas de Necmettin Erbakan est aggravé, aux yeux des militaires, par sa remise en cause du Conseil de sécurité nationale, un organe soi-disant consultatif mais dont aucune des recommandations n'a été en trente-cinq ans rejetée ou ignorée par les chefs de gouvernement. Composée de représentants des différents corps d'armée, du premier ministre et du président de la République, cette instance est un rouage

clé du pouvoir exécutif en Turquie, qui échappe à tout contrôle, une « chambre noire » selon le mot de Necmettin Erbakan qui souhaite le soumettre à la vigilance du Parlement.

Face à la légitimité démocratique, l'armée garde d'importants moyens de se faire entendre. Elle défend l'État contre la guérilla kurde depuis plus de dix ans ; elle détient un important levier économique avec l'Organisation d'entraide de l'armée (Oyak), troisième holding du pays. Elle fait enfin le lien avec l'Occident à travers l'Otan. L'ex-premier ministre, Tansu Ciller, lui avait rendu un hommage indirect lors des dernières élections en prenant sur sa liste le chef d'état-major sortant, Dogan Güres.

Claude ORTACQ

FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1996

Iran offers military pact with Syria according to al-Hayat

Reuters

LONDON- Iran has offered a military pact with Syria to counter an Israeli-Turkish military agreement, the London-based al-Hayat newspaper said on Thursday.

"Iran has offered a military pact with Syria similar to that of a Turkish-Israeli agreement," the daily, quoting foreign diplomatic sources in Damascus, said.

"Tehran's announcement that it stands by Syria against Turkey was an important development on the basis that Iran's security is part of Syria's security," Hayat said.

Relations between Turkey and Syria worsened in recent months over a military training deal between Turkey and Israel. Their links were also strained over Syrian support for Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) rebels fighting a separatist campaign in southeast Turkey. Turkey says that PKK chief Abdullah Öcalan lives in Damascus.

Both countries are also at odds over sharing the waters of the Euphrates River.

Syrian Vice-President Abdul-Halim Khaddam on Monday called for a meeting of a Syrian-Turkish security committee to discuss what he called a Turkish military build-up near the border between the two countries.

The Turkish military has said that Syria was increasing its own forces in the area.

Kurdish infighting can spread in northern Iraq

The killing of the leader of the Surchi family by the KDP may cause the PUK to interfere, and clashes between the rival groups could begin again

By Ayşe Karabat

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Since the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) killed a leading political figure from the powerful conservative Kurdish Surchi family, clashes between the KDP and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) may result. This would be very dangerous for Turkey, a well-informed diplomatic source has told the Turkish Daily News.

The KDP, led by Massoud Barzani, and the PUK, headed by Jalal Talabani, have generally honored a cease-fire agreement for the past two years. The KDP had accused the Kurdistan Conservative Party (KCP) of spying for the PUK and encouraging hostilities in the region. In response, the KCP accused the KDP of attacking villages ruled by the Surchi family, which established the KCP and has for many years been a rival of the Barzanis. Finally, last Sunday morning Hussein Surchi was killed by KDP forces in northern Iraq in clashes in which six others died. The diplomatic source pointed out that Kurds traditionally react to such incidents with a blood feud. While the Surchis might intend that, he noted, they are not strong enough to carry it off and therefore sought the help of the PUK. Thus, the

two rival groups the KDP and the PUK could start fighting again. "This would be very dangerous for the region — especially for Turkey. It would create a power vacuum directly affecting Turkey. In that case, Britain and the United States would immediately try to stop the fighting by putting pressure on the Kurdish foes," the source said.

Hussein Surchi was a leading figure in the KCP, and the brother of the party's leader. It was established in Ankara in 1992. The Surchi family, which is believed to be pro-British, was also known as supporters and benefactors of Saddam Hussein, until the anti-Saddam Kurdish uprising after the Gulf War in 1991. It played a prominent role among the Kurds in seeking autonomy from the Baghdad regime.

The KCP's main aim according to its party program is to have "a regionally stabilizing, interim solution in the form of a United Nations protectorate over the Mosul Province (identified on KCP maps as all of northern Iraq), without prejudice to its eventual independence or reattachment to Iraq or Turkey." The KCP argues for a referendum in order to determine whether northern Iraq should be independent or part of Turkey or Iraq.

FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1996

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EDITORIALS/OPINION

Keep Rooting Out Saddam Hussein's Arsenal

By Ruth Wedgwood

WASHINGTON — The United Nations will complete the destruction of Saddam Hussein's germ warfare plant this week, having blown it up bit by bit over several weeks. Not bad for a world organization widely considered to lack teeth.

But the dramatic end of Iraq's Hakam facility, 80 kilometers south of Baghdad, is not the end of the matter. It does not finish the showdown with Saddam. Economic sanctions against Iraq must remain in place to dismantle the rest of his arsenal of dangerous toys. Saddam's grandiose ambitions in the region — to have weapons of mass destruction and means of delivery that could reach Riyadh, Rome and Jerusalem — have been made plain through the work of a tough-minded Swede, Rolf Ekeus, directing the UN Special Commission on Iraq.

The commission's work has used intrusive on-site inspections, technical monitoring, interviews with Iraqi military and civilian personnel, helicopter flyovers and U-2 surveillance flights to look for new weapons and research facilities. The high quality of this work has led to mention of Mr. Ekeus as a possible UN secretary-general.

Tracking Saddam also has required winning cooperation from errant countries and companies that supplied Iraq

in the past, by holding out the chance to play on the right side.

Mr. Ekeus has shown that Iraq manufactured its own Scuds and imported missiles from Russia. Iraq embarked on a crash program to develop a nuclear device after the invasion of Kuwait. And even after the Gulf war defeat, it built up a new infrastructure to import ballistic missile components.

Iraq's early claim that it had no interest in biological weapons also has been given the lie.

Mr. Ekeus's exposure of Baghdad's drive for offensive biological weapons is worthy of Holmes and Watson. The key clue was the innocuous substance of "growth media," a laboratory nutrient used in ordinary medical tests. Mr. Ekeus noticed that Iraq had drums of the stuff, stored at dispersed sites.

He contacted the countries of origin to determine how much Iraq had ordered. The tally was astonishing. In 1988 and 1989 it imported 39 tons of growth media — in barrel containers rather than in the usual two-pound pouches. Iraq's imports were 200 times more than could possibly be used in legitimate medical care.

Iraq then began to tell the "most odd

stories," as one official puts it. The first was about the floating decimal. The health minister was a politician, not a doctor, Iraq explained. He had ordered too much growth media by mistake.

Where was the extra media? Can't show it to you, said Iraq. "Rioters" had allegedly destroyed 17 tons of it.

The rioters were soon replaced by cows. The missing media was purportedly used in the manufacture of cow feed. Of course, the ingredients cost 10 times the value of feed.

The fourth stop in the slough of mendacity was for Iraq to admit that perhaps, after all, there had been a military biological research program, but of course no weapons had been produced.

Meanwhile, Mr. Ekeus's inspectors uncovered unusual items such as spraying machines to create aerosol particles, machines used for injecting bacterial warfare agents into munitions or containers, and numerous monkey cages, suggesting possible testing.

Saddam's son-in-law Hussein Kamel Majid defected to Jordan last August — the weapons program architect turned state's evidence. Mr. Ekeus was steered to a barn at General Kamel's farm and found 150 metal and wooden boxes of documents and microfiche on Iraq's nuclear and biological programs.

Iraq now admits that it ran an extensive offensive biological weapons program, deploying loaded missile warheads and bombs against coalition forces in the Gulf war. The Hakam plant (formerly called the cow feed factory) was the major manufacturing site.

The United Nations' destruction of the Hakam plant does not put to rest the problem of stockpiled biological weapons. Iraq claims that all biological weapons and reagents were destroyed after the Gulf war. Mr. Ekeus asked to see paperwork from the destruction process and to talk to the technicians who carried it out. There is no documentation, Iraq says, and no participating personnel are available.

The Kamel farm documents reveal that Iraq assembled at least 191 biological missile warheads and aerial bombs. The 17 tons of missing growth media were used to produce biological agents including anthrax, botulinum and enterovirus. Iraq has also been trying to develop a missile with a range of 2,000 kilometers.

Getting to the bottom of this devil's brew is not an optional task.

The writer, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a law professor at Yale, contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

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Turquie-politique

Le fondamentalisme n'a "aucune chance" en Turquie, selon M. Demirel

VIENNE, 21 juin (AFP) - Le président turc Suleyman Demirel a estimé que le fondamentalisme islamique n'avait "aucune chance" en Turquie, dans une interview publiée par le quotidien autrichien Kronenzeitung sans son édition de samedi.

"Le fondamentalisme c'est vouloir établir un régime théocratique, ce qui n'a jamais eu de succès en Turquie même pas sous l'empire ottoman. Et ceux qui chercheraient à utiliser la religion à des fins politiques n'ont aucune chance chez nous", a déclaré M. Demirel, interrogé sur les préoccupations occidentales face à la montée des forces islamistes en Turquie.

"99% de notre peuple est musulman et pratique sa religion comme il l'entend. C'est pour cette raison que l'ancien système séculaire, qui n'oblige personne à adopter une pratique religieuse précise, est populaire. Mais une croyance profonde n'est pas synonyme de fondamentalisme", a ajouté M. Demirel.

Interrogé sur le danger que les milieux islamistes puissent s'attirer la sympathie de la population en promettant "la fin des injustices sociales", le président turc a estimé que ces promesses se heurteraient à "l'intelligence de la majorité de la population".

"Vous pouvez en tromper quelques uns mais pas la majorité. C'est pourquoi je suis persuadé que la majorité défendra le système séculaire et protégera ce qu'elle a acquis", a dit M. Demirel.

Le chef d'Etat turc a par ailleurs critiqué "l'Europe qui fait trop peu contre le PKK", le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, qui a "déjà tué 5.000 personnes innocentes" et "même des Kurdes".

"Les Kurdes ne sont pas un peuple prisonnier de la Turquie mais tant que les séparatistes kurdes revendiqueront des territoires et non pas des droits constitutionnels" il n'y aura "pas de solution au problème", a déclaré le président turc.

"Nous ne pouvons accepter une déstabilisation de la Turquie. La Turquie ne doit pas devenir une Yougoslavie", a mis en garde M. Demirel.

"Mais la Turquie étant un Etat de droit avec une société ouverte et des médias libres, si nous réussissons à départager les revendications séparatistes des autres, je suis persuadé que nous parviendrons alors à trouver une solution. (...) Ma porte reste ouverte au dialogue", a ajouté M. Demirel.

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Solidarité avec les prisonniers politiques de Turquie et du Kurdistan

En Turquie, actuellement plus de 10 000 prisonniers politiques mènent une grève de la faim. Ils protestent contre les cellules d'isolement carcéral, la répression de l'État, la torture et les massacres. Par exemple, en 1995 à Buca (Izmir) et à Ümraniye (Istanbul), les détenus politiques ont été sauvagement agressés. Il y a eu sept morts et des centaines de blessés. Les détenus réclament la suppression des peines d'isolement cellulaire, l'arrêt des agressions dont sont victimes les proches des détenus politiques, la levée des obstacles qui entravent les droits à la défense et le droit à la santé

des prisonniers politiques. Dans certaines prisons (Diyarbakir et Gaziantep), les grévistes sont dans un état critique.

En solidarité, une centaine de personnes, de nationalité turque ou kurde, avaient décidé d'occuper l'église Saint-Laurent à Paris 10^e. Par solidarité avec les prisonniers politiques en Turquie, elles entendaient mener la même grève de la faim. Des banderoles furent déployées, des passants s'informaient.

Samedi 8 juin, comme à Bayonne pour les militants basques, l'église a été encerclée par des cars de CRS. Ceux-ci sont intervenus violemment, en brutalisant et en blessant des personnes présentes. Deux ont été hospitalisées, dix autres légèrement blessées. 72 personnes ont été conduites au commissariat pour vérification d'identité et deux d'entre elles placées en garde à vue pour «rébellion».

Le Comité parisien de solidarité avec les grévistes de la faim dans les prisons de Turquie et du Kurdistan poursuit la grève de la faim au local d'Actit. Il a reçu le soutien du MRAP, de Droits devant, de la Cimade, de Henri Alleg, du Comité de soutien aux prisonniers politiques aux États-Unis et appellent les soutiens à se manifester au local d'Actit, 8 rue Gabriel Laumain, Paris 10^e, tél. (1) 48 00 53 33 et fax (1) 42 46 30 29.

SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1996

Turkish Daily News

US pretends all is well between Turkey and Syria

But report claims US warned Syria of NATO response

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Despite all the reports of doom and gloom emanating from around the Turkish-Syrian border and the area south of it, the U.S. administration is trying to maintain a rosy public facade when commenting on the rising tensions.

"Both countries have an obligation and self-interest to make sure they minimize their problems," State Department Spokesman Nicholas Burns said, and quickly added: "We do not believe there will be trouble, major trouble between Syria and Turkey. We believe that both countries are mindful of their own national security interests. We don't believe either country will be led to a confrontation with the other. We think many reports are overblown about such a confrontation."

Mediation?

When asked if the United States was "mediating" between the two countries, Burns said, "Not by any stretch of the imagination."

"I don't mean to imply that we are mediating anything," he continued. "We have an alliance relationship with Turkey. We have a relationship with Syria. And we talk to both governments. Our assessment is, there is no immanent threat of any kind of conflict between Turkey and Syria."

US warning

Yet a reliable American source, quoting an unnamed U.S. senior official, claimed that "the United States has warned Syria it runs the risk of confrontation with the

American military if escalating tensions along the border with NATO ally Turkey erupt into war."

"We simply reminded Syria, diplomatically, that Turkey is a NATO ally of the United States," the senior official said. "Any attack on a NATO member is considered an attack against all NATO nations... These are treaty commitments we cannot ignore."

Nicholas Burns made remarks to the same effect when he told Turkish journalists about two weeks ago that, when push came to shove, the United States would side with Turkey, a NATO member, and not Syria.

Significant deployment

A U.S. intelligence analyst also quoted by the same source confirmed that there were troop movements on both sides of the Turkish-Syrian border. "It's not the invasion of Normandy," the analyst quipped. "But it's a significant movement for both countries no matter how you look at it."

Syria is reported by Arabic daily al-Hayat to have deployed 40,000 troops along its border with Turkey following a series of explosions in various Syrian cities. About 600 Turkmens have been arrested by Syrian authorities as suspects. Turkey's military cooperation agreement with Israel has been decried by Syria and other Arab countries as a hostile act directed at Syria. The Arab Summit convening in Cairo on Saturday is expected to discuss the matter, as well as the Turkish dams built on the Euphrates, and perhaps issue a communique accusing Turkey. Turkish Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay sent letters to all Arab countries attending the summit, except Syria, warning them that such a statement would "destroy Turkish relations with the Arab world."

Arab Summit

Burns was also asked how the State Department viewed the aggressive stance of the Arab Summit nations vis-a-vis Turkey. The developing relations between Turkey and Israel were good not only for these two countries but for the Middle East as well, Burns said.

"If people are going to criticize Turkey for its relationship with Israel, why not criticize any number of Arab countries who have developed relationships with Israel over the last couple of years?" he asked.

"We want to see Arab countries and others like Turkey develop normal relations with Israel. Israel deserves it," Burns concluded.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JUNE 22-23, 1996

Chemical Risk Seen in 1991 U.S. Attack on Iraq

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — American troops destroyed an Iraqi ammunition depot in March 1991 that contained rockets armed with chemical agents and may have been exposed to the chemicals, the Pentagon said Friday.

"It now appears one of the destroyed bunkers contained chemical weapons," said a Pentagon spokesman, Ken Bacon.

He said that the soldiers who destroyed the bunker at the Kamisiyah depot in southern Iraq were members of an

engineering battalion, but that they were unaware the rockets contained chemical weapons. They were three miles from the site when the bunker was detonated in an operation after the Gulf War.

Mr. Bacon said the Pentagon was reviewing health records from soldiers who served during the Gulf War to determine whether the soldiers who blew up the depot had distinctive clinical problems.

In the past, the U.S. government has insisted that Gulf War veterans were not likely to have been exposed to harmful

materials. It still contends it has found no evidence that Iraq used any of its arsenal of chemical and biological weapons.

So far, almost 9,000 veterans have filed disability claims with the Department of Veterans' Affairs for illnesses they maintain are related to the conflict.

Veterans affairs and Pentagon officials have said they have yet to find any single cause for the illnesses — including neurological, respiratory and skin problems — that are known collectively as "Gulf War syndrome."

The U.S. Army's top doctor said in

May that in his opinion — a view not officially shared by the government at that time — it should be presumed that some Americans were exposed to chemicals in the war, given the thousands of unexplained illnesses and evidence from other countries of biological agents in the region.

Major General Ronald Blanck, commander of Walter Reed Army Medical Center, said that while scientists have not yet been able to link chemicals to the various illnesses, "clearly there is some evidence of low-level exposure."

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1996

Kurdish problem threatens another party with closure

By Erdinc Ergenç

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL— The reactions against the case opened by the Istanbul Attorney Generalship in Constitutional court for the closure of Emek Party (Labor Party) due to its including in its program opinions concerning the resolution of the Kurdish problem are increasing.

According to the Turkish Constitution nationalism is the obligatory ideological base that has to be accepted by all parties. But, stated the chief prosecutor, the Emek Party's program concerning the Kurdish problem violates the "inviolable

integrity of the state with the nation".

Emek Party leader Levent Tüzel stated the EP doesn't approve of the state's approach to the Kurdish problem and defends an equal and brotherly solidarity and therefore was considered separatist by the state.

Tüzel, claiming that the real separatism is a mentality that forces nationalism, said that this mentality threatens the freedom of politics as well as the freedom of expression and organization.

