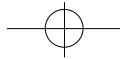


Documents & Témoignages

- QUAND L'ARMÉE, REMPART SUPPOSÉ DE LA LAICITÉ, SOUTIENT LES ACTIVITÉS ISLAMISTES
 - Extrait d'un rapport du Sénat américain
 - Le journaliste turc O. Akbal explique comment les militaires sont complices de l'islamisme
- DROITS DE L'HOMME : EXTRAIT DU RAPPORT DU DÉPARTEMENT D'ÉTAT AMÉRICAIN
- LA POLITIQUE KURDE DE LA TURQUIE EXPOSÉE PAR LE PRÉSIDENT ÖZAL
- LE TORT D'ÊTRE KURDE EN TURQUIE ; PLAIDOYER DE YACHAR KEMAL, SUIVI DE LA SATIRE DU JOURNALISTE TURC A. ALTAN : «ET SI ATATÜRK AVAIT ÉTÉ UN GÉNÉRAL KURDE ?»
- LA POLITIQUE DE LA «TERRE BRULÉE» AU KURDISTAN :
 - Une première liste des villages détruits
 - Témoignage d'Ismail Besikçi :
«*Lice, ville kurde interdite*»
- L'USAGE DES ARMES OCCIDENTALES CONTRE LES CIVILS KURDES:
 - Extrait du rapport de Human Rights Watch (nov. 1995)
 - America Arms Turkey's Repression (*New York Times*)
- POINTS DE VUE ALLEMANDS SUR LA DÉMOCRATIE À LA TURQUE
 - Cette Turquie-là n'est pas de notre monde
 - Faible comme un Premier ministre turc, fort comme un militaire turc
 - Quand le Premier ministre flirte avec l'extrême droite néofasciste : «*Les liaisons dangereuses de Mme. Çiller*»



Quand l'armée, rempart supposé de la laïcité, soutient les activités islamistes

TURKEY CHECKS ITS COMPASS

A MINORITY STAFF REPORT

TO THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

SEPTEMBER 1995

A DANGEROUS FLIRTATION WITH ISLAM

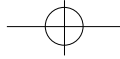
Despite claims that it regards fundamentalism as a threat to its secular heritage, the government of Turkey appears to be encouraging and even sponsoring Islamic activities in an attempt to bring the country together and defuse separatist sentiments. Since Turks and Kurds share a common Islamic heritage, Turkey apparently is attempting to use religion to bind together the two ethnic groups. Such a strategy holds inherent risks. Several governments in North Africa and the Middle East, for instance, promoted Islamic groups as a counterweight to radical leftist organizations during the 1970's and early 1980's. Some of those Islamic groups now pose a direct threat to the stability of the very governments that promoted them. Turkey's flirtation with Islam accordingly could backfire and inadvertently provide a foothold for Islamic extremists and threaten Turkey's long history of secularism.

It would be interesting to determine whether or not Turkey's promotion of Islam contributed—either directly or indirectly—to the recent rise in prominence and electoral success of the Islamic Refah party. Such a determination was beyond the scope of our investigation, but would be well worth additional study and analysis.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM

In Diyarbakir, the largest city in Kurdish-inhabited southeast Turkey, local custom has it that just beyond the walls of the old city lies the site of the Garden of Eden. In today's context, it is hard to imagine that Diyarbakir could have ever been considered paradise. It is dirty, overcrowded, and while shops and marketplaces appear comfortably full, there appears to be little employment opportunity. By some estimates, the city's population has grown from roughly 300,000 to more than 1,500,000 during the past five years. The city has become a haven for rural Kurds forced to evacuate neighboring towns and villages destroyed by the Turkish military, and as such it has become a symbol of the ethnic difficulties that persist in Turkey.

Diyarbakir—like the country as a whole—is caught between a vise, with the Turkish military on one side and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) on the other. It must not be overlooked that the PKK poses a grave threat not only to Turkey, but to regional stability as well. The PKK—which employs ruthless terrorist tactics against innocent noncombatants in Turkey and against innocent civilians elsewhere in the Middle East and Europe—bears direct responsibility for much of the tension in southeast Turkey and for prompting the recent Turkish invasions of Iraq. Surprisingly,



Quand l'armée, rempart supposé de la laïcité, soutient les activités islamistes

in his list of Turkey's greatest security concerns. When questioned about this, he said: "The PKK is a threat to Turkey's security, but it is not considered major threat because we have cracked down on the bulk of it."