In order to gain support for the EP in the case against its closure Tüzel visited yesterday Republican Peoples Party (CHP) leader Deniz

Baykal, CHP Istanbul parliament representative Ercan Karakaş and Samsun member of parliament Murat Karayalçın.

Tüzel, in his meeting with CHP leader Baykal at the parliament in Ankara, asked him for support against the closure of the EP. At the end of the meeting Baykal said they will follow the case, since this is a problem of Turkish democracy. Ercan Karakaş claimed that they are facing the image of a police state and the government doesn't respect rights and freedoms.

Murat Karayalçın, recalling that a similar case was opened, but subsequently dropped, against

the Social Democratic Party (SHP) upon the issuing of the Kurdish Report, said that the solution is directly linked to the freedom of opinion. Tüzel also meet with Turkey and Middle East Forum Foundation chairman Fikret Başkaya and gave him information about the case and sought his assistance to protect the EP's rights. Fikret Başkaya said the dismissal of the case depended five percent on justice and 95 percent on the reaction from the streets and added that they have to conceive the public first of all the importance of the problem. He said they will give the necessary support to EP.

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Turquie-attentats lead

Huit morts dans deux attentats armés en Turquie

ANKARA, 23 juin (AFP) - Huit personnes ont été tuées et 19 autres ont été blessées dans deux attentats à main armée samedi soir à Diyarbakir, chef-lieu du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, et à Istanbul, ont rapporté des chaînes de télévisions turques.

Sept personnes ont trouvé la mort et 15 autres ont été blessées dans un attentat à main armée, attribué par les autorités à des rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), dans un parc à 15 km de Diyarbakir, selon les mêmes sources.

Un groupe de rebelles kurdes ont tiré sur une centaine de personnes qui dînaient dans un restaurant en plein air, a affirmé un témoin oculaire, Savas Donmez, responsable de la chaîne de télévision privée locale, Soz-Tv.

Trois enfants et une femme enceinte figurent parmi les victimes de l'attentat, a affirmé M. Donmez.

Les blessés ont été hospitalisés à Diyarbakir et les forces de l'ordre ont déclenché une opération pour retrouver les assaillants.

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

Cette rébellion et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait près 22.000 morts en 12 ans.

A Istanbul, un "terroriste" a été tué et quatre policiers ont été blessés lors d'un attentat à main armée contre un groupe de policiers patrouillant près du bâtiment qui abrite les locaux de l'organisation locale à Kagithane du Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP, droite) de l'ancien Premier ministre Tansu Ciller, selon les mêmes sources.

Cinq personnes, dont trois femmes, ont ouvert le feu sur le véhicule transportant les policiers, blessant deux d'entre eux. Un assaillant, une femme, a été tué et deux autres policiers ont été blessés lors de l'accrochage armé qui a suivi l'attentat.

La police a encerclé la zone et lancé une opération pour retrouver les agresseurs. Cet attentat n'avait pas été revendiqué dans l'immédiat.

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La Turquie, ses voisins et Israël

LA MAÎTRISE des eaux de l'Euphrate et l'aide apportée aux séparatistes kurdes : c'est sur ce double registre que se joue depuis des années le conflit entre la Turquie et la Syrie, dont le dernier rebondissement rappelle que le danger persiste (*Le Monde* du 19 juin).

Ankara est soupçonné d'avoir organisé une série d'attentats qui ont secoué la Syrie au cours des dernières semaines. Peu de détails sont connus sur ces actes que le département d'Etat américain a indirectement confirmés en faisant récemment état de plusieurs explosions en Syrie. En mai, une bombe aurait apparemment explosé à Damas, à proximité du domicile d'Abdullah Ocalan, le dirigeant du Parti (turc) des travailleurs kurdes, le PKK. Des informations récentes suggèrent que la cible n'en était pas M. Ocalan, mais le président Hafez El Assad lui-même.

La Turquie dément avec vigueur les accusations portées contre elle et réfute les rumeurs selon lesquelles la Syrie aurait massé des troupes à la frontière entre les deux pays. « *La Turquie n'est pas un pays terroriste, Nous n'avons rien à voir avec ces attentats* », affirme Nurettin Nurkan, porte-parole du ministère des affaires étrangères.

Le différend turco-syrien pourrait cette fois prendre une ampleur régionale. La Syrie a saisi le monde arabe de ses problèmes avec Ankara et espère d'autant plus sérieusement obtenir son soutien que les pays du Moyen-Orient ont violemment réagi à la signature, en février, d'un accord de coopération militaire entre la Turquie et Israël. La présence d'avions israéliens sur le territoire turc et les échanges de visites de militaires de haut rang entre les deux pays ont soulevé des inquiétudes dans la région, où cette nouvelle alliance est perçue comme dirigée contre les Arabes.

La Turquie s'en défend, fait valoir qu'un accord la menaçant a été conclu entre la Grèce et la Sy-

rie selon le vieux principe qui veut que les ennemis de mes ennemis soient mes amis, et affirme qu'elle continue de se tenir à égale distance d'Israël et du monde arabe. La coopération aérienne et navale avec l'Etat juif ne menace aucun des pays voisins, plaide-t-on à Ankara.

Les Arabes, notamment les Syriens, qui se sentent directement visés par un échange éventuel de renseignements entre Ankara et Jérusalem, ne sont pas convaincus. La convergence de vues sur le terrorisme entre le gouvernement turc et le premier ministre israélien, Benjamin Nétanyahou, n'est pas non plus de nature à les rassurer.

Ils trouvent un certain répondeur en Turquie même, où les milieux islamistes sont hostiles à l'accord conclu avec Israël. Le fait que celui-ci ait été rendu public quelques jours seulement avant l'offensive israélienne au Liban sud n'a fait qu'accroître l'embarras des autorités turques, au point que le premier ministre, Mesut Yilmaz - se laissant aller un bref instant avant de faire publier un démenti -, a récemment déclaré que cet accord avait entraîné plus d'ennuis que de bénéfices.

Jusqu'à la signature de l'accord avec Israël, le monde arabe tentait de ne pas prendre clairement parti sur la question du partage des eaux de l'Euphrate. Mais l'alliance conclue entre la Turquie et Israël a bouleversé les équilibres régionaux. Déjà entourée de pays avec lesquels elle entretient des relations inamicales, la Turquie pourrait ainsi voir s'ajouter plusieurs nouveaux pays à la liste déjà longue de ses ennemis.

L'eau, devenue presque aussi précieuse que le pétrole dans un Proche-Orient qui en manque cruellement, est au centre de la dispute turco-syrienne, dont les péripéties se déroulent sur un fond de ressentiment accumulé. En 1939, la Syrie avait été forcée de céder à la jeune République turque la province d'Alexandrette, devenue aujourd'hui la province turque du Ha-

Aux yeux des Turcs, l'essor des relations avec Israël pourrait être plus rentable que les relations ambiguës qu'ils ont toujours entretenues avec les Arabes

tay (même si, sur certaines cartes syriennes, elle fait encore partie du territoire national).

Au cours des derniers mois, la Turquie, dont la politique étrangère est de plus en plus influencée par les militaires en raison de l'instabilité gouvernementale, a clairement durci le ton envers Damas, qui protège et soutient les combattants kurdes du PKK, depuis qu'Ankara a commencé la construction du barrage d'Atatürk pour exploiter les eaux de l'Euphrate. La première attaque armée du PKK, en août 1984, avait marqué le début du conflit qui continue d'opposer les rebelles kurdes aux forces gouvernementales turques et qui a déjà fait près de 20 000 victimes.

Lorsque Turgut Ozal était premier ministre en Turquie, en 1987, les deux voisins étaient parvenus à une meilleure entente. Ankara avait promis de maintenir un flux de 500 mètres cubes d'eau par seconde vers la Syrie - correspondant à près de la moitié du débit de l'Euphrate. En contrepartie, Damas acceptait de déplacer vers l'intérieur les camps du PKK situés près de la frontière. En septembre 1992, la Syrie avait fermé les camps d'entraînement du PKK, situés dans la vallée libanaise de la Bekaa, avant une visite du ministre de l'intérieur turc, au cours de laquelle les deux pays avaient signé un accord de coopération antiterroriste.

La Turquie affirme qu'elle a tenu ses promesses et que la Syrie n'a pas respecté les siennes. Malgré la mise en service, en 1990, du barrage d'Atatürk, et l'irrigation de la grande plaine de Harran, au sud de la Turquie, le débit moyen de l'Euphrate a

été maintenu. Mais c'est le refus d'Ankara de garantir une quantité fixe d'eau, sous forme d'un traité permanent, qui continue d'irriter les dirigeants syriens, alors que la Turquie construit d'autres barrages sur l'Euphrate, dans le cadre du gigantesque projet du Sud-Est anatolien, connu sous le nom de GAP.

Les Turcs, toujours pressés de démontrer que la question kurde n'est pas un problème national, mais uniquement une arme utilisée par les ennemis de leur pays, ont tour à tour pointé un doigt accusateur en direction de tous leurs voisins, de la Grèce à l'Arménie, en passant par l'Iran et l'Irak. Ils ont, en revanche, été généralement plus prudents avec la Syrie, dont tout le monde sait, malgré ses démentis formels, qu'elle abrite le dirigeant du PKK, Abdullah Ocalan.

Une tentative d'infiltration des combattants du PKK, au début de 1996 dans la région du Hatay, a apparemment eu raison de la patience des militaires. La diplomatie turque affirme que les forces de sécurité ont alors « pris les mesures nécessaires et bombardé quelques éléments » près de la frontière syrienne, pour empêcher les opérations du PKK qui s'étaient multipliées dans cette région, dont la majorité des habitants sont arabes, et non kurdes.

Aux yeux des Turcs, l'essor des relations économiques et politiques avec Israël pourrait être plus rentable à long terme que les relations ambiguës qu'ils ont toujours entretenues avec les Arabes. L'ambassadeur israélien à Ankara, Zvi Elpeleg, estime que cet accord, qui sert « l'intérêt des deux peuples », ne devrait être affecté ni par l'arrivée au pouvoir de Benjamin Nétanyahou ni même par une éventuelle coalition à composante islamiste en Turquie. « *Nous préférons ce genre d'instabilité [une transition gouvernementale démocratique] à ce que l'on trouve dans certains pays de la région* », explique-t-il.

Les autorités turques ne veulent pas pour autant couper les ponts avec le monde arabe, d'autant que des intérêts économiques et la fourniture de pétrole sont en jeu. Mais l'accord avec Israël, en réveillant une méfiance qui remonte au passé ottoman commun aux Turcs et aux Arabes, a rallumé de vieilles tensions qui seront difficiles à surmonter.

Nicole Pope

Le Dauphiné Libéré — 23 JUIN 1996

DERNIERE HEURE

Turquie : huit morts dans deux attentats armés

Huit personnes ont été tuées et 19 autres ont été blessées dans deux attentats à main armée samedi soir à Diyarbakir, chef-lieu du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, et à Istanbul, ont rapporté des chaînes de télévisions turques.

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A Istanbul, un « terroriste » a été tué et quatre policiers ont été blessés lors d'un attentat à main armée contre un groupe de policiers patrouillant près du bâtiment qui abrite les locaux de l'organisation locale à Kagithane du Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP, droite) de l'ancien premier ministre Tansu Ciller, selon les mêmes sources.

L'Humanité — 22 JUIN 1996

Liberté pour les prisonniers politiques en Turquie

A l'initiative, entre autres, du groupe de la Gauche unitaire européenne, le Parlement de Strasbourg a adopté une résolution sur les droits de l'homme et la situation en Turquie. Il se déclare « profondément préoccupé par les opérations militaires menées par les forces turques en Turquie orientale et par leur refus de rechercher les voies d'un règlement pacifique du conflit, malgré l'annonce de cessez-le-feu faite par le PKK le 15 décembre 1995 ». Evoquant la grève de la faim observée par des centaines de prisonniers politiques et la persistance de mauvais traitements dans les prisons, le texte demande au nouveau gouvernement de « s'engager à reconnaître et à soutenir les droits de l'homme », de décréter une amnistie générale, de mettre fin aux opérations militaires dans le sud-est du pays... Intervenant au nom du groupe GUE, Aline Pailler dénonçait les complaisances entretenues en faveur du régime turc, s'exclamant : « Liberté pour Leyla Zana et tous les prisonniers politiques ! »

June 24, 1996

The Nation.

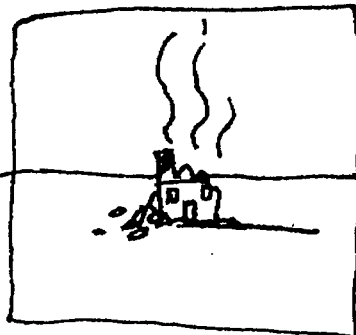
THE FUTURE IS ON VIEW NEAR A U.N. SUMMIT ON CITIES: MILLIONS OF DISPLACED PERSONS.

Habitat for Inhumanity

JOHN TIRMAN

"All the houses were shattered, torn down, not a single one intact," a young Kurdish man named Kamil was telling me in Istanbul last fall. He was talking about his village in southeastern Turkey. "The destruction of each house came through the roof, each of them crushed or bombed. I was told they were bombed. Windows were shattered. Doors were broken. Whatever was left was taken by the police for themselves.

"This was my childhood home. Everyone in my father's line lived there. My life passed before my eyes when I saw the fountain where we had played as children; it was crushed. Nothing was left in the village except the schoolhouse, where a Turkish flag was flying. In the health center, where everything had been looted, an intact wall had scrawled



SCOTT MENCHIN

on it, 'One Turk is worth the whole world.'"

The United Nations delegates convened at the global summit on the future of the city, held the first half of June in Istanbul, are likely to ignore stories like Kamil's. Refugees from war, political repression, environmental disaster and economic neglect are not priorities for the 20,000 attendees—including several heads of state—expected for the Habitat II meeting. Judging by the preparatory gatherings, Habitat II will insist on decent housing for all humankind

and other satisfying goals, but the hard cases of urban life—the millions pouring into cities worldwide from the oppressive outback—will earn no special mention. Too bad, really, since Istanbul itself is the global showcase for how disgracefully a government can treat its own "internally displaced." The city is home to up to a million refugees from the Kurdish areas of the southeast, driven from their villages by the Turkish military using U.S. weapons.

John Tirman, executive director of the Winston Foundation in Washington, D.C., is writing a book for the Free Press on the Turkish-Kurdish conflict.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees says there were 15.3 million political refugees in 1995 and 20 million internally displaced, with Turkey's 2 million among the world's highest number. These displaced commonly migrate to cities, constituting a large fraction of the globe's explosive urban growth.

Among Istanbul's 10 million people may be a million or more displaced Kurds. The city's Kurdish population is swollen by the war between the Turkish government and the Kurdistan Workers Party, or P.K.K., a war that has taken 20,000 lives since 1984. The P.K.K., a quasi-Marxist guerrilla army, claims to want only cultural and political rights for the beleaguered Kurds, who make up one-fifth of the country's 60 million people. To defeat the P.K.K., the military-dominated government has evacuated and destroyed some 2,500 Kurdish villages since the early nineties. The villagers, left without resources or relocation aid, migrate to the larger cities of the southeast like Diyarbakir, which has grown from 300,000 to 900,000 since 1993; or to western cities like Adana or Izmir, which have also exploded in size. But Istanbul is the destination of choice.

Just twenty miles from where the Habitat II delegates are gathering is a part of Istanbul called Esenyurt, teeming with 100,000 Kurds, many thousands of those in homes built illegally, without running water, of stacked bricks and tin roofs. Cows and geese drink from a stream blackened by industrial waste that runs through the middle of the settlement. Children roam about, unable to attend school because they possess no identification papers and the Turkish government demands a school fee that none of the parents can pay. The adults, too, have fallen out of the system. Afraid to speak up for their rights—voting, housing, jobs—the refugees of Esenyurt piece together subsistence lives under constant threat. Ultranationalist gangs harass and sometimes “disappear” political activists among them. The men can find work only as day laborers on construction crews, uncertain and seasonal employment. The local mayor, excoriating the refugees as P.K.K., regularly bulldozes the shanties of the hillside hamlet.

This is not the worst of it, either: Tens of thousands of others live in tents, or in refugee camps in other countries. Thousands more find housing with relatives, doubling up in crowded apartments, hiding out from the authorities, who they feel may persecute them again. Virtually all find the city a bizarre and frightening experience. “I was a shopkeeper in my town,” said Mehmet, a wiry man of 48 who was forced to migrate to Istanbul with his wife and ten children. “I wasn't political, but I was a respected citizen. After we left, our house was looted and burned. Now I cannot find work. Here we live incognito.” A woman tells me, “The children don't know about the city. One of mine was struck by a car.” A 49-year-old man from near Diyarbakir, whose wife was murdered by the government-backed

“village guards” and whose home was shelled, says of his existence in Istanbul, “I don't even understand my life anymore; I don't understand what is happening to me.”

A 25-year-old woman explains how she came to Istanbul. “We had a hundred houses in our village,” she says. “Guerrillas would come to the village, so soldiers targeted this place. We like the P.K.K. If we had a problem we would go to the P.K.K. and they would solve it. We'd be too afraid to go to the government.

“We were preparing for the Nawroz [New Year's] festival. Soldiers came to the village. My two brothers-in-law were at home; the soldiers threw a bomb at the house and killed both. They then took all the villagers into the schoolyard and set the whole village on fire. Everything was burned, including the animals. There were ten other villages in the area, and nine of them were also burned to ashes. Nothing was left. We had fourteen children, and they told us, Go wherever you like, but you have no village now. We couldn't take anything from the village. The whole family came to Istanbul except for two of my stepdaughters, who joined the rebels because of this incident. We lived in a tent for eight months. The police came and raided because of the two stepdaughters with the guerrillas. They kept my husband in detention for two months.”

Ali, a 50-year-old man from a village near Diyarbakir, tells a similar tale. “When they burned Kaynak, my village, they assembled all the people in the central square. The soldiers took valuables and jewelry from the houses, then burned the houses, even with the animals inside. Tanks, helicopters, they are all the time there. In my village they have slaughtered 200 horses; with these, we carried food. There were so many animals in Kurdistan; now you cannot find two chickens.” Ali found his way to a dormitory-style camp outside Athens, one of a growing number of foreign (and urban) resting spots for Kurdish refugees.

The forced-evacuations of Kurds violate international law, but neither Europe nor the United States is holding Ankara accountable. The human rights focus on Turkey typically includes only torture and freedom of speech issues. The United States provides 80 percent of Turkey's weapons, including Sikorsky and Bell-Textron helicopters, F-16 fighters and M-60 tanks used to drive Kurds from their homes. Precious little attention is given to the millions of displaced persons.

Less noticed still is the growing anger of the newly urban Kurds. “In the immigrant populations we see a higher rate of political radicalization,” says Dogu Ergil, a professor at Ankara University who studied Kurdish attitudes in an exhaustive 1995 survey. “In the cities, they are trivialized. They had their gardens and their livestock in the village, and now they have nothing.” A field trip to Esenyurt would expose the Habitat II delegates to one of the bleakest urbanscapes in the world, and a sobering glimpse of the future of the city. ■

MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1996

Wild scenes at HADEP congress

A man unfurled a PKK flag from the ceiling to the cheers of the audience. He then climbed along the girders and cut down the enormous Turkish flag, which had been the backdrop of the main stage, once again the crowd cheered

By Ayse Karabat

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The People's Democracy Party (HADEP) held an eventful 2nd General Congress on Sunday at the Ataturk Sports Center in Ankara.

The meeting itself was extremely crowded, the hall as packed as the garden. The garden was full of women and children from all over Turkey, but especially from the Southeast. Some of the families having picnics, children sleeping on the ground and others crying, all made the scene extremely chaotic. The crowd both in the garden and in the hall was full of enthusiasm. Inside the hall, quite often masked youngsters would hold up pictures of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah "Apo" Öcalan and shout pro-PKK slogans.

The congress was supposed to start with a minute's silence but it wasn't long before the restless crowd launched into singing a Kurdish nationalist anthem.

Whilst HADEP leader Murat Bozlak was making the opening speech of the congress, someone was seen climbing the steel girders running along the roof of the hall.

He then unfurled a PKK flag to the cheers of the audience. He then climbed along the girders and cut down the enormous Turkish flag, which had been the backdrop of the main stage. Once again the crowd cheered.

The chairman of the congress denounced the tearing down of the Turkish flag and asked for it to be put back up. This call elicited many boos and jeers from the exited crowd. During his interrupted speech Bozlak said that 105 Kurdish politicians had given their lives for the cause but this will not stop them from fighting for their rights.

Bozlak compared the Dec. 24 election with the recently-held referendum in Iraq, which found that 99.9 percent of Iraqis supported Saddam Hussein. He said that 10 million Kurdish people were not allowed to vote in the last general election and that the election itself was held under



Relatives of hunger striking prisoners at the HADEP congress. HADEP officials are to go on a one-day sympathy hungry strike today. TDN Cengiz Uysal

tight security pressure. He also attacked mainstream political parties for refraining from introducing democratic measures. He also claimed that the Turko-Israeli military accord is anti-Kurdish: "The Israeli planes will take off from Incirlik and bombard innocent Palestinians. Turkish planes will take off from Diyarbakir and attack the Kurds."

Also present at the congress were relatives of prisoners who are on a hunger strike protesting conditions in prisons throughout the country. Bozlak said that he and official delegates had pledged to also go on a one-day hunger strike in sympathy with the other hunger strikers.

There was a strong police presence outside the sports center and at the entrances. Interestingly, the police did not use the available metal detectors unlike at other party political congresses.

Guests at the meeting included a Swiss Socialist Party deputy, Nils de Barkel; Welfare Party deputy Fetullah Erbas; Freedom and Solidarity Party (ODP) leader Ufuk Uras; and Human Rights Association President Akin Birdal, who was also an HADEP candidate in the last general election.

Some members of the press found entering the congress difficult as they were held up by the police, arguments ensued and the journalists were finally allowed to enter.

Party office elections were to be held as the Turkish Daily News went to press. Incumbent Murat Bozlak is the only candidate for the chairmanship. The interesting elections will be for the Central Administration Committee where approximately 200 candidates are competing for 50 positions.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1996

CIA-Backed Iraqis Again Seek a Way To Depose Saddam

By John Lancaster
and David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service

In an office suite on a quiet street in Amman, Jordan, an exile group called the Iraqi National Accord is plotting and struggling to carry out a new CIA-backed plan to topple President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Now equipped with a powerful radio station and claiming contacts at high levels of the Iraqi military, the group is trying to promote a coup by officers close to President Saddam, according to American and Saudi officials and members of the organization.

Besides operating the radio station, which can reach most areas of Iraq, the group has aided the defection of several high officers, including a former army chief of staff, and it claims to be using captured military field radios to stay in contact with Iraqi Army units.

"We think that any uprising should have as its very center the armed forces," said the group's leader, Ayad Alawi, a physician and former confidant of President Saddam who fled to London in 1971.

"We don't preach civil war," Mr. Alawi said. "On the contrary, we preach controlled, coordinated military uprising supported by the people that would not allow itself to go into acts of revenge or chaos."

The outlook is far from certain, however. The opposition movement is severely splintered. Similar efforts have failed miserably in the past. Six other radio stations are broadcasting anti-Saddam messages.

President Saddam is nothing if not a survivor, having held on to power under the constant, crushing pressure of international trade sanctions and ostracism that followed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the ensuing Gulf War.

"The opposition is more active in a kind of very diffuse way than it has ever been," said a U.S. intelligence officer. "There are all sorts of opponents to the regime."

"But they don't coalesce," the American added. "They have different agendas, different constituencies — both inside and outside Iraq. They're really more gnats and mosquitoes to Saddam rather than anything serious."

But the United States,

among others, is taking Mr. Alawi's group seriously. In January, President Bill Clinton authorized \$6 million in covert aid to support its activities, according to Iraqi opposition sources familiar with the plan of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Asked over the weekend about assistance to the Iraqi opposition group, a CIA spokesman declined to comment. An administration official also refused to talk about a covert operation.

The amount of money is in addition to a similar or larger sum provided by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and several other Arab countries, according to a Saudi official and opposition sources.

"It's not a secret that a few people are working to create a climate," a government official in Saudi Arabia said last month, alluding to efforts for a coup. "We are not asleep, we are not sitting on our fannies doing nothing. Things are happening."

Previous efforts to overthrow the Iraqi leader centered largely on another opposition organization, the Iraqi National Congress, formed with CIA backing in 1992 as an umbrella group for Sunni Muslim, Shiite Muslim and Kurdish factions, including the National Accord.

The United States supported the new group in hopes of encouraging a broad-based uprising in which rebellion would spread from resistance groups to army units. But the INC, based in Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq, has been paralyzed by internal fighting, including virtually a civil

war between the two main Kurdish factions.

The National Accord, formed with Saudi backing in 1990, has sought to encourage a quick coup by generals that would, in effect, decapitate the regime but leave the rest of Iraq intact.

At a meeting in Saudi Arabia in mid-January, American, British, Saudi and Jordanian intelligence officers agreed that the center of operations for the Iraqi opposition would become Amman and that the newly anointed group would be used as "the magnet" to attract Iraqi military and intelligence officers into defecting or, better yet, taking action against President Saddam, according to Iraqi opposition sources.

"The No. 1 criteria we chose was credibility," said the Jordanian information minister, Marwan Muasher, speaking in Washington last week. "The INC has no credibility in Iraq or in Jordan."

In late January, President Bill Clinton signed a new "finding" authorizing the \$6 million project to finance the more powerful opposition radio station and to pay for the operations out of Amman.

Still, some intelligence officials remain skeptical.

"Given President Saddam's vigilance and the fear surrounding him, many analysts believe no amount of maneuvering can influence events inside the regime. According to this view, change could come only after some drama like the death of President Saddam of natural causes or perhaps assassination by a relative.

Police detain HADEP leaders over flag slight

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Police on Monday detained leading officials of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) to a chorus of approval from politicians and the media after the party's overnight congress turned into a show of support for the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

The tensions threatened to further flare over reports that three HADEP delegates returning home after the eventful congress had been murdered outside Kayseri, central Turkey, when their car was ambushed by unknown attackers. A fourth delegate was reportedly injured.

The police used batons early Monday to disperse party supporters protesting the detention of 32 officials, including re-elected HADEP Chairman Murat Bozlak.

Police action followed the conclusion of the congress during which a large Turkish flag was torn down from the roof of the hall and replaced by a PKK banner and a portrait of rebel chief Abdullah Öcalan. The PKK has been fighting a separatist war in southeastern Turkey, home to about half of the country's estimated 12 million Kurds, for the past 12 years. The fighting has claimed nearly 20,000 lives so far.

Interior Minister Ülkü Güney said that in addition to the HADEP officials who will be questioned by the State Security Court prosecutor, the two people who tore down the flag had been captured and detained. Condemning the insult to the flag, Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz said the true aim of the perpetrators appeared to be to destabilize the country, disrupt public order and harm democracy.

But he said "people's common sense and the strength of the Turkish state will prevent the perpetrators of the incident from realizing their aims."

The incident also triggered strong reaction from the right and the left:

Chairman Alparslan Türkeş of the far right Nationalist Movement Party dismissed the HADEP officials' explanations that the outrage had been the handiwork of "irresponsible elements," hinting a link between HADEP and the PKK.

"The Turkish Republic is a unitary state and the Turkish

Arms Inspection Pledge By Iraq Encourages UN

By Barbara Crossette
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — In a move that United Nations officials regard as a significant political step for President Saddam Hussein, Iraq has signed a UN agreement to speed the process of eliminating all its weapons of mass destruction so that economic sanctions can be lifted.

The new agreement was signed Saturday by Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister, and Rolf Ekeus, the Swedish diplomat who is chairman of the commission charged with monitoring Iraqi compliance.

"I don't underestimate the concessions Iraq has made," said Mr. Ekeus, who has heard unfulfilled promises of Iraqi compliance in the past. He said Monday that his request for written agreement produced some "heartburn" in Baghdad.

"I told them a 'no' to this would mean serious repercussions for Iraq," Mr. Ekeus said.

The agreement includes an unequivocal pledge by Iraq to allow UN inspectors "immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access" to all suspect sites.

Mr. Ekeus reiterated, however, that there was still much to be accomplished

in Iraq because the government continued to conceal what he called "some important components of weapons and telltale documents."

Weapons monitors, who believe arms or components are still being hidden more than five years after the Gulf War, will soon test the accord with an in-

spection that may involve politically sensitive sites.

The agreement sets up a regular system of meetings between Mr. Ekeus and Mr. Aziz, and a schedule for turning over long-requested Iraqi documentation by the end of this month.

The accord was made public Monday by Mr. Ekeus, who went to Iraq last week armed with Security Council demands for cooperation that stopped short of the U.S. desire to include a threat of force. In return, the United Nations gave a vague pledge to respect Iraqi sovereignty and territorial integrity.

An underlying message in this pledge is that once they have access to sensitive sites, inspectors will not poke around in material they may find that does not relate to weapons.

nation is powerful. No one can defy that power to dictate things in pursuance of their treacherous aims ...

Those smeared with blood should not be allowed to pollute our country and its democracy," the veteran rightist thundered.

At the opposing end, Ridvan Budak, the chairman of the left-wing Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions (DİSK) also condemned the action targeting the Turkish flag, saying it was a joint symbol "for all the people living in this country regardless of their ethnic background."

Budak further charged that such "acts of primitive nationalism" were undermining the peace everyone wanted.

While the Turkish media expressed shock and anger over the incident, HADEP officials disowned the support for the

PKK, saying the replacement of flags was a "provocation."

They argued that the detentions were unwarranted and the HADEP leaders would have gone by themselves if they had been summoned by the prosecutor for an explanation.

Güven Özata, a senior HADEP politician, charged that the "provocation" followed his party's calls for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question.

The congresses of other pro-Kurdish parties which preceded HADEP also witnessed similar expressions of support for the PKK and its leader, causing their closure and strengthening public suspicions that they were front organizations for the separatist group.

In a notorious crackdown on legal Kurdish self-assertiveness, Turkey banned the Democracy Party (DEP) two years ago,

expelled 13 pro-Kurdish politicians from Parliament and subsequently jailed six at the end of a controversial trial which caused reaction in the West and nearly killed a customs pact with the European Union.

But other former DEP politicians who fled the country to avoid arrest became active promoters of a PKK-dominated Kurdish parliament-in-exile, vindicating suspicions.

HADEP, formed after the closure of DEP, became immediately popular with the Kurds in the Southeast who resent the heavy-handed policies of the state pursuing a military victory

over the PKK.

Championing a peaceful and democratic solution instead, HADEP swept the Kurdish-dominated southeastern provinces in the general election last December, but failed to clear a nationwide 10-percent threshold to send representatives to the Turkish legislature.

Before Sunday's congress, the party's platform of moderation had been winning converts among Turkish intellectuals and media commentators to the idea of a more free advocacy of Kurdish rights, despite lingering suspicions of PKK guidance.

...and PKK becomes liability for HADEP

For quite some time there has been a debate going on about the relationship between the People's Democracy Party (HADEP) and the Kurdish terrorist organization PKK, which calls itself the Kurdistan Workers Party...

HADEP has continuously claimed it has nothing to do with the PKK and that it is a political force on its own.

HADEP had a chance to prove its own muscle when it managed to win more than 4 percent of the overall votes in the Dec. 24, 1995 parliamentary elections and show it is a political force to be reckoned with in southeastern Turkey...

However, the incidents at the HADEP convention in Ankara on Sunday has shown once again that the party is under threat by the PKK. PKK militants openly hijacked the convention, tearing down the Turkish flag, replacing it with their own PKK flag. They also held up posters showing photos of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and chanted anti-Turkish slogans.

This was not only a provocation on the part of the PKK but it was also a death blow to HADEP. Instead of disassociating themselves with the PKK, the leaders of HADEP actually seemed to pay lip service to them... HADEP chief Murat Bozlak was speaking as the militants tore down the Turkish flag before his very eyes. Yet, Bozlak did not even bother to

Editorial



By Ilnur Çevik

TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1996

Turkish Daily News

try to stop the militants and just continued with his speech. What was expected from him would have been an open declaration of condemnation and then he should have closed the convention and walked out. Bozlak and his officials failed to do anything and just let the PKK hijack their convention. Thus HADEP now has to pay the bill for whatever the PKK did on Sunday...

The Irish party Sinn Fein is having problems with the terrorist IRA. As Britain and Ireland had agreed to accept Sinn Fein as a counterpart at the talks for a settlement of the Northern Irish question, the IRA ruined everything by spoiling the truce and exploding bombs in English cities. Now Sinn Fein has been excluded from the talks and the IRA is to be blamed. So it seems the militants of the world are all alike. They do not want peace and calm. They simply want chaos, disorder and suffering.

Of course this also should be a lesson for those who keep on urging Turkey to speak to the "moderate" Kurds to find a solution to the problems in southeastern Turkey. If someone someday did decide to talk to HADEP or anyone else would the PKK give them a free hand?

The PKK and its supporters have shown disrespect for the our flag which is unacceptable. They simply wanted to anger the Turks and they were successful. Yet, by failing to prevent the PKK, HADEP is now shouldering the blame. When will the HADEP officials realize that the PKK is now a serious liability for them?

d) D4-0769, 0797, 0820 et 0828/96

Résolution sur les droits de l'homme et la situation en Turquie

Le Parlement européen,

- vu la clause sur le respect des droits de l'homme contenue dans la proposition de règlement du Conseil relatif à la mise en oeuvre d'une action en faveur de la Turquie (COM(95)0389 - C4-0391/95⁽¹⁾)
- vu la Déclaration de Barcelone, dont la Turquie est l'un des signataires,
- A. désireux d'établir de bonnes relations avec la Turquie, mais rappelant les nombreuses résolutions sur les droits de l'homme qu'il a adoptées dans le passé ainsi que les déclarations dans lesquelles les autorités turques s'étaient, avant la ratification de l'union douanière, engagées à améliorer la situation,
- B. profondément préoccupé par les opérations militaires récemment menées par les forces armées turques en Turquie orientale et par leur refus de rechercher les voies d'un règlement pacifique du conflit, malgré l'annonce de cessez-le-feu faite par le PKK le 15 décembre 1995,
- C. considérant que, dans de nombreuses prisons turques, des prisonniers kurdes ont fait une grève de la faim pour protester contre les mesures répressives adoptées par M. Mehmet Agar, ancien chef de la Sécurité promu ministre de la justice,
- D. alarmé par les informations selon lesquelles plusieurs des grévistes de la faim se trouvent dans un état grave, les soins médicaux requis leur étant refusés,
- E. très préoccupé par d'autres informations sur les mauvais traitements qui sont infligés aux détenus et qui se sont soldés notamment par quatre morts en janvier 1996, à la prison d'Istanbul,
- F. alarmé d'apprendre que les anciens députés d'origine kurde, à savoir Leyla Zana, Hatip Dicle, Selim Sadak et Orhan Dogan, n'ont toujours pas été libérés de prison et qu'ils se sont associés à la grève de la faim à laquelle participent d'autres détenus politiques,
- G. estimant que les persécutions à l'encontre de l'écrivain Yashar Kemal et du sociologue Ismail Besikci, ainsi que le traitement réservé aux prisonniers politiques en général, ne sauraient être conformes aux règles reconnues à l'échelle internationale en matière de droits de l'homme,
- H. dénonçant les interdictions de réunion et de manifestation, les violences, les arrestations et les matraquages par la police pendant la conférence HABITAT II,
- I. vivement préoccupé par le fait que M. Soyfettin Kizilkan, président de l'ordre des médecins de Diyarbakir et militant des droits de l'homme, a été condamné par une cour de sûreté de l'Etat à plus de trois années d'emprisonnement sur la base d'accusations que des observateurs ont jugées forgées de toutes pièces;

(¹) JO C 271 du 17.10.1995, p. 12.