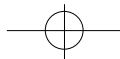
As a result of the ethnic strife, Diyarbakir and nine other provinces in the southeast have been under a state of emergency for the past 8 years. Turkish officials, local residents, and some independent observers suggest that tensions have subsided during the past 2 years, and there is anecdotal evidence to support such a claim. In prior visits to Diyarbakir, it was commonplace to see armored personnel carriers and other military vehicles patrolling the streets, machine gun-toting security personnel posted throughout the city, and checkpoints at main thoroughfares. During this visit, we saw only one checkpoint and witnessed many city residents on the streets after dark.

From these observations, one should not conclude that Turkey's policies and actions in Diyarbakir have been an unqualified success. It is evident that the existing calm is tenuous and the result of Turkey's overwhelming—and at times oppressive—security presence, which has exacted a high cost in terms of human rights violations.

Turkey, in fact, has an almost paranoid fear of losing or compromising its Turkish identity. The Government of Turkey accordingly is unable—or unwilling—to distinguish the genuine threat posed by the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) from the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Kurdish people. Contrary to how Turkish officials characterize the Kurds' desires, the overwhelming majority of Kurds with whom we met didn't speak of a separate Kurdish state or even a federation, but rather of their desire for an opportunity to express their cultural identity within Turkey. Turkey's government refuses even to acknowledge that there is a "Kurdish problem," and thereby is ignoring the real issue. Even U.S. Embassy officers admonished us not to speak of the "Kurdish problem" for fear of suggesting to Turkish officials that the U.S. supports a separate Kurdish state. Rather, we were encouraged to refer to it as "the problem in the Southeast."

There is independent data which belies official Turkish views of Kurdish goals and aspirations. Our visit to Turkey coincided with the release of a study, authored by Professor Dogu Ergil and sponsored by the Turkish Chambers of Commerce, which contained polling results demonstrating that few Kurds advocate separatism, and that most want to continue to live within Turkey—but to have greater cultural rights. The report continues to be the subject of a great deal of debate and discussion, with some Turks calling Ergil a CIA agent and others suggesting that the government may have had a role in sponsoring the report to test the level of public tolerance—or even to lay the ground work for reforming the Anti-Terror law.

Even the notion of cultural identity is misunderstood by Turkish officials. One official who is close to the Prime Minister automatically equated calls for cultural identity with demands that Kurdish be declared an official language. He could not conceive that Kurds would be satisfied with something less—such as being rid of the fear of prosecution and incarceration for speaking or teaching Kurdish, or for engaging in political discussions on Kurdish issues, or for publishing articles on the Kurdish identity.



Quand l'armée, rempart supposé de la laïcité, soutient les activités islamistes

Les militaires complices de l'islamisme

Les généraux ont trahi Atatürk au nom d'Atatürk

L'islamisme turc, qui a surgi en force en 1994, n'est pas tombé du ciel. Les généraux au pouvoir après 1981 en ont fait le lit, obsédés qu'ils étaient par le "péril rouge". Aujourd'hui, ils mesurent leur erreur, mais un peu tard.

Oktay Akbal
MILLIYET - ISTANBUL

Il est vrai que le Refah [Parti de la prospérité, islamiste] a remporté un grand nombre de municipalités l'an dernier. [Il a notamment gagné la mairie d'Istanbul, avec 24 % des voix, et celle d'Ankara. Son score a été de 19 % sur l'ensemble du pays.] Comment a-t-il réussi ? C'est une longue histoire, allant des bulletins de vote qui finissent dans les poubelles aux divisions absurdes entre les candidats des partis de gauche.

Cela fait donc un an que les islamistes dirigent des municipalités, un anniversaire qu'ils ont récemment célébré par une grande fête. L'épouse du leader du Refah, M^{me} Nermin Erbakan, a reçu une ovation quand elle y a déclaré : *"Ce ne sont pas les douze millions d'habitants d'Istanbul, ni les soixante millions de Turcs, mais un milliard cinq cents millions de musulmans du monde entier qui nous attendent. J'espère que, demain, nous fêterons la révolution."*

On sait très bien ce qui se passerait si, d'aventure, un homme de gauche exprimait aujourd'hui ouvertement le souhait de *"fêter demain la révolution"*. Il serait aussitôt accusé de tentative de *"changement ou abo-*

lition de la Constitution par la force" et vite conduit derrière les barreaux. Or les intégristes expriment, par l'écrit et la parole, l'idée de changer le régime. Ils n'hésitent pas à se référer au massacre de Sivas en le qualifiant de *"glorieuse émeute"*. [En juillet 1993, des islamistes avaient incendié un hôtel de cette ville où se tenait une réunion en hommage à un poète alévi du XVI^e siècle : 37 intellectuels avaient péri.] Mais, là, les procureurs de la République ferment les yeux !