- J. pleinement conscient des incertitudes qui pèsent sur la scène politique turque après la chute de l'actuel gouvernement et la démission du premier ministre, M. Mesut Yılmaz;
1. invite instamment le prochain gouvernement à s'engager à reconnaître et à soutenir les droits de l'homme en Turquie, conformément à la Convention européenne sur les droits de l'homme, dont ce pays est l'un des signataires, et à entreprendre de nouvelles réformes législatives, substantielles, requises pour prévenir toute atteinte à ces droits;
2. demande au nouveau gouvernement de décréter une amnistie générale qui garantira la libération de tous les prisonniers déclarés coupables en application d'une législation contraire au principe de la liberté d'expression et aux droits de l'homme, et à mettre un terme aux actions en justice engagées à l'encontre de toutes les personnes dont le procès est encore en cours et renouvelle plus particulièrement sa demande de libérer immédiatement Mme Leyla Zana ainsi que les trois autres députés au DEP;
3. invite le gouvernement turc à mettre fin à ses opérations militaires dans le sud-est du pays et à entamer des négociations avec l'ensemble des organisations kurdes en vue de débloquer la situation et de s'acheminer vers un règlement politique et pacifique du conflit;
4. demande aux autorités turques de reconnaître les droits de tous les Kurdes vivant dans le pays et à faciliter le rapatriement de tous les Kurdes déplacés;
5. presse le Conseil d'inscrire la question kurde en Turquie à l'ordre du jour de l'OSCE et à rechercher tous les moyens qui permettront d'encourager les initiatives visant à régler les questions des droits de l'homme et des Kurdes en Turquie;
6. invite instamment le nouveau gouvernement à adopter résolument les mesures qui s'imposent pour mettre un terme à la torture et à prendre des dispositions pour que la Croix-Rouge internationale puisse visiter les prisons et les prisonniers politiques;
7. estime qu'un tel mépris à l'égard des obligations inhérentes au droit international et aux textes fondamentaux sur les droits de l'homme est gravement incompatible avec l'esprit dans lequel a été conclu l'accord sur l'union douanière entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie, et invite donc le Conseil et la Commission à presser les autorités turques d'agir en sorte que les détenus ne soient plus maltraités et reçoivent des soins médicaux;
8. demande à la Commission de tenir ses engagements quant au suivi de la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie, et l'invite à lui transmettre dans les plus brefs délais le deuxième rapport intérimaire sur les droits de l'homme en Turquie;
9. charge son Président de transmettre la présente résolution au Conseil, à la Commission, au gouvernement turc, et aux gouvernements des États membres.

10(d) D4-0769, 0797, 0820 and 0828/96

Resolution on human rights and the situation in Turkey

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the human rights clause included in the proposal for a Council Regulation regarding the implementation of a special financial cooperation measure for Turkey (COM(95)0389)¹,
- having regard to the Barcelona Declaration of which Turkey is a signatory,
- A. anxious to achieve good relations with Turkey, but recalling its numerous previous resolutions on human rights and statements made by the Turkish authorities prior to the approval of the Customs Union, promising improvements,
- B. deeply concerned at the recent military operations undertaken by the Turkish armed forces in Eastern Turkey and the refusal to attempt to achieve a peaceful settlement despite the declaration of a ceasefire by the PKK on 15 December 1995,
- C. whereas Kurdish prisoners in many Turkish prisons have been on hunger strike in protest against repressive measures introduced by Mr Mehmet Agar, formerly Chief of Security and subsequently Minister of Justice,
- D. concerned by reports that medical treatment is being obstructed and that the health of various prisoners participating in the prison hunger strike is now in grave danger,
- E. deeply concerned by reports of ill-treatment against prisoners which, inter alia, has resulted in four deaths in January 1996 in Istanbul's prison,
- F. deeply disturbed by the fact that the former Members of Parliament of Kurdish origin, Leyla Zana, Hatip Dicle, Selim Sadak and Orhan Dogan have still not been released from prison, and have joined the hunger strike by other political prisoners,
- G. unable to accept that the prosecutions of the writer Yasar Kemal and the sociologist Ismail Besikci and the treatment of political prisoners in general are compatible with internationally accepted standards of human rights,
- H. condemning the bans on assembly and demonstration, the violence, the arrests and baton charges by the police during the HABITAT II conference,
- I. concerned that the president of the Diyarbakir medical association and committed human rights activist, Seyfettin Kizilkan, has been sentenced to over three years' imprisonment by a state security court, although observers assume that the charges were fabricated,
- J. taking fully into account the uncertainty prevailing on the Turkish political scene following the fall of the present Government and the resignation of the Prime Minister, Mr Mesut Yilmaz,

¹ OJ C 271, 17.10.1995, p. 12.

1. Appeals to the incoming government to commit itself to recognise and uphold human rights in Turkey, in accordance with the European Convention on Human Rights of which Turkey is a signatory, and to undertake further and substantial legislative reforms required to prevent their infringement;
2. Requests the new government to declare a general amnesty designed to secure the release of prisoners convicted of offences under laws in conflict with the principles of free speech and human rights and to terminate court actions against those still on trial, and in particular renews its call for the immediate release of Mrs Leyla Zana and the three other members of the DEP;
3. Calls on the Turkish Government to end its military operations in the south-east of the country and to open negotiations with all Kurdish organizations in order to overcome the deadlock and move towards a peaceful political settlement of the problem;
4. Asks the Turkish authorities to recognise the rights of all Kurds within Turkey and to facilitate the return of all displaced Kurds to their homes;
5. Presses the Council to put the Kurdish issue in Turkey on the agenda of the OSCE and to seek other ways to promote initiatives designed to assist in resolving the problems of human rights and the Kurds in Turkey;
6. Calls on the new government to take firm steps to end the practice of torture and to make provision for the International Red Cross to visit prisons and political prisoners;
7. Considers that such disregard of obligations with regard to both international law and human rights instruments, is seriously inconsistent with the spirit of the EU/Turkey Customs Union, and therefore calls on the Council and the Commission to urge the Turkish Authorities to take steps to ensure that ill treatment of prisoners and the obstruction of medical treatment stops;
8. Calls on the Commission to meet its commitments as regards monitoring the human rights situation in Turkey and asks it to forward the second interim report on human rights in Turkey to Parliament as soon as possible;
9. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and the Commission, the Government of Turkey, and to all Member State governments.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Arrestation de près de 70 membres d'un parti pro-kurde

ANKARA, 25 juin (AFP) - Près de 70 membres, dont une trentaine de cadres, du Parti de la Démocratie du Peuple (HADEP) ont été arrêtés à la suite d'un congrès de cette formation pro-kurde, a indiqué mardi un procureur de la Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara (DGMA), Nuh Mete Yuksel.

Un précédent bilan annoncé lundi faisait état de l'arrestation d'une trentaine de cadres de ce parti.

Parmi les cadres arrêtés, figurent le président du HADEP, Murat Bozlak, quatre vice-présidents, le secrétaire général et environ 25 autres responsables.

Ils avaient été arrêtés alors qu'ils quittaient la salle du congrès où le drapeau turc avait été jeté et remplacé par l'emblème du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste, en rébellion armée contre Ankara), et un portrait sur tissu du chef du PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, dit "Apo".

L'enquête ouverte dès dimanche soir à propos de ce congrès se poursuivait dans le cadre des lois sur "outrage au drapeau turc", "propagande séparatiste" et "aide à l'organisation séparatiste" (PKK), a précisé le procureur, cité par l'agence Anatolie.

"De nombreux documents appartenant à l'organisation séparatiste ont été saisis lors de perquisitions dans les locaux du HADEP", a ajouté le procureur. Il a accusé le HADEP "de poursuivre ses activités parallèlement à celles du PKK" et "d'être la branche politique du PKK".

Par ailleurs, l'homme qui avait jeté le drapeau turc lors du congrès, Omer Doyuran, a été arrêté lundi soir à Yalova (nord-ouest) et c'est "un membre du HADEP", a déclaré mardi le gouverneur de cette province, Suleyman Oguz.

Cet acte a causé une vague de protestations en Turquie et des organisations, universités et syndicats ont publié des déclarations pour "le condamner".

Dans le communiqué final du congrès, le HADEP a "présenté ses regrets" face à cet acte et affirmé que celui-ci "s'est déroulé hors de l'initiative des dirigeants, délégués et membres" du parti.

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Attentats meurtriers en Turquie

Huit personnes ont été tuées et dix-neuf autres ont été blessées dans deux attentats à main armée hier soir à Diyarbakir, chef-lieu du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, et à Istanbul, ont rapporté des chaînes de télévisions turques.

SEPT personnes ont trouvé la mort et quinze autres ont été blessées dans un attentat à main armée, attribué par les autorités à des rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), dans un parc à 15 km de Diyarbakir, selon les mêmes sources. Un groupe de rebelles kurdes ont tiré sur une centaine de personnes qui dînaient dans un restaurant en plein air, a affirmé un témoin oculaire, Savas Donmez, responsable de la chaîne de télévision privée locale, Soz-Tv.

Trois enfants et une femme enceinte figurent parmi les victimes de l'attentat, a affirmé M. Donmez. Les blessés ont été hospitalisés à Diyarbakir et les forces de l'ordre ont déclenché une opération pour retrouver les assaillants.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara pour créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran. Cette rébellion et les opé-

rations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait près 22.000 morts en 12 ans.

A Istanbul, un "terroriste" a été tué et quatre policiers ont été blessés lors d'un attentat à main armée contre un groupe de policiers patrouillant près du bâtiment qui abrite les locaux de l'organisation locale à Kagithane du Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP, droite) de l'ancien Premier ministre Tansu Ciller, selon les mêmes sources.

Cinq personnes, dont trois femmes, ont ouvert le feu sur le véhicule transportant les policiers, blessant deux d'entre eux. Un assaillant, une femme, a été tué et deux autres policiers ont été blessés lors de l'accrochage armé qui a suivi l'attentat.

La police a encerclé la zone et lancé une opération pour retrouver les agresseurs. Cet attentat n'avait pas été revendiqué dans l'immédiat.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Huit membres du PKK arrêtés en possession d'explosifs à Istanbul

ISTANBUL, 25 juin (AFP) - Huit membres du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), dont deux femmes, ont été arrêtés à Istanbul en possession d'un important arsenal, a déclaré mardi le préfet de police de la ville, Kemal Yazicioglu.

Les militants du PKK, arrêtés le 14 juin, préparaient des attentats à la bombe contre des grands centres de commerce, des hôtels, des centres de loisirs, des organes de presse et des lieux touristiques, a affirmé le préfet de police dans une conférence de presse.

S'ils n'avaient pas été arrêtés, ils prévoyaient de déposer une bombe le 15 juin dans une station de tramway à l'heure de pointe, a affirmé M. Yazicioglu.

Cinq roquettes anti-char, trois kalachnikovs, 5 pistolets, 57 grenades, des munitions, 80 kg de TNT et une importante quantité de matière pour la fabrication de bombes, saisis dans les locaux des militants, ont été exposés à la presse.

M. Yazicioglu a par ailleurs affirmé que l'un des militants arrêtés avait été formé dans le domaine des explosifs en Grèce.

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JUN 96

L'axe Ankara-Jérusalem contre Damas et Téhéran

PAR JACQUES AMALRIC

La manifestation d'unité offerte par les dirigeants arabes lors de leur réunion, au Caire, a sans doute moins troublé Benyamin Netanyahu qu'il ne l'a laissé croire. D'abord parce qu'il a de bonnes raisons de douter de la pérennité d'un rapprochement avant tout tactique. Et ensuite parce qu'il dispose pour la suite des événements d'un atout qui pourrait se révéler de poids.

Cet atout, qui inquiète pratiquement tous les dirigeants arabes, à l'exception du roi de Jordanie, a été légué bien involontairement à Netanyahu par un Shimon Pérès qui comptait bien l'utiliser lui-même. Ce sont en effet l'ancien Premier ministre et ses collaborateurs qui, en février dernier, avaient reçu dans le plus grand secret le chef d'état-major adjoint de Turquie et avaient conclu avec Ankara l'amorce d'un partenariat stratégique. En vertu de cet accord, qui n'avait été rendu public que quelques jours avant la dernière intervention israélienne au Liban, chaque pays ouvrait son espace aérien ainsi que certains de ses aéroports, en principe aux seules fins d'entraînement, aux appareils militaires de l'autre. Depuis, a-t-on appris, des facilités analogues concerneraient également les navires de guerre.

Cet accord, bien sûr, a reçu la bénédiction de Washington, même si les responsables américains n'ont guère été prolixes sur le sujet pour ne pas donner l'impression de remettre au

goût du jour feu le Pacte de Bagdad, sorti en 1955 de l'imagination britannique pour contrer l'influence soviétique dans la région (1). Il ne s'agissait pas cette fois-ci, pour les Etats-Unis, de contrer l'expansionnisme soviétique ou russe, mais de consolider un dispositif destiné à dissuader l'Irak et l'Irak de Saddam Hussein et à faire pression, si nécessaire, sur la Syrie. Peu de temps avant la conclusion de l'accord israélo-turc, Washington avait d'ailleurs obtenu du roi de Jordanie, qui venait de signer la paix avec Jérusalem, le droit de baser des appareils dans le royaume. Des avions qui s'ajoutaient à ceux déjà stationnés en Arabie saoudite, au Koweït, dans les Emirats arabes et à Oman.

Le partenariat israélo-turc a constitué un coup très dur pour Hafez el Assad, qui s'est retrouvé pris en tenailles par ses deux ennemis. Ce fut aussi une mauvaise nouvelle pour l'Egypte, qui vit dans l'affaire une réduction de son statut de gardienne du processus de paix proche-oriental. Même si la dépendance financière du Caire à l'égard de Washington interdit à Moubarak de manifester trop ouvertement son mécontentement de voir se réveiller les successeurs des Ottomans. L'accord constituait en revanche un vrai succès pour Shimon Pérès, qui pouvait le présenter comme un renforcement de la sécurité d'Israël dont l'aviation avait ainsi accès à la frontière nord de la Syrie ainsi qu'à l'espace aérien ira-

nien. C'était enfin un coup de maître de la part des dirigeants et militaires turcs. Soudain, ils se trouvaient en meilleure position pour exiger de Damas un contrôle plus strict des combattants kurdes du PKK, basés en territoire syrien. Et ne pas se laisser impressionner par les protestations syriennes concernant tant l'annexion du Sandjak d'Alexandrette (2) que l'utilisation des eaux de l'Euphrate pour de gigantesques travaux d'irrigation à partir du barrage Atatürk.

L'échec de Shimon Pérès et

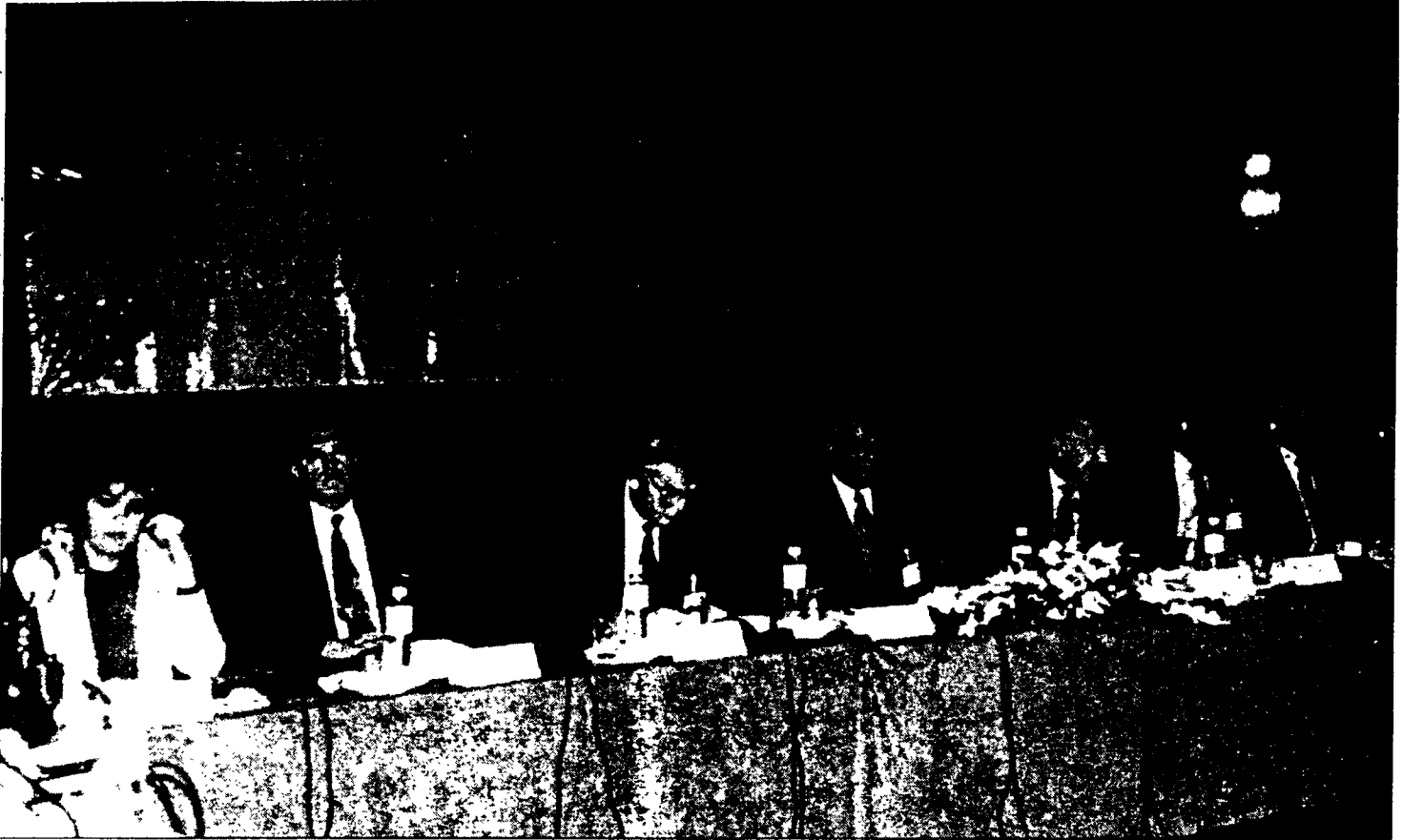
Al'heure où les dirigeants arabes affichent leur unité, Israël dispose d'un atout de poids: l'accord stratégique avec la Turquie.

l'arrivée de Netanyahu au pouvoir donnent au partenariat israélo-turc un sens qu'il n'avait pas hier. Alors que la Turquie passait hier pour l'allié objectif d'un Etat juif prêt à échanger avec ses voisins «les territoires contre la paix», elle risque demain de se retrouver solidaire d'un Israël exigeant à la fois la paix et le maintien de sa souveraineté sur le Golan. Ce n'est pas tout à fait la même chose; à la perspective de quatre années de consolidation de la paix régionale vient de succéder la perspective de

quatre années de blocages, de tensions, voire de dérives en forme d'affrontements et de recours systématique au terrorisme. C'est bien pourquoi Hafez el Assad a fait le déplacement du Caire où il était certain de trouver une oreille complaisante, à condition de s'en tenir, dans un premier temps, au registre de l'homme de paix outragé pour avoir cru naguère aux promesses américano-israéliennes. Et c'est pourquoi, également, il a accepté de donner l'apparence d'une réconciliation avec un Yasser Arafat au bord du gouffre. L'avenir du pacte ébauché par Jérusalem et Ankara soulève enfin deux questions: les Etats-Unis vont-ils continuer à encourager son renforcement, faisant ainsi le jeu de Netanyahu, même s'ils cherchent surtout à «contenir» l'Irak? N'est-il pas, de toutes façons, menacé par l'instabilité politique dans laquelle vit la Turquie depuis plusieurs mois et les risques d'arrivée au pouvoir des islamistes du Refah? Rien, à ce stade, n'indique une évolution de Washington sur ce point. Et tout indique que le pacte ne sera pas remis en cause par la Turquie, même si le Refah, qui l'a déjà dénoncé, participe à un gouvernement de coalition car les militaires turcs en ont fait leur affaire ●

(1) Le Pacte de Bagdad, qui disparut de facto en 1959 avec la révolution irakienne du général Kassem, regroupait également la Turquie, l'Irak et le Pakistan.

(2) Le Sandjak d'Alexandrette fut cédé par la France à la Turquie en 1939, du temps du mandat français sur la Syrie.



The European Union-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee meeting started yesterday at the Turkish Grand National Assembly after a three-year period of suspension. TDN Cengiz Uysal

Human rights dominate EU-Turkey relationship

At meetings of EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee, EU representatives emphasize situation of human rights in Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The European Union-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee meeting which started yesterday in Ankara showed that human rights dominate relations between Turkey and the European Union and Greece, as well as economic aid problems.

These meetings were broken off by the Turkish side three years ago after the condemnation by the European Union of Turkey for the arrests of pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) deputies. At the opening ceremony in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, co-chairman of the committee, Kahramanmaraş Deputy Mehmet Sağlam, said that in Turkey there was a general impression that the European Union was badly informed about the realities of Turkey and that those who are hostile to Turkey tried to fill this gap.

He said that last year's changes in the Constitution and the criminal law were important and a step forward on the path of improving democracy. Another co-chairman of the committee, French parliamentarian Rene Emile Piquet, said that the aim of the meeting was an

exchange of views and that the European delegation had come to listen to Turkey's problems. He told the assembled parliamentarians that Europe carefully watched the developments in democracy in Turkey but still had some doubts about human rights and democracy.

Turkish Foreign Minister Emre Gönensay said that Greece used its position as a member of the European Union in order to prevent the developments of the relationship between Turkey and the union. He pointed out that the dialogue mechanisms between Turkey and Greece had broken down after Greece became a full member, a situation which he called "thought-provoking."

He said that the problems between Greece and Turkey were historical and serious. "Greece is neglecting even the existence of some of these problems. But it wants to find solutions to problems chosen by itself, problems which it has selected," Gönensay added.

He reminded his audience of the peace call of Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz to Greece, and said although that Greece had not responded to the call, it was still valid.

Gönensay said that the European Union was sensitive to democracy, human rights and within this framework it was sensitive to the situation of Kurds. Turkey would be satisfied by these efforts as long as they were constructive, he added.

He said that Turkey could not accept violence in any form, terrorist or not, as a means of

improving human rights. He added that he wanted to believe that the European Union shared this stance.

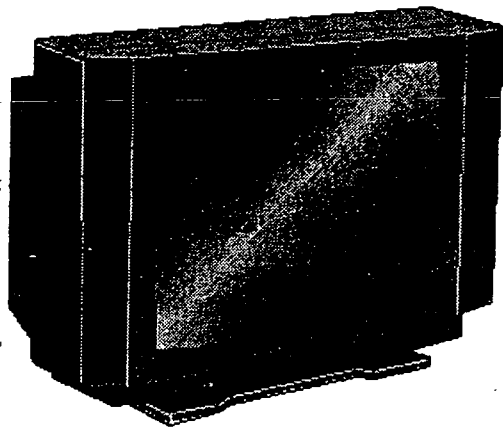
"I would like to emphasize that suggestions which are advising the changing of the historical state structure of Turkey, are considered as interference and cannot be accepted by Turkey," the foreign minister said.

On the question of economic aid to Turkey as part of the customs union deal, Gönensay asserted Turkey's rights to the funds, which are currently being blocked by Greece. He warned that unless economic cooperation materialized, the custom union would become nonsense and public opinion in Turkey would start to ask questions about the partnership with the union.

Italian Ambassador to Ankara Michelangelo Pisani said that economic aid was an indispensable part of the custom union agreement. Speaking on behalf of Italy, which holds the current term presidency of the European Union, he said that Europe understood the violence attacks against Turkey but stressed that the struggle against these attacks should be carried out within the framework of law.

European Union representative Michael Lake said that democracy and human rights needed to improve in Turkey. The afternoon sessions of the committee were closed to the press. In these meetings the main subjects were the custom union, the intergovernmental conference and Turkey's economic situation. The meetings finish today.

Ankara's sleuthing providing the facts Europeans maintain they lack on PKK's cover organizations



By Semih D. Idiz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The "hear no evil, see no evil" attitude of European countries concerning front organizations for the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) is leading Turkish authorities to engage in what amounts to "sleuthing activities" in order to present European governments with the evidence they claim they are unable to come up with themselves.

This is particularly so in the case of MED-TV, the PKK's mouthpiece which broadcasts from London. The origins of this network, its cover-up companies in various European cities, as well as the manner in which European countries facilitate its broadcasts, have all been determined in Ankara to the smallest details.

"When we first started this game we were naive and had no idea what a transponder was, let alone how one gets together a television network which is going to broadcast to many countries by using sophisticated satellites technology," an official commenting on the subject told the Turkish Daily News. "But now, with the spreading of this technology in Turkey, we know exactly how one can set up a television network and ensure that the way it manages to broadcast is untraceable without some complex investigation," he added.

While not wanting to go into too many specifics, the authorities in Ankara explained that the license for MED-TV was issued in Great Britain in 1994 by the ITC, that country's Independent Television Commission. The initial application was made by members of the PKK who are naturalized British citizens and whose identities are known.

The same year a transponder was rented from France Telecom at a cost of \$6.5 million per annum, subsequent to which two companies were established in Belgium for cyphering broadcasts before they were sent to the Copernicus satellite, and back to Great Britain for final broadcasting, after having done the rounds in order to hide all traces.

The Copernicus Satellite has since been dropped and a U.S. satellite is being currently used. Bowing to pressure from Turkey, and no doubt at the same time concerned that it may be pinned down as aiding and abetting a terrorist organization, France Telecom refused to renew MED-TV's transponder lease when it expired.

MED-TV subsequently contracted another transponder from a Portuguese company. This company, whose name officials do not want to reveal at this point, is only allowing MED-TV to use the "empty spaces" in its own broadcasting to broadcast its programs.

"Just to kick-start such a network one needs \$25 million. Obviously the PKK can raise this money

from drugs and extortion. But the matter goes beyond this. Today there are around 200 people involved in this complex operation of MED-TV's in Europe. All of this also requires sophisticated know-how that does not come readily, and from just anywhere," the official talking to the TDN said.

"It is impossible, therefore, to think that unless there was some substantial help coming from somewhere that this can all be gotten together. We know the sympathetic local authorities in Europe that are providing assistance. But the help needed goes far beyond this," he added, not wanting to clarify the implication of his remarks.

"Specific countries, when confronted by us say they can not prevent MED-TV broadcasts because they are unable to track its source," he said.

"But every time they say this now, we give them a file. We also go beyond this. Before they would say 'give us evidence that this station incites violence and we will act because this is against our law also. Because we did not know how to compile this evidence then, we could not give the necessary data," he added.

"But we are no longer novices in this game and now provide them not just with written evidence, but visual evidence through cassette recordings of MED-TV programs which are in violation of, say, the ITC's own regulations," this official said. This official also cited an example of an employee of one of the cover-up companies for MED-TV in Belgium, who turned up at a bank with a suitcase full of money only to be turned down by the bank's manager because he was not satisfied with the explanation given as to where this money came from.

"This goes to show that there can be responsible behaviour in Europe. It is clear that if this sole bank managers approach was the prevalent one, then neither MED-TV, nor its cover organizations, nor for that matter any PKK cover organization, would be able to operate so freely in Europe as they do today," he said.

He went on to indicate that Turkey has also been studying not only national broadcasting criteria, but also treaties, rules and regulations governing transboundary broadcasting. "We have also had successes for example in having it established that incitement to violence, racism and separatism, cannot be allowed in transboundary broadcasting. Unhappy as many European countries may be over this, they have had to go along with it because opposing it would fall contrary to their own national criteria," he said.

He recalled the restrictions there are today on carrying reports on TV in Great Britain which promote the point of view of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and the "gagging order" that existed

on Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams until recently, whereby his remarks could not be given in his own voice.

"The Adams case alone demonstrated that they will go to the extent that they can to prevent certain broadcasts. If they find they cannot do this fully,

then they will try and interfere with the flow of these broadcasts as much as they can, even if this involves a ridiculous situation where you are carrying a man's words but giving it with someone else's voice."

The authorities in Ankara are well aware that much of their sleuthing and the files they present will probably not have any immediate impact on European governments, even if these expose and embarrass them.

"But we want them to know that we are not just sitting back and swallowing all this. We are also confident that dislike it as they might, they will definitely come around to our view eventually, because not doing so would mean having themselves exposed to the extent that it is no longer comfortable," the official talking to the TDN said.

"For example, most European governments had a deep antipathy to Turkey's trying to equate terror-

ism with the concept of 'gross human rights violation.' They wanted to see terrorism as a common crime and nothing else. Whereas we were saying, 'No, terrorism is not a common crime but the gross-est of human rights violations because it deprives innocent civilians of their most basic right, namely the right to live', he said.

"We also argued that national liberation movements and terrorism must be differentiated because there are norms adopted at the U.N. concerning liberation movements.

The inevitability of adopting our very clear and coherent position on this score is evidenced by the fact that today international organizations, such as the United Nations and Nato, have come around to officially acknowledging that terrorism represents a violation of human rights.

This concept we are confident will spread to other international organizations in time," he added. He went on to explain that as a country that has had to live with terrorism, and especially terrorism that is fed from outside the country, Turkey has taken the lead in having a judicial framework, in this modern day scourge, being drawn up at the international level.

"Our experience, and the strides we have made in this respect, when taken against the backdrop of the growing panic in Europe over the connection between organized crime and terrorism, is ensuring that things are going our way, even if it is going to take some European governments time to realize this," this official added.

Iraq says it may buy food from Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Iraq has said that it wants to buy food product from southeastern Turkey as part of an oil-for-food deal with the United Nations.

A statement from the Iraqi Embassy in Ankara said that the Baghdad administration was keen to meet its food needs from Turkish companies.

It said Iraq purchased 300,000 metric tons of flour from Turkey last year, adding that Turkey had been its third largest trade partner prior to the U.N. embargo. Trade volume between Turkey and Iraq was around \$3 billion in 1989.

The embassy said Iraq would give priority to "friends" when selecting suppliers. "It is impossible to ignore those countries which supported the Iraqi

administration before and during the embargo," it said.

Several Western companies have lined up to sell goods to Iraq, according to the statement. One example, it said, is a recent exhibition where a total of 28 Spanish companies displayed agricultural, commercial and industrial products. "A similar exhibition was organized by companies from the Czech Republic." Also, the embassy said, two separate trade missions from India and the Russian Federation visited Baghdad to seek deals. Recently, Iraq said it would grant major trade contracts only to companies and countries which stood by Baghdad against U.N. trade sanctions imposed in 1990.

"Iraqi people, including their current

and future governments, deal with countries and companies on the basis of their stands toward the embargo," the government newspaper al-Jumhuriya said. "Major and important contracts will be granted to friends."

Iraq hopes an agreement on partial oil sales it signed with the United Nations last month will lead to the lifting of the crippling sanctions imposed after it invaded Kuwait in 1990. The deal allows Iraq to sell \$2 billion worth of oil over six months to pay for food and medicine under U.N. monitoring. Al-Jumhuriya said companies of big countries such as the United States and Japan "would be mistaken if they thought the quality of their products and their low prices would induce Iraqis to deal with them."

Will HADEP be satisfied if our democracy fails?

There are already some people in Western Europe who feel that Turkish reaction to the "flag incident" during the weekend convention of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) is blown out of proportion... A group of Kurdish separatist militants tore down the Turkish flag at the convention and threw it on the floor to the applause of the crowd...

What these people do not seem to realize is that the people of this land have deep affection and respect for their crescent and star which represents the dignity and integrity of this nation for more than 2,000 years. The Turkish flag is the symbol of our centuries old heritage which no one can deny. Thus we Turks, hold our flag as a sacred symbol and never toy around with it. Unlike in some Western countries we do not make clothes of our flag or tolerate people making underwear from them... Some people have tried to downplay Sunday's incident as a provocation. They felt some misguided young militant Kurds had tried to exploit the atmosphere at the convention. Yet, this was well planned and executed and was not a spontaneous action. Everyone at that convention hall knew full well that the Kurdish terrorist group PKK was preparing to hijack the convention. Yet, no precautions were taken.

When the young militants tore down the Turkish flag from the top of a sports hall the convention crowd, including the HADEP delegates applauded the incident. HADEP Chairman Murat Bozlak, who was addressing the convention, simply failed to react to

Editorial



By İlınur Çevik

the incident which occurred before his very eyes and simply continued with his speech... The convention chairmanship appealed to the officials to once again hang the Turkish flag but this call was shouted down by boos...

The fact that HADEP officials later made a party declaration apologizing to the public for the incident hardly defused the public anger. HADEP spokesmen have condemned the incident saying "we have to show respect to the flags of others..." That seems to sound that they do not regard our flags as their's but are trying to tolerate our flag... This is unacceptable. HADEP won 4.17 percent of the votes in the Dec. 24, 1995 election. It was the leading party in southeastern Anatolia but could not win in any province simply because it could not pass the 10 percent threshold to become eligible to win parliamentary seats... But in the provinces of Diyarbakır and Hakkari, the total votes won by all other parties could not add up to the votes of HADEP. In the provinces of Mardin, Van, Batman and Iğdır, HADEP was the number one party while in Siirt, Tunceli, Şırnak and Muş it was number two.

The election results legitimized HADEP and it was expected that the party would become the voice of the suffering people of southeastern Anatolia and thus become a strong force in the Turkish political arena...

Yet, instead of this HADEP allowed the PKK to dominate its convention and lose vital points in the eye of the public. All this has served to strengthen the hands of those who say democracy has failed in Turkey. Before the 1980 coup, the Islamists had created an incident in Konya where they refused to show respect to the national anthem, which is yet another sacred thing in Turkey. The generals frequently referred to this incident after the coup as one of the reasons why they decided to take over power. The flag incident seems to remind some people of those days.

The democrats of this country should not fall into such traps. HADEP and the PKK may not want democracy in Turkey because they may feel they can further their aims under a more authoritarian rule. Yet, they have to remember that this may not be the case. They have fueled Turkish nationalist sentiment in Turkey. People are putting up flags all over the nation to show their solidarity. This should be an appropriate message to all concerned...

Editor's note: We have ordered Turkish flags hung in all Turkish Daily News offices in Ankara. We have also hung a large flag at the Cafe Daily News in Ankara to show our respect to the crescent and the star and protest the Sunday incident.