Les partisans de la charia progressent un peu plus chaque jour. En nous regardant droit dans les yeux, en plus. Qui faudra-t-il accuser si un jour ils répandent le sang, comme en Egypte ou en Algérie ? Ceux qui ont piétiné les principes laïcs depuis des années dans leur chasse aux votes n'y sont-ils pas pour quelque chose ? Le problème ne date pas d'aujourd'hui, il remonte à la fin des années 40. Son aggravation dans les années 50 a pu être freinée en 1960 [avec le coup d'Etat d'officiers progressistes], pour se transformer après en une force redoutable sous les gouvernements Demirel (1975-77 et 1979-81). Puis vinrent le putsch de 1981 et le régime de Turgut Özal [Premier ministre désigné par les militaires, il fut ensuite élu président par le Parlement]. Les écoles coraniques, les "séminaires" d'imams poussèrent alors comme des champignons. Les aides aux partisans de la charia ouvrirent la voie à ceux qui voulaient changer le régime laïc.

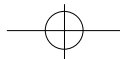
Même ceux qui minimisaient ce danger jusqu'à récemment commencent à se réveiller. Nous savons tous que le Conseil national de sécurité et le général Kenan Evren [qui avaient dirigé le putsch de 1981] ont écrasé la gauche pendant qu'ils pro-

tégeaient la droite. Ils ont détruit toute l'œuvre d'Atatürk en se camouflant derrière son nom, qu'ils annonçaient du matin au soir. Evren avait d'ailleurs récité des passages du Coran sur les places publiques pour étayer ses arguments et même tenté de défendre la charia.

Or, que vient nous dire ce même monsieur (aujourd'hui général en retraite) dans un récent discours télévisé ? *"Si une menace risque de dénaturer la République et ses caractéristiques, notre réaction sera légitime. Dans un tel cas, on abandonne le principe du maintien de l'armée hors de la politique. Si un système fondé sur la charia avance, même par des voies démocratiques, les forces armées turques ne sauraient rester spectatrices."*

"Comme si ce n'était pas lui", rappelle le chroniqueur du quotidien *Cumhuriyet* Server Tanilli, *"qui avait introduit dans la Constitution les leçons obligatoires de religion dans les écoles et les lycées, chose qu'aucun pouvoir civil n'aurait jamais osé faire ! Seraient-ce des djinns qui ont signé la loi de 1983 ouvrant les portes de l'administration aux diplômés des établissements religieux, alors que normalement ces élèves, pour leurs études supérieures, ne pouvaient être admis que dans les facultés de théologie, conformément à leur vocation ?"*

La Turquie n'est ni l'Algérie, ni l'Afghanistan, ni même l'Egypte. Les héritiers d'Atatürk formés depuis soixante-dix ans ne se plieront certainement pas à un retour de plusieurs siècles en arrière. Ni eux, ni sans doute le général Evren, qui a pourtant ouvert la voie, sciemment ou non, aux forces de la charia, mais qui commence à voir maintenant, lui aussi, le terrible danger ! ●



Droits de l'homme : Extrait du Rapport du Département d'Etat américain

US says state of human rights in Turkey is getting worse

Turkish Daily News

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1995

Despite PM Çiller's pledges in 1993, torture persisted throughout 1994, says Washington report

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON - A U.S. State Department human rights report, released in Washington on Wednesday, provides a comprehensive chronicle of alleged human rights abuses by Turkish authorities in 1994 and gives extensive coverage to crimes committed by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) during the same year. The 36-page section in the report on Turkey concludes, on the basis of findings provided by U.S. diplomats in Ankara and other Turkish cities, that "the human rights situation in Turkey worsened significantly in 1994."

"Despite the Çiller government's pledge in 1993 to end torture and to establish a state of law based on respect for human rights, torture and excessive use of force by security personnel persisted throughout 1994," the report says in its introductory section.