HADEP's move to become a mass party hits huge obstacle

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26, 1996

Turkish Daily News

HADEP aims to be the party that brings a non-military, political solution to the Kurdish problem in the Southeast. However, after Sunday's congress it may find it difficult to stay legal

By Erdinç Ergenç

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The 2nd Congress of the People's Democracy Party (HADEP), held in Ankara last Sunday to complete the restructuring it had started after the Dec. 24, 1995 elections, generated great controversy when the Turkish flag was torn down and replaced by the PKK flag. This event led to a huge outcry from many groups but which dismissed by party representatives as one of sabotage or provocation.

After the events, none of the Turkish press took into consideration HADEP's restructuring. This detail, perhaps as important as the flag event itself, went unremarked. It has been claimed that some politicians who are unpopular, due to the government crisis, have found a way with this event to draw the attention of the public elsewhere.

The congress ended with the detention of HADEP Chairman Murat Bozlak and some party officials. Later, three delegates to the congress were murdered when their convoy was attacked as they were returning to Kahramanmaraş. A bomb attack on the party's Izmir headquarters also followed.

After all this chaos, HADEP is perhaps entering the most important period of its history. HADEP, which is aiming to undertake a new mission concerning the Kurdish problem, had completed its reconstruction after the elections with this congress. But these events have brought the party, the fourth of its type founded, near to the danger of being closed down.

HEP, ÖZDEP, DEP and HADEP

HADEP, founded after the closure of the People's Labor Party (HEP), the Freedom and Democracy Party (ÖZDEP) and the Democracy Party (DEP) by the Constitutional Court, has as its central policy aim, solving the Kurdish problem. One difference from its predecessor parties is that it has labelled itself a Turkish party far more than the others, and has tried to act accordingly. Even if these activities have been none too successful, HADEP has expressed itself as a potential ally for other opposition parties.

HADEP, which claims to act as the mouthpiece of the Kurdish people, is on the left-wing of the political spectrum. Being a left-wing party is as much an obligation as a voluntary choice. Bahattin Gül, a party official, told the weekly magazine

"Söz" that the party was a mass left-wing party.

HADEP representatives claim that right-wing parties in Turkey see the resolution of the Kurdish problem in only military terms but claim that they will resolve the problem in a political way just to get the votes of the Kurdish people.

Mesut Yılmaz was accused of this behaviour by HADEP Chairman Murat Bozlak, during his speech to the congress. He said that Yılmaz had talked of "democratic resolution" and that he had accepted the Kurdish problem as the most important problem in the country. He said that Yılmaz had gone to Iğdir, during Nevroz — Kurdish New Year celebrations — to support "red, yellow and green" colors, but added that he had stopped soon afterward. Bozlak added that the Kurdish problem was not simple and could not be solved by any one person.

For this reason HADEP can form coalitions with parties that aim to solve the Kurdish problem in a political way, and did this in the last election with the Labor, Peace and Freedom bloc. Even though this bloc later split, it had been at the time very promising.

HADEP to become a mass party

HADEP, founded to resolve the Kurdish problem in the legal, political arena, aimed to become a mass party at its last congress. Both due to their political experience and outside pressures — their members had witnessed the closure of three earlier parties — they have been trying to act more carefully. But the events taking place at the congress turned all this upside down and has given a unique opportunity to those who claim that the party is just a legal extension of the PKK. Party representatives who claimed that the events at the congress were sabotage, considered the meeting a turning point for HADEP. They said that they didn't approve of the flag insult and added that it had been greatly exaggerated.

HADEP received five percent of the votes at the last general election, but were unable to enter Parliament because of the 10 percent national threshold — their absence being considered by all parties as a negative effect of the system. It was reported that while HADEP's name was unknown in the past, its presence is no longer neglected at high levels of state, on TV and in Parliament.

As is the case with other states living with the same kind of conflicts, Turkey declares that: "There can be no negotiations with terrorists." This is a fundamental tenet of the Turkish state regarding the PKK, and seems sensible in this context. However, the state has given no sign of willingness to negotiate with HADEP either.

HADEP executives think that European countries and the United States believe that HADEP is the best address for peace negotiations, while describing the PKK as a terrorist organization.

Some circles considering the latest events, end-

ing in the detention of party chairman Murat Bozlak and many party members, as the destruction of HADEP's role in the peace negotiations. They claim that these events following each other were nothing but a plot that was planned beforehand.

Aiming for a seat at the negotiating table

HADEP wanted to put an end to the isolationist policy that was submitted by this congress. It understood that they were not able to express themselves well enough to the masses, and also that they were not able to reflect their opinions concerning subjects such as democracy, women and workers.

Some circles within the party, claiming that HADEP couldn't be well organized due to domestic problems within the frame of the Labor Peace Bloc, said that by becoming a mass party, with a pluralist approach, they wanted to reach a level that not only included the left-wing but all sections of society, including Islamists and groups that aim to change the existing order. At the congress, those who were supporting this approach and those who were opposed to it strongly expressed their own opinions. The restructuring period that started after Dec. 24, 1995 election was in reality undertaken in the name of party consensus and the understanding that HADEP needed to look for wider platforms for the resolution of the Kurdish problem. With the restructuring process, the party rid itself of its ideological image, and transformed itself into a platform bringing together different divisions. Although this was considered, in a way, as an expansion, it was seen within the party as a narrowing. The administration, seen as a coalition of various groups, is now seen as a platform where individuals can exist independently from groups, divisions and ideologies. This reform, considered by some as a reflection of the exclusion of the hammer and sickle from the flag of the PKK in 1995, also brought about some disquiet in party ranks. The speech of party officials at the last congress of HADEP, bringing together various divisions, proved this clearly. The party's former vice-secretary, Abdullah Saygin, complaining about the narrowing of the party, said that he won't take part in the administration anymore with his friends but would continue to work as an ordinary member.

Party assembly member Enver Karahan addressed the circles aiming to see the party as a Turkish party and said that HADEP's policy should be revised so that they are accepted as a Kurdish party.

Murat Bozlak was the only candidate for the chairmanship of the party. But the most important thing was the election of party assembly and discipline committee members. The elections, that were boycotted by some, ended with the reformers winning a mandate to turn the party into a mass-based organization. HADEP, preparing a good showcase for the peace negotiations table, is now waiting to sit at the table.

However, the future of the party now depends on the steps authorities may take in light of the recent events.

Police nab offenders in HADEP congress outrage

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- As the aftershocks of the flag disrespect incident at the weekend congress of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) continued rocking Turkey on Tuesday, police announced the arrest of the three militants who tore down the Turkish flag from the congress hall.

Coming against a background of ethnic tensions raised by a protracted separatist war waged in the Southeast by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the incident triggered an avalanche of reaction by the politicians and the media. The PKK banner and posters of rebel chief Abdullah Öcalan hoisted in place of the torn flag, further incensed the public.

Quoting police officials, the Anatolia news agency said a militant who carried out the provocative act and two helpers were detained. The chief offender, identified as Ömer Doyuran, a 24-year-old worker, was captured in the northwestern resort town of Yalova, where he had fled to seek shelter at his brother's house, Anatolia said. Veysel Dağdeviren, 20, a university student and a congress delegate and an unidentified teenager, caught immediately after the congress, were reportedly held as accomplices. The agency said following questioning, they would stand trial at the State Security Court for separatist propaganda and disrespecting the national flag, a serious offense in Turkey.

Anatolia quoted a State Security Court prosecutor as dis-

closing the confiscation of documents belonging to the "separatist organization," hinting links with the PKK.

The predecessors of HADEP had been banned by the Constitutional Court on alleged such links with the PKK and pro-Kurdish politicians had been expelled from the Parliament, some to be sentenced to jail terms for separatism. Beside press commentaries attacking the HADEP officials for their apologetic attitude and failure to prevent the show of support for the separatist PKK, the incident caused a wave of nationalistic statements from politicians, trade unions and universities, as well as a patriotic display of the Turkish flag at homes and offices.

Interior Minister Ülkü Güney, informing the Parliament about the capture of the militants responsible for the incident, said the police had avoided being provoked into a violent clash with the congress delegates, "which seemed to be the apparent plot," and had waited until its conclusion to detain HADEP officials.

Republican People's Party (CHP) Chairman Deniz Baykal perceived an "unsettling similarity" between the recent incidents and the past such ones which provoked a military coup in 1980.

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Turquie-Kurdes-Europe

Ankara appelle les députés européens à réviser leur jugement sur le PKK

ANKARA, 26 juin (AFP) - La Turquie a appelé mercredi les députés européens à réviser leur jugement sur le PKK (parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan), en rébellion armée contre Ankara, après un attentat, revendiqué par ce mouvement séparatiste, qui a fait huit morts samedi dernier à Diyarbakir.

Le porte-parole du ministère des Affaires étrangères Omer Akbel a dit "regretter que cet attentat ait eu lieu trois jours après que des députés membres de six groupes différents du parlement européen eurent soutenu une proposition prévoyant un accroissement de la pression sur la Turquie pour que celle-ci ouvre un dialogue avec le PKK et remette en liberté les terroristes".

"La Turquie invite les députés européens ayant soutenu cette proposition à réfléchir une fois de plus si leur attitude (...) sert les valeurs démocratiques et la suprématie du droit", a dit M. Akbel, lors d'un point de presse.

Selon un bilan cité par M. Akbel, huit personnes, dont une femme enceinte et deux enfants, ont été tuées et 11 autres blessées dans l'attentat à main armée perpétré par cinq rebelles du PKK à Diyarbakir, chef-lieu du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde.

Les assaillants avaient ouvert le feu sur une centaine de personnes qui dînaient dans un restaurant en plein air appartenant à une chaîne de télévision privée locale, Soz-Tv, situé dans un parc à une quinzaine de km de Diyarbakir.

"Ce n'est que le dernier des nombreux attentats semblables du PKK qui visent à terrifier les gens innocents et à affaiblir la position des forces de l'ordre. Le PKK a revendiqué la responsabilité de cette atrocité", a ajouté le porte-parole.

Il a qualifié de "regrettable" que cet attaque armée, "qui a créé une irritation dans l'opinion publique turque, n'ait pas eu d'écho dans les médias étrangers".

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

Cette rébellion et les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque ont fait quelque 22.000 morts en 12 ans.

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Turquie-Kurdes-Irak

Fin de l'opération turque dans le nord de l'Irak: 45 rebelles kurdes tués

ANKARA, 27 juin (AFP) - L'opération lancée jeudi par l'armée turque contre le PKK dans le nord de l'Irak a pris fin, faisant 45 tués chez les rebelles kurdes, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Cette incursion contre les rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), a été menée avec la participation de 3.500 hommes de l'armée, a ajouté l'agence.

L'opération, appuyée par des hélicoptères d'attaque Cobra, a pris fin sans que les troupes turques aient subi de pertes. Les unités turques se sont retirées en territoire turc, selon l'agence.

Une source militaire interrogée à Ankara en fin de matinée avait estimé le nombre de troupes participant à cette opération à 5 à 6.000 hommes et n'avait donné aucune précision sur sa durée.

Les troupes avaient pénétré en territoire irakien dans des zones situées au sud de la région turque de Semdinli, près de la frontière avec l'Irak et l'Iran.

Elles étaient appuyées par 250 "protecteurs de village" (miliciens pro-gouvernementaux armés par l'Etat) et de forces spéciales formées pour la lutte contre le PKK, selon Anatolie.

De telles opérations de l'armée turque, destinées à chasser les militants du PKK du nord de l'Irak, sont fréquentes. La précédente datait d'il y a deux semaines.

Le nord de l'Irak, région montagneuse, est utilisé par le PKK comme base arrière pour lancer des attaques en territoire turc. Il profite pour ce faire du vide d'autorité régnant dans la région, qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe en 1991.

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Turquie-Kurdes-Irak lead

Nouvelle opération turque dans le nord de l'Irak

ANKARA, 27 juin (AFP) - Des troupes turques ont lancé jeudi une nouvelle opération dans le nord de l'Irak contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), a-t-on indiqué de source militaire à Ankara.

Une unité de commandos formée de 12 bataillons, soit 5 à 6.000 hommes, appuyés par des hélicoptères Cobra, ont lancé cette opération au sud de la localité turque de Semdinli, en territoire irakien, a précisé cette source interrogée par l'AFP.

Les troupes turques sont également appuyées par 250 "protecteurs de village" (miliciens pro-gouvernementaux armés par l'Etat) et de forces spéciales formées pour la lutte contre le PKK, a indiqué de son côté l'agence Anatolie.

Elles ont pénétré en territoire irakien dans les zones de Butine, Ispindari, Sipe, Edilbi et Meros, situées au sud des vilages turcs de Kocyigit, Umurlu, Yesilova, Ormancik et Meselik dans la région de Semdinli, a précisé l'agence.

De telles opérations de l'armée turque, destinées à chasser les militants du PKK du nord de l'Irak, sont fréquentes. La précédente date d'il y a deux semaines.

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Turquie-Egypte-Syrie

L'Egypte prête à jouer un rôle entre la Turquie et la Syrie, selon M. Moussa

ANKARA, 27 juin (AFP) - Le ministre égyptien des Affaires étrangères Amr Moussa a indiqué que son pays était "prêt" à jouer un rôle pour la résolution des problèmes turco-syriens, dans une interview au quotidien turc Hurriyet.

"Les problèmes entre la Turquie et la Syrie ne pourront être surmontés que par un dialogue (...) Nous sommes conscients des problèmes entre les deux pays. Nous sommes prêts à jouer un rôle pour leur résolution", a dit M. Moussa, qui n'utilise toutefois pas le mot de médiation.

La Turquie accuse la Syrie de soutenir la rébellion du parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et d'abriter des maquisards du PKK sur son sol, dont leur chef, Abdullah Ocalan, qui réside généralement à Damas ou dans la Bekaa libanaise sous contrôle syrien.

La Syrie accuse pour sa part la Turquie de lui rationner l'eau de l'Euphrate à l'aide de barrages construits dans le cadre d'un grand projet d'irrigation et de production d'énergie électrique, ce qu'Ankara dément.

Les relations turco-syriennes se sont encore détériorées après la signature en février d'un accord de coopération militaire entre la Turquie et Israël. Damas estime que cet accord le vise, malgré les démentis d'Ankara.

"Tout pacte engendre d'autres pactes semblables", a dit M. Moussa dans cette interview, à propos de l'accord turco-israélien. Cet accord a également suscité une vive réaction de l'Irak et de l'Iran, frontaliers de la Turquie.

Celle-ci affirme que l'accord ne constitue pas un pacte et qu'elle est contre la formation de blocs au Proche-Orient.

"Pour dissiper les doutes qui pèsent sur l'accord, le mieux que la Turquie puisse faire c'est le rendre public", a ajouté le ministre égyptien.

Lors d'une visite début mai à Ankara, M. Moussa s'était déclaré satisfait des explications des autorités turques à propos de l'accord mais plus tard il l'avait dénoncé.

L'accord prévoit notamment des vols d'entraînement des avions de combat des deux pays dans l'espace aérien de l'autre, une coopération entre les industries de défense et des échanges d'information et de personnel.

Ankara affirme qu'il n'est dirigé contre aucun pays.

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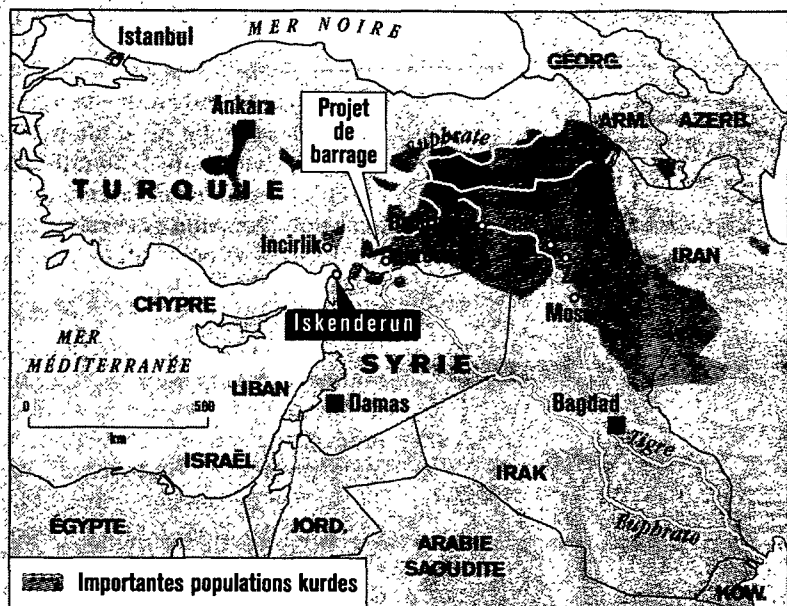
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COURRIER
INTERNATIONAL
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Alors que Damas, inquiet de l'accord militaire turco-Israélien, masserait des troupes à sa frontière nord, Ankara cherche un accord qui réglerait tous les contentieux entre les deux Etats. A condition qu'Assad cesse de soutenir les autonomistes kurdes du PKK.

Syriens, prenez garde !

Ankara agite la carotte et le bâton devant Damas



Entre les deux pays, la tension grandit

Si les contentieux gréco-turcs sont connus, ceux opposant Turcs et Syriens ne sont pas moins importants, et vont aujourd'hui s'intensifiant. Le premier concerne le Kurdistan turc, Ankara reprochant – à juste titre – à la Syrie de protéger l'organisation autonome terroriste du PKK, accueillant ses dirigeants et laissant ses militants s'entraîner sur son sol. Le second a trait à l'utilisation énergétique des eaux de l'Euphrate, à propos de laquelle Damas dénonce l'"égoïsme"

turc. Ankara, qui détourne déjà une grande quantité d'eau en amont pour ses besoins agricoles, construit actuellement un grand barrage à Birecik, première partie d'un immense projet de barrages et d'irrigation du Sud-Est anatolien à partir du Tigre et de l'Euphrate intitulé GAP (voir CI du 28/03/96). Mais c'est l'accord militaire stratégique israélo-turc (voir CI du 15/05/96), avec la bénédiction américaine, qui suscite encore plus aujourd'hui la fureur de Hafez el-Assad. D'où sa déci-

sion de réactiver un très ancien contentieux, celui portant sur le "Sandjak d'Alexandrette" – Iskenderun pour les Turcs –, une région à l'origine majoritairement peuplée d'Arabes, que la France, puissance mandataire en Syrie, avait rétrocédée à la Turquie en 1939. Damas n'a jamais accepté cette rétrocession. En massant 40 000 hommes de troupe à la frontière face à Alexandrette, Assad montre les crocs, rappelant à Ankara que son pouvoir de nuisance n'est pas négligeable.

MILLIYET
ISTANBUL

L'autre jour, nous nous trouvions à table avec l'homme d'affaires Sakip Sabanci [patron de Sabanci Holding, l'un des trois plus puissants groupes économiques de Turquie qui influent sur la politique du pays]. Comme tout le monde, lui aussi se plaignait de la situation politique. Je lui ai demandé : "Que feriez-vous si vous étiez le Premier ministre ?"

Après avoir réfléchi quelques instants, il a répondu ceci : "Les ressources et le sang de la Turquie s'épuisent dans la lutte contre le terreur [référence à la guerre menée au Kurdistan contre la guérilla du PKK]. Mais le marécage est en Syrie [où siège la direction du PKK]. Si nous l'asséchions, nous pourrions empêcher la propagation de la maladie. Il faut donc résoudre le problème que

pose la Syrie. Je dirais à ce pays : 'Signons un accord : pour 5 milliards de dollars, nous vous achetons tout votre gaz naturel.' Et puis j'ouvrirais aux Syriens toutes les possibilités de commerce. Quant à la question de l'eau [sujet du principal litige entre les deux pays], je leur proposerais un projet d'investissements mutuels, afin que soit construit là-bas un système de barrages en prolongement du GAP [voir le commentaire de la carte]. Je rendrais les économies de nos deux pays tellement imbriquées l'une dans l'autre que la Syrie trouverait tout à fait dans son intérêt d'arrêter [de soutenir] le terrorisme."

Damas accueille le leader du PKK et lui fournit une aide logistique

Quelques jours plus tard, je discutais avec Onur Öymen, notre vice-ministre des Affaires étrangères. "La Syrie est devenue un pays clé dans la politique extérieure de la Turquie, me confiait-il. Nos ressources financières

sont avalées par la lutte contre le terrorisme : 18 000 de nos concitoyens y ont déjà perdu leur vie. Le facteur PKK pèse aussi sur la politique internationale de la Turquie. Et tout cela prend sa source en Syrie."

Voilà bien un parallèle très intéressant dans les propos de Sabanci et d'Öymen. Car, par exemple, même la prolongation de la mission Provide Comfort [les forces alliées stationnées dans le sud de la Turquie depuis la guerre du Golfe, dont la présence est soumise à l'autorisation du Parlement turc tous les six mois] est encore à mettre en rapport avec la Syrie, à cause de l'implication du PKK dans toute la situation [au Kurdistan].

Le diagnostic concernant la Syrie est juste. Et il n'est pas seulement partagé par notre chancellerie et Şakip Sabanci. Les Etats-Unis, Israël, la Jordanie et même le Japon font le même diagnostic. Les organisations qui menacent la sécurité d'Israël – le Hamas et le Hezbollah – ont pignon sur rue à Damas. Chacune y possède une représentation officielle. Dix organisations terroristes qui cherchent à créer des troubles en Jordanie sont alimentées par la Syrie. Damas n'hésite pas non plus, tout en nous regardant droit dans les yeux, à ouvrir des camps d'entraînement au PKK, à lui fournir de l'aide legis-

tique, des armes et de l'argent.

Face à cette situation, la Turquie est toujours restée jusqu'ici dans la position du quémandeur. Pour la première fois, le gouvernement d'Ankara entend aujourd'hui une politique différente. Tout d'abord, il a fait parvenir une note diplomatique à la Syrie pour lui demander officiellement l'extradition d'Abdullah Öcalan. En échange, Ankara promet à Damas d'établir des relations économiques de grande envergure. Une proposition qui corrobore celle d'autres pays, comme les Etats-Unis, le Japon et les membres de l'Union européenne, qui font pression sur la Syrie, lui promettant de redresser son économie si elle cesse de soutenir le terrorisme. Ainsi, pour Damas, l'alternative devient simple : soit le maintien de la terreur avec son corollaire la misère, soit la croissance, mais en abandonnant la voie du terrorisme. Et que l'on ne s'imagine pas qu'il ne s'agit que de promesses. Car, sous la cape, on montre aussi le bâton. C'est ainsi qu'il faut interpréter le récent accord de coopération militaire signé par Ankara avec Israël [voir CI n° 289 du 15 mai 1996].

Actuellement, le malaise de Damas augmente. D'autant que, malgré toute sa superbe, la puissance militaire syrienne est considérablement

'affaiblie. Ses stocks d'armes, anciens produits soviétiques, sont de plus en plus obsolètes. La Syrie ne peut même plus mener des guerres éclairs de courte durée. Tout cela montre que Damas se met de plus en plus le dos au mur.

Tel est le vaste cadre général dans lequel il faut replacer la prolongation [le 18 juin dernier] de la mission de Provide Comfort. En effet, cette force est certes utile pour le moment, dans la mesure où elle empêche une attaque éventuelle de Saddam Hussein contre les Kurdes du nord de l'Irak et leur fuite massive vers la Turquie. En revanche, la base alliée de Zakho [au nord de l'Irak] sert de parapluie sécuritaire aux Kurdes de cette région. Ceux-ci n'ont ainsi plus besoin de la Turquie. Sans cette nécessité, ils ne surveillent plus le PKK, qui opère le long de la frontière. Dans cette optique, la présence de Provide Comfort est néfaste. La solution ? Il faudrait que la base des forces alliées soit transférée de Zakho à l'intérieur de nos frontières – à Silopi, par exemple*. Il faut lier à la Turquie la sécurité des leaders autonomistes kurdes irakiens, Barzani ou Talabani. Avant la fin de juillet, il faudrait en arriver là. ●

Güneri Civaoglu

* Actuellement, la base de Provide Comfort en Turquie se trouve à Incirlik (voir carte).

THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1996

Turkish Daily News

HADEP accuses the media of provoking hatred

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The Istanbul branch of the Peoples Democracy Party (HADEP) held a press conference yesterday at which it was said that the party was respectful of the moral values of all people and nations and did not approve of the tearing down of the Turkish flag at their last general congress on the weekend. While stating that it did not approve of the actions by radicals at their congress it claimed that HADEP couldn't be blamed for these actions and indeed that there was a conspiracy against the party.

At the press conference HADEP officials accused State television channels, private TGRT

TV and the media in general of provoking ultra nationalism. The officials also reminded journalists of the attacks on the party in which three people were killed and of the bombing of party offices in Izmir and Ankara, events that have received less attention in the media than the flag incident.

HADEP officials expressed their disquiet at the detention of party executives and attacks on Labour Party supporters. Officials of the party also condemned the behavior and the intolerance of the police towards democratic actions. The party emphasized that they would continue to fight against nationalism and defend the moral values of the people.

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Turquie-Iran lead

L'armée turque dément un raid d'hélicoptères dans le nord-ouest de l'Iran

ANKARA, 28 juin (AFP) - L'état-major des armées turques à Ankara a démenti vendredi les informations faisant état d'une attaque d'hélicoptères turcs qui, selon l'agence officielle iranienne IRNA, a fait six morts et 16 blessés dans un village kurde du nord-ouest de l'Iran, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Selon des sources à l'état-major citées par Anatolie, aucune opération transfrontalière n'a été menée par la Turquie en territoire iranien.

Toutefois, elles ont affirmé que les forces turques avaient ouvert le feu "en territoire turc" contre des "terroristes" (terme officiel désignant les rebelles kurdes du PKK) qui tentaient de s'infiltrer depuis l'Iran.

Ces sources ont souligné que les opérations menées contre les rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatistes kurdes de Turquie) en territoire turc avaient un caractère de routine et qu'aucun problème n'existait entre l'Iran et la Turquie dans ce domaine, selon l'agence.

L'agence IRNA avait annoncé vendredi que six membres d'une tribu nomade du nord-ouest de l'Iran ont été tués et seize autres blessés mercredi par des tirs de trois hélicoptères turcs qui avaient pénétré dans l'espace aérien iranien.

Le ministère iranien des affaires étrangères a élevé une "forte protestation" et "réclamé une explication rapide" aux autorités turques à la suite de cet incident, avait ajouté IRNA.

La presse turque rapportait vendredi qu'un millier de Kurdes iraniens avaient manifesté violemment jeudi devant le consulat général de Turquie à Oroumyieh (nord-ouest de l'Iran).

Selon la presse, les manifestants ont brûlé des drapeaux turcs et lancé des pierres, causant des dégâts mineurs à l'immeuble du consulat, lors de cette manifestation qui serait donc intervenue au lendemain de l'attaque des hélicoptères turcs.

Selon Anatolie, l'ambassadeur de Turquie à Téhéran Mithat Balkan a demandé aux autorités iraniennes de prendre des mesures pour assurer la protection du consulat d'Oroumyieh.

L'armée turque mène régulièrement des opérations contre les militants armés du PKK, dans le sud-est de la Turquie, à proximité des frontières irakienne et iranienne, ainsi que dans le nord de l'Irak où les rebelles trouvent refuge.

Les relations irano-turques traversent une phase de tension depuis plusieurs mois, à la suite notamment de l'accord militaire signé en février dernier entre la Turquie et Israël.

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Turquie-Iran lead

Attaque d'hélicoptères turcs en Iran: l'état-major turc pas au courant

ANKARA, 28 juin (AFP) - L'état-major des armées turques a déclaré vendredi n'être pas au courant de tirs d'hélicoptères turcs contre un village iranien, qui ont fait 6 morts et 15 blessés mercredi selon l'agence officielle iranienne IRNA.

"Nous n'avons aucune information pour l'instant", a déclaré le porte-parole de l'état-major, le colonel Kemal Ay, interrogé par l'AFP à Ankara.

Selon IRNA, le ministère iranien des Affaires étrangères a "élevé une forte protestation" et "réclamé une explication rapide" aux autorités turques à la suite de cet incident, qui a eu lieu dans le nord-ouest de l'Iran, en pays kurde, à quelque 25 km au nord-ouest d'Oroumyieh.

La presse turque rapportait vendredi qu'un millier de Kurdes iraniens avaient manifesté violemment jeudi devant le consulat général de Turquie à Oroumyieh.

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Elle en a mené une jeudi en territoire irakien mais la région visée ne semble pas correspondre au lieu où s'est déroulée l'attaque des hélicoptères selon IRNA.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1996

Washington and Bonn Collide on How Best to Deal With Iran

By Rick Atkinson
Washington Post Service

BONN — As seen through American eyes, Iran is a pariah state, one that sanctions international terrorism, opposes a comprehensive peace in the Middle East and seeks to build a nuclear arsenal.

Such outlaw behavior, U.S. policymakers insist, should be repaid with contempt, isolation and world sanctions.

As seen through German eyes, Iran is indeed misguided and dangerous, if not the monolithic theocracy often demonized by Washington.

Yet, as a large, strategically located country with vast oil reserves, Bonn says, Iran should not be ostracized but rather engaged with economic benefits as well as tough talk.

These divergent views have become a thorn on the rosebush of U.S.-German relations, the one prickly issue that is the subject of public exasperation and private acrimony.

Moreover, officials in Washington and Bonn believe the disagreement could soon escalate into something uglier if the U.S. government presses ahead with a proposed law to impose sanctions on foreign companies that trade with Iran or Libya.

"The trade debate has taken a really nasty turn in the last several weeks," an American official said. "The Europeans don't like sanctions. They don't like any of this stuff."

"It's the one issue," he added, "where there's conflict between us and the Germans."

Klaus Becher, an analyst at the German Society for Foreign Policy said, "There seems to be a very clear confrontation coming."

Legislation adopted unanimously by the U.S. House of Representatives this month — similar to a bill passed by the Senate last winter — would impose sanctions on foreign companies under certain conditions if they invested more than \$40 million in Iran's oil industry.

The proposal follows other trade developments that have triggered alarm in Bonn and other European capitals, including a new U.S. law that penalizes foreign companies continuing to trade with Cuba in defiance of a U.S. embargo.

Leaders of the 15-nation European Union, meeting in Italy last weekend, voiced "deep concern" at the U.S. actions and reserved the right to retaliate in defense of European interests. The brewing quarrel is likely to be discussed at the Group of Seven meetings in Lyon, as European governments make clear to the United States their

dismay at efforts by Washington to impose its policy toward Iran on others.

"That would have enormous ramifications," said a senior German official. "That's what we're really worried about. We see a certain lack of communication between the U.S. Congress and the outside world. For example, we haven't seen a U.S. congressional delegation in Bonn in two years."

"The United States is a huge fellow," he added, "and when he turns around in the store you're bound to have some china knocked over. But you get the impression that some of these new congressmen do not hear the sound of crashing china."

Washington has relentlessly pushed a policy of containment and economic embargo against Iran since last year, when President Bill Clinton banned trade and prohibited U.S. companies from purchasing Iranian oil.

U.S. officials say the government in Tehran is seeking weapons of mass destruction while underwriting terrorist attacks against Israel and a vendetta of killings against political foes living in exile.

The most notorious of those killings is likely to make headlines again in coming weeks when a German court is expected to render a verdict in the trial of an Iranian and four Palestinians accused of murdering a Kurdish separatist leader and three aides in a Berlin restaurant in 1992.

Prosecutors contend that those killings, like those of dozens of others of Iranian expatriates, were ordered by a Tehran government that brooks no dissent.

The German federal prosecutor issued an arrest warrant in March for Ali Fallahian, head of the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security, on suspicion of having ordered the attack. The unprecedented warrant drew Iranian denunciations and threats of reprisal.

Given such alleged violations of German sovereignty, U.S. officials consider Bonn's approach to Iran to be morally

questionable and essentially mercantile, driven by trade interests and a desire to ensure repayment of Iran's \$8.6 billion debt to Germany.

The policy of "critical dialogue" with Iran — adopted by Germany and its EU partners in 1992 and reaffirmed this spring — is rejected by the Clinton administration.

"We haven't seen any evidence the so-called critical dialogue has moderated Iran's behavior in the world," the White House spokesman, Michael McCurry, said recently. "If anything, Iran continues to be the No. 1 proponent of terrorism."

But Germans and other Europeans believe that the U.S. hectoring is counterproductive and that, especially in this election year, it is driven by grandstanding for a domestic political audience.

The United States is seen as having been obsessed by Iran since the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in 1979 and the ensuing hostage crisis.

"It is, in our view, better to continue the dialogue with Iran rather than break off all contacts, introduce sanctions and further radicalize Iran by isolating the country," the German foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel, said in a speech in Washington last month.

Clearly irritated at being "put in the pillory" by Washington, Mr. Kinkel noted that until last year the United States was a major buyer of Iranian oil and had displayed its own version of policy pragmatism by winking at Iranian weapons shipments to Bosnian Muslims in 1994.

"What is the meaning of 'critical dialogue?'" the senior German official said. "It means occasional meetings — not every week — between senior officials from Europe who meet with the Iranians and exchange not-so-friendly remarks about human rights. It's really a question of tactics: Do you talk to these guys or do you ignore them?"

It is also, as the Germans acknowledge, a question of money. German exports to Iran have dropped from a level of \$5.2 billion in 1992 to \$1.6 billion last year, which Mr. Kinkel called peanuts.

Sakık blames media after being arrested

Sakık had said during a TV program that people who ask for respect for their flag should show respect for the flags of others. This statement was seen as promoting separatism by the State Security Court

He said that those people are trying to lead Turkey into darkness, when in fact, there were others promoting brotherhood. As a result he said that the media agencies responsible for misconstruing events should be the ones on trial, not him.

Ankara DGM prosecutor Nuh Mete Yüksel has asked for a prison term of three years and a fine of TL 300 million for Sakık, on charges of inciting separatism, an offence under Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law.

Sakık was one of the deputies of the Democracy Party — a predecessor to HADEP — sentenced to 15 years in jail in 1994 for links with pro-Kurdish militants, but was later released.

HADEP was formed in 1994. The predecessors of HADEP — the People's Labor Party and the Democracy Party — had been banned by the Constitutional Court for alleged links with the PKK. Some pro-Kurdish politicians had been expelled from Parliament, and some were sentenced to jail terms on charges of separatism.

The incidents occurring at the HADEP congress sparked nationwide reactions. Enormous Turkish flags fluttered from public buildings, apartment balconies and shops throughout the country on Wednesday, in an outpouring of nationalist fervor.

Some HADEP officials were still being questioned on charges of separatism and insulting the Turkish flag. HADEP leader Murat Bozlak and his aides, as well as three people believed to be directly involved in tearing down the flag were detained earlier in the week.

Three HADEP delegates were killed in an ambush by unknown attackers as they were returning to Kahramanmaraş after the congress.

Speaking to journalists after his court hearing, Sakık denied all the accusations made by the court.

Sakık also said that his actions at the HADEP congress were entirely misconstrued by some media organizations. He said that as soon as he saw that the Turkish flag was cut down he warned the party council and protested by leaving the meeting. He charged that his 30 ft. statements were distorted by some media sources in Turkey who use their pen as a gun, aiming to provoke people to shoot each other.