"The police and security forces often employed torture during periods of incommunicado detention and interrogation and continued to use excessive force against noncombatants (in the fight against the PKK), the report adds.

"Various agencies of the government continued to harass, intimidate, indict and imprison human rights monitors, journalists, lawyers and professors for ideas which they expressed in public forums," the report says.

"Disappearances and mystery murder cases continued at a high rate in the Southeast. The PKK and the radical Islamic Hezbollah (not related to the Lebanese Hizbullah) appear responsible in some cases. In other cases, however, the evidence implicated government security forces," it adds.

"In many human rights cases, the targets of abuses were ethnic Kurds

or their supporters. Moreover, the government infrequently prosecutes police or security officers for extrajudicial killings, torture and other abuses; in the cases which produce a conviction, lenient sentences were usually given," it says. "The resulting climate of impunity that has been created probably remains the single largest obstacle to reducing unlawful killing, torture and other human rights abuses," the report concludes on this subject.

This year's human rights report by the State Department covers 193 countries. By law the State Department must report on human rights in all countries that are members of the United Nations. Originally the report was limited to those nations receiving aid from the United States.

U.S. officials explained that the State Department is mandated by Congress to produce the report and that the format of the sections on each country is standard and also follows the guidelines set down by the congressional mandate.

The 36 pages devoted to Turkey in this year's report was surpassed only by the 39 pages devoted to China. The report devotes only 16 pages to human rights violations in Syria, 23 pages to Serbia, 29 pages to Russia, 32 pages to Israel and the occupied territories, 17 pages to Iran, 26 pages to Iraq, 12 pages to Armenia, 18 pages to Algeria, 13 pages to Cyprus and 26 pages to Greece.

John Shattuck, assistant secretary for democracy, human rights and labor, during his introductory remarks at a State Department briefing on Wednesday, said countries like China, Iraq, Iran, Burma, North Korea and Cuba were engaged in "flagrant and systematic abuses of basic human rights."

But he noted that such flagrant abuses were not limited only to authoritarian governments. "Torture, arbitrary detention or repression of free speech and dissent" existed in a wide variety of other governments, he said. As examples, Shattuck mentioned Saudi Arabia, Egypt, India, Guatemala and Turkey.

Dealing with "Respect for the integrity of the person, including freedom from political and other extrajudicial killings" in Turkey, the report says in categorical terms that "Government authorities were responsible for the deaths of detainees in official custody; suspects in houses raided by security forces; and other types of civilian deaths in the Southeast."

Indicating that under Turkish law authorities are obliged to investigate all deaths in police custody, the report says that prosecution of security force mem-

bers for such deaths are rare. Dealing with "Respect for the integrity of the person, including freedom from torture and other cruel inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment" in Turkey, the report says the following:

"Despite the Constitution's ban on torture, Turkey's accession to the U.N. and European conventions against torture, and public pledges of successive governments to end torture, the practice continued. Human rights attorneys and physicians who treat victims of torture state that most persons charged with or suspected of political crimes usually suffer some torture during the period of incommunicado detention in police stations and gendarmerie headquarters before they are brought to a court." According to the report, the commonly employed methods of torture in Turkey reported by the Turkish Human Rights Foundation include: "high-pressure cold water hoses, electric shock, beating on the soles of the feet, beating of the genitalia, hanging by the arms, blindfolding, sleep deprivation, deprivation of clothing, systematic beatings, and vaginal and anal rape with truncheons and, in some instances, gun barrels."

"In southeastern Turkey, a security official boasted of having deprived a suspect of sleep for six days to obtain a confession," the report said.

"In the few instances in which law enforcement officers are convicted of torture, sentences tend to be light. In July, Ekrem Güner, a non-commissioned officer, was convicted of torturing two persons in Ordu in 1989, sentenced to two years in prison, suspended from duty for five months and 15 days, and fined TL 375,000 (roughly \$12)," the report said.

Pointing out that Turkey recognizes the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights and the European Commission of Human Rights, the report says Turkish citizens may file complaints alleging violations of the European Convention on Human Rights with the Commission. It adds that there are currently 250 cases before the Commission.

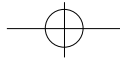
The report goes on to say that there is no guaranteed attorney access under law for persons whose case falls under the jurisdiction of the State Security Court.