Turkish Daily News
ANKARA - The Ankara State Security Court (DGM) ordered the arrest on Thursday of Sirri Sakık, who was taken into custody by the police for comments he made on a private TV channel after last Sunday's controversial HADEP congress.

Sakık had said during a TV program that people who ask for respect for their flag should show respect for the flags of others. This statement was seen as promoting separatism by the DGM.

His comments stemmed from events that occurred last Sunday at the HADEP convention in Ankara. Masked youths tore down the Turkish flag and hoisted up the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) flag and pictures of its leader, Abdullah "Apo" Ocalan. Hundreds of participants shouted pro-rebel slogans. After the incident, leading party members, including HADEP Chairman Murat Bozlak and other delegates, were taken into custody after police surrounded the hall.



Sirri Sakık

US Senate wants new report on 'attacks against Kurdish villages'

'Humanitarian aid corridor' amendment becomes separate law

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee has requested a new, updated report from the U.S. State Department by June 1, 1997 on "attacks against Kurdish villages." In 1994, the State Department, in consultation with the Defense Department, prepared a report "indicating incidents of misuse of U.S. military aircraft and helicopters in attacks against Kurdish villages," i.e. Turkish villages mainly in the Southeast where Turkish citizens of Kurdish ethnic background live.

Amounts unchanged

The committee did not touch the assistance amounts agreed by the Subcommittee for Turkey. Accordingly, Turkey will be eligible for up to \$60 million in Economic Support Fund (ESF) grants and \$175 million in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) loans, both as originally suggested by the administration. The committee also maintained the arbitrary 7-to-10 ratio between U.S. aid to Greece and Turkey.

Updated report

In a report on the H.R. 3540 foreign aid appropriations bill, Sen. Mitch McConnell (Republican, Kentucky), chairman of the Senate appropriations foreign operations subcommittee, said: "The Committee requests that an updated report on this subject be provided by June 1, 1997, including a description of efforts by the administration to monitor end-use of United States military aircraft, including helicopters, in Turkey."

Praise of Byrd

Sen. Robert Byrd (Republican, West Virginia) took the floor to commend committee members for elimi-

to the Conference Committee in August, the "humanitarian aid corridor" amendment need not survive to be effective since it will be incorporated into the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

The TDN has learned that the Armenian lobby, which worked hard to include such language in the bill, is expecting the "Armenian Genocide" amendment to be taken up as part of the Conference Committee deliberations.

Armenian pipeline

The committee recommended an increase in assistance to Armenia "in recognition of progress" Armenia has made "on important economic and political reforms."

The committee also requested the development of a plan "which will support private sector efforts to develop an oil and gas pipeline in the region." One of the planned multiple pipelines to carry Azeri early oil from three offshore AIOC fields in the Caspian Sea goes through Georgia, not Armenia.

907 is back

The committee, under the chairmanship of Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (Republican, Oregon), reinstated Section 907 of the so-called "Freedom Support Act" which prohibits direct humanitarian assistance between the governments of the United States and Azerbaijan. Last year, following the efforts of Rep. Charlie Wilson (Democrat, Texas), language was included in the FY-96 bill, despite Section 907, which would allow direct aid to the Azeri government if President Clinton decided that the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) delivering humanitarian assistance were not up to the job. "The committee notes the administration has not submitted any such determination," the H.R. 3540 report said.

Yet NGOs will be allowed to use and repair government facilities and vehicles in Azerbaijan for the distribution of such aid to civilians.

nating two Armenia-related amendments accepted by the House version of the bill. The Turkish government had immediately rejected the \$25 million ESF grant with such conditions attached.

"Turkey is a vitally important NATO ally," Byrd noted. "Just look at the map to understand Turkey's importance." The fact that "we have differences with Turkey on some issues" should not obscure this, Byrd said. He added that humanitarian assistance in the Caucasus was necessary not only for Armenian but Azeri displaced people as well. Such balanced humanitarian assistance was important to stabilize the region, he said.

Humanitarian aid corridor

The Senate, during a previous appropriations subcommittee meeting, scrapped two Armenia-related amendments to H.R. 3540 accepted by the House on June 5. One of these amendments, the "humanitarian aid corridor" amendment which could punish Turkey for maintaining a land-corridor embargo on Armenia, was engineered by the Senate Appropriations Committee to survive as a part of an unrelated law.

As the newly proposed Section 6201 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, this will prohibit assistance to countries that restrict U.S. humanitarian assistance. Sec. 6201 reads: "No assistance shall be furnished under this Act or the Arms Export Control Act to any country when it is made known to the president that the government of such country prohibits or otherwise restricts, directly or indirectly, the transport or delivery of United States humanitarian assistance." The U.S. president can override this ban if he or she determines that "to do so is in the national security interests of the United States." President Clinton already overrode the ban in May 1996 for Turkey.

This means that when the foreign aid bill is referred



U.N. Weapons Inspector Rolf Ekeus warned Turkey to be aware of Iraq's weapons arsenal.

UN weapons inspector warns Turkey against Iraq

Ekeus still believes that Iraq loaded some of its weapons on to trucks and hauled them elsewhere before the inspectors arrived

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Rolf Ekeus, the U.N. inspector who is investigating Iraqi weapons, warned Turkey against Iraq during a one-day working visit to Ankara.

Some doubts have arisen in the international arena about Turco-Iraqi ties, which some feel to be close. On the other hand, Ekeus believes that Iraq still possesses significant quantities of weapons. It has been speculated that these weapons could be used against Turkey, Israel or Iran.

Ekeus also wants the Kirkuk-Yumurtalık pipeline to be used for the transport of oil products, but this idea is not favored by Turkey. Under the oil-for-food agreement Iraq reached with

the United Nations in May, Iraq was allowed to export oil and oil products worth \$2 billion every six months, in order to buy food and medicine. Some of its exports and imports will pass via Turkey by trucks.

Ekeus still believes that Iraq loaded some of its weapons on to trucks and hauled them elsewhere before the inspectors arrived.

"I presented information on recent developments and long-term prospects for solving the outstanding problems," Ekeus told reporters after his three-hour meeting with Foreign Ministry Deputy Undersecretary Ali Tuygan.

Some analysts speculate that Ekeus wants to establish a monitoring system for Iraq's exports and imports via Turkey. "Iraq is still, according to our analysis, concealing some important components and weapons and also concealing important documents explaining their program," Ekeus told reporters on Monday.

Islamic Party Forms Coalition in Turkey

Ciller Will Be Deputy Minister; Tough Parliament Vote Ahead

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

BERLIN — In a move that represented a sharp break with 73 years of secular rule in Turkey, the leader of that country's Islamic party forged a coalition Friday that could make him prime minister within a few days.

The party leader, Necmettin Erbakan, said he had agreed to form a coalition government with former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, who would serve as deputy prime minister and foreign minister.

President Suleyman Demirel approved the new government after meeting with Mr. Erbakan late Friday.

"I have very good news for you," Mr. Erbakan said after emerging from his meeting with the president. "A new government has been formed."

The coalition must now win a vote of confidence in Parliament. Mr. Erbakan's Welfare Party and Mrs. Ciller's True Path Party hold a majority of seats in the 550-seat Parliament. Some True Path deputies, however, have hinted that they might vote against the coalition because they cannot bear the idea of helping to bring an Islamic government to power.

Secularism and pro-Western foreign policies have been fundamental principles of the modern Turkish state since its founding in 1923. Mr. Erbakan has challenged those principles, suggesting that he favors Turkish withdrawal from NATO and closer ties with Iran and with militant Islamic groups like Hamas, which is waging guerrilla war against Israel.

"We will set up an Islamic United Nations, an Islamic NATO and an Islamic version of the European Union," Mr. Erbakan vowed in a campaign speech in December. "We will create an Islamic currency."

Turkey's resolutely secular military, however, would look with great disfavor on moves that would turn the country away from the West. Army officers have seized power three times since 1960 when they disapproved of elected governments.

Mr. Erbakan's party received just 21.38 percent of the vote in December's national election, meaning that nearly 80 percent of voters supported secularist candidates. Because of splits among oth-

er parties, however, Mr. Erbakan's total was enough to put him in first place.

Mrs. Ciller's decision to join a coalition with Mr. Erbakan was startling in view of her resolutely secular ideals. She is an American-educated economist who only a few months ago warned that a government led by Mr. Erbakan would "bury the country in darkness."

Not a single one of the 158 members of Parliament from Mr. Erbakan's party is female. He has said that Turks "do not want to be represented by women."

Mrs. Ciller is fighting several corruption charges, and has refused to explain what she did with \$6.5 million that she withdrew from a secret government fund shortly before leaving office last year. The new coalition would not only give her a chance to hold a measure of power, but could also win her enough support in Parliament to head off further investigations of her finances.

Turkey has been without a stable government since September, when Mrs.

Ciller's government collapsed after two years. After the December elections, Mrs. Ciller formed a coalition with another center-right leader, Mesut Yilmaz. It collapsed after just three months amid bitter recriminations between the two partners. They support similar policies, but their intense personal rivalry made it impossible for them to work together, and paved the way for Mr. Erbakan's rise.

Mr. Erbakan, 70, is a German-educated engineer who has been active in Turkish politics for 30 years. He was a cabinet minister in the mid-1970s, but after the 1980 military coup he was imprisoned on charges that he sought to undermine secularism and submit the country to Islamic rule.

Where Welfare Party Would Do It Differently

Following are some of the key positions of Turkey's Welfare Party:

Military: Supports an "Islamic NATO." Opposes Turkey's military training pact with Israel, and opposes the U.S.-led allied force that provides air shelter to Iraqi Kurds from a Turkish base.

Trade: Reassess Turkey's customs union with European Union. Has called for an Islamic "common market."

Rights: Maintain current constitution, but condemns barring female students from wearing head shawls.

Currency: Advocates an Islamic currency.

Finance: Maintains that interest rates are a violation of Islam.

Attack condemned on Turkish consulate-general in Urumiye

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Pro-Kurdish activists on Thursday attacked the Turkish Consulate in Urumiye, Iran, the semi-official Anatolia news agency reported from Tehran.

The attack occurred after Iranian claims that Turkish helicopters had bombed Kurdish inhabited areas in the northwest of Iran on Wednesday.

It was claimed that six Kurds, five women and one child, were killed and 15 wounded.

The Tehran government summoned the Turkish ambassador to protest the raid.

The office of the Chief of General Staff on Friday refuted the claims saying that the Turkish army fired upon retreating PKK militants as they fled into Iran. The office said that this was just a normal operation.

About a thousand pro-Kurdish activists gathered around the consulate in Urumiye where they threw stones. No-one was hurt in the incidents.

Most of the demonstrators were Iranian nationals of Kurdish origin. As well as throwing stones, they chanted anti-Turkish slogans and burnt Turkish flags.

Iranian police failed to intervene in the protest, while the Iranian Embassy in Ankara said that police were making inquiries.

Turkish response

Turkey demanded that security be increased around the consulate in Urumiye.

According to diplomatic sources, the Iranian ambassador to Turkey, Mithat Balkan, said that the Iranian government is responsible for the security of the Turkish consulate and that it should take the necessary security measures immediately. Relations between Turkey and Iran have been strained since the countries both expelled four diplomats last month. Iran has also harshly criticized the Turko-Israeli military cooperation pact.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JUNE 29-30, 1996

SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1996

Turkish Daily News

Irak: l'ONU se hâte lentement

Le diplomate irakien qui avait signé le 20 mai à l'ONU l'accord «pétrole contre nourriture» est revenu en fin de semaine à New York pour présenter formellement un plan de distribution de vivres élaboré par Bagdad, considéré comme essentiel dans la mise en œuvre de l'arrangement qui tarde à se concrétiser.

M. Abdel Amir al-Anbari a déclaré "espérer" que le plan de distribution de vivres, qui comprend sept annexes, serait vite approuvé par le secrétaire général de l'ONU, M. Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Celui-ci étant actuellement en Europe, M. Al-Anbari a été reçu par M. Chinmaya Gharekhan, conseiller politique du secrétaire général, a indiqué un porte-parole des Nations unies. Selon M. Al-Anbari, M. Gharekhan a dit "ne pas être en mesure" de se prononcer immédiatement.

Il n'est pas exclu que les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne, membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité, examinent à la loupe la dernière version du plan élaboré par l'Irak, notamment les propositions relatives à la distribution des vivres dans les trois provinces du nord (à majorité kurde) qui ont leur "spécificité", estiment des diplomates occidentaux.

L'accord "pétrole contre

nourriture" autorise l'Irak, toujours soumis à des sanctions internationales, à exporter des quantités limitées de brut, notamment afin d'acheter des vivres pour sa population, sous la supervision des Nations unies.

Outre l'approbation du plan de distribution, M. Boutros-Ghali doit également ouvrir un compte séquestre dans une banque où seraient gérés les fonds du pétrole (deux milliards de dollars autorisés tous les six mois). Selon des diplomates occidentaux, M. Boutros-Ghali a déjà opté en faveur de la Banque nationale de Paris (BNP), qui dispose d'une succursale à New York. Le porte-parole de l'ONU n'a ni confirmé ni démenti l'information, affirmant qu'une décision serait annoncée lorsque l'ensemble du dossier serait bouclé.

De son côté, le Comité des sanctions de l'ONU contre l'Irak (Comité 661), qui regroupe les 15 pays

membres du Conseil de sécurité, a apparemment progressé dans la très lente élaboration des "modalités d'application accélérée" de l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture".

Premières exportations en juillet?

M. Al-Anbari, représentant de l'Irak à l'UNESCO (Paris), s'est déclaré "troublé" par les retards enregistrés au sein du Comité 661, qui a tenu pas moins de "26 réunions" depuis le 20 mai. "Certains essaient de réécrire" la résolution 986 ayant ouvert la voie à l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture", a-t-il affirmé.

Selon des sources européennes, les procédures d'application accélérée de l'accord pourraient être adoptées la semaine prochaine. Parmi les derniers points de blocage figure la question des contrôleurs qui seraient chargés d'approuver les contrats pétroliers à l'ONU. On parle de trois ou quatre

personnes (un Français, un Américain, un Norvégien et un Russe, Washington ayant des réticences quant à un Russe), selon ces sources. Le mécanisme d'approbation des contrats serait rapide (24 à 72 heures), la question étant de savoir si les décisions des contrôleurs seraient souveraines ou s'il pourrait y avoir intervention des délégations du Conseil de sécurité.

Les diplomates demeurent prudents quant à la date exacte de reprise effective des exportations pétrolières irakiennes, interrompues depuis six ans. Les plus optimistes osent espérer que le pétrole commencera à être écoulé avant fin juillet.

L'accord "pétrole contre nourriture" a visiblement subi le contrecoup de la récente épreuve de force autour des inspections de la Commission spéciale de l'ONU chargée du désarmement de l'Irak (UNSCOM).

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Turquie-Kurdes

M. Erbakan promet de lever l'état d'urgence dans le sud-est

ANKARA, 29 juin (AFP) - Le nouveau premier ministre turc Necmettin Erbakan s'est engagé samedi à lever progressivement l'état d'urgence en vigueur dans le sud-est de la Turquie, théâtre de la rébellion armée du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

"L'état d'urgence sera levé progressivement dans la région et le concept de fraternité sera développé avec des mesures destinées à améliorer la vie économique et sociale", a déclaré M. Erbakan dans une conférence de presse.

"Mais la lutte de l'Etat contre le terrorisme séparatiste se poursuivra avec toute sa vigueur", a-t-il ajouté.

Le prédécesseur de M. Erbakan, Mesut Yilmaz, avait lui aussi promis de lever progressivement l'état d'urgence en vigueur dans dix provinces de l'est et du sud-est, mais n'avait pas commencé à le faire.

L'état d'urgence donne des pouvoirs très étendus aux autorités et aux forces de sécurité et cette situation a donné lieu à de nombreuses accusations de violations des droits de l'Homme.

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Turquie-Kurdes

1.128 rebelles kurdes tués par l'armée turque en six mois

ANKARA, 30 juin (AFP) - Au total 1.128 rebelles du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), en rébellion contre Ankara, ont été tués en six mois par l'armée turque lors d'opérations militaires et de combats, a rapporté dimanche l'agence semi-officielle Anatolie.

De janvier à fin juin 1996, 83 membres des forces de l'ordre turques, dont des "protecteurs de village" (ndlr: miliciens pro-gouvernementaux armés par l'Etat) ont trouvé la mort lors de ces opérations et accrochages armés, a indiqué Anatolie.

Selon l'agence, 124 militants armés du PKK se sont rendus aux forces de sécurité turques, 104 autres ont été capturés et 14 blessés lors de combats dans l'est et le sud-est anatolien, à majorité kurde, où le PKK mène une rébellion armée contre Ankara depuis 1984.

Une importante quantité d'armes et de munitions, dont des lance-roquettes, des grenades, des mines et plus de 20.000 balles, ainsi que 447 kg d'opium ont été saisis dans différentes zones du sud-est anatolien, toujours selon la même source.

La rébellion du PKK, qui vise à créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien, ainsi que les opérations de représailles de l'armée, ont fait en 12 ans près de 22.000 morts, civils, militaires, rebelles et policiers.

L'armée turque, qui ne reconnaît pas le cessez-le-feu déclaré unilatéralement le 15 décembre dernier par le chef du PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, dit "Apo", poursuit ses opérations quasi-quotidiennes contre les maquisards kurdes, soit en territoire turc, soit en territoire irakien frontalier.

Les rebelles utilisent le nord de l'Irak comme base arrière pour lancer des attaques en territoire turc. Pour ce faire, ils profitent du vide d'autorité régnant dans cette région, qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe en 1991.

L'armée turque a intensifié ses opérations contre les maquisards du PKK, notamment depuis le début avril, sur les territoires turc et irakien, tuant près de 865 rebelles, selon les bilans annoncés par les autorités.

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