These cases include those charged with smuggling and with crimes under the anti-terrorism law.

"Attorneys and human rights organizations affirm that this lack of access is a major factor in the continuing, widespread use of torture by police and security forces," the report says. "The decision concerning access to council in such cases is left to the independent prosecutor, who generally denies access," it adds.

Referring to the activities of the State Security Courts (DGM) the report says the following:

"In 1994, State Security Courts predominantly handled cases under the anti-terrorism law. The state claims these courts were established to try efficiently those suspected of certain crimes. In fact, the law provides that those accused of crimes falling under the jurisdiction of these courts may be detained twice as long before arraignment as other dependents and the courts may hold closed hearings and may admit testimony obtained during police interrogations in the absence of council." Dealing with "Respect for the integrity of the person, including freedom from use of expressive force and violations of humanitarian law in internal conflicts" in Turkey, the report says that



Droits de l'homme : Extrait du Rapport du Département d'Etat américain

"the PKK's campaign of violence in southeast Turkey is directed against both security forces and civilians, most of whom are Kurds, whom the PKK accuses of cooperating with the state."

"The Turkish National Police, Gendarmerie and Armed Forces in turn have waged an increasingly intense campaign to suppress terrorism, targeting active PKK units as well as those they believe support or sympathize with the PKK, and committing many human rights abuses in the process."

"On March 26, a Turkish Air Force plane bombed up to four villages in Sirmak province, killing approximately 20 persons, according to press reports. Journalists were not allowed into the area. The government stated that the inhabitants had left the village some time before and that the PKK had then moved in, along with some civilians. When the PKK was hit, the government explained, there was perforce some collateral damage," it said, "Section 2" of the report on Turkey goes on to deal with "Respect for civil liberties, including freedom of speech and press."

Touching in detail on the trials and conviction of the pro-Kurdish deputies of the former Democracy Party (DEP), the State Department report also highlights the cases of trade union Chairman Münir Ceylan, journalist Haluk Gerger, academic Dr. Fikret Başkaya and former Diyarbakır Mayor Mehdi Zana — all convicted to prison sentences for expressing their views in writing or otherwise.

It goes on to quote Turkish government figures and says 407 newspapers, 490 periodicals and 35 books were confiscated in the first nine months of 1994.

It indicated that while legislation has partially removed the ban on the use of the Kurdish language, Kurdish language broadcasts are still illegal.

"President Süleyman Demirel stated that Kurdish television and education would constitute concessions to terrorists and should be allowed only after terrorism ends," the report says. Indicating that the "pro-PKK" daily *Özgür Gündem* had been harassed consistently since its April 1992 inception, the State Department report says the following of the Turkish press coverage of the situation in the Southeast:

"Turkish press coverage of the situation in the

Southeast tended to be unreliable underreporting in some instances and grossly sensationalizing in others. Government decree 430 requires self-censorship of all news reporting from or about the Southeast and upon the request of the regional governor, gives the Interior Ministry the authority to ban distribution of any news viewed as misrepresenting events in the region. In the event such a government warning is not obeyed, the decree provides for a 10-day suspension of operations for a first offence and 30 days for subsequent offences."

The State Department goes on in its report to touch upon the demonstrations during the year by Turkish civil servants seeking union rights and said one of these demonstrations was dispersed by the police "through kicking and the use of truncheons." Also touching upon religious freedoms, the report says the following regarding the Alawis:

"Turkey's Alawi Muslim minority (an offshoot of Shi'ite Islam) is estimated to number at least 12 million. There are, however, no government-paid Alawi religious leaders, no Religious Affairs Directorate Funds go to the Alawi community, and some Alawis allege informal discrimination in the form of failure to include any Alawi doctrines or beliefs in religious instruction classes. Alawis are disgruntled by what they regard as the Sunni bias in the Religious Affairs Directorate and the Directorate's tendency to view the Alawis as a cultural group rather than a religious sect."

Referring to the governmental attitude regarding groups or organizations investigating human rights allegations, the report says: "Government agents have increasingly harassed human rights monitors, as well as lawyers and doctors involved in documenting human rights violations."

It says that since 1991 the Turkish Parliament has had a human rights commission but adds that this commission has been "inactive and ineffective."

"While representatives of diplomatic missions who wish to monitor the state of human rights in Turkey are free to speak with private citizens, security officials may have an intimidating effect upon those interviewed," the report says.