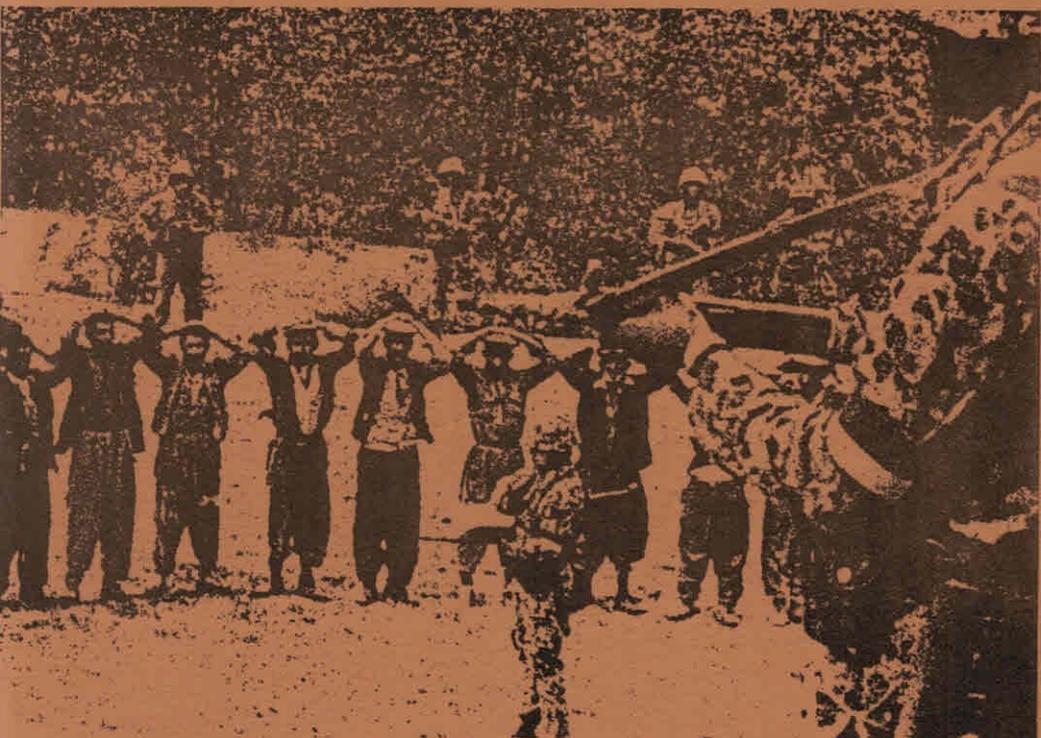


**OPPRESSION  
OF KURDS  
AND CHRISTIANS  
IN TURKEY**

Solidarity Publications



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## **CHAPTER 1**

Pursuing a chauvinist policy, the military have reinforced all measures with a view to suppressing the national identity of Kurds and forcing Christian minorities to leave the country. All Kurdish militants and intellectuals defending their community's national rights have undergone mass arrests, tortures and condemnations. Two thirds of the Turkish Army's effective strength have been concentrated in the Turkish Kurdistan. Turkish troops have entered neighboring territories in order to pursue Kurdish militants. The Kurdish population is deprived of the right to say "I am a Kurd" and to use its own language. The following chapter on the repression of Kurds and Christians already appeared in the *Black Book on the Militarist "Democracy" in Turkey*, published by Info-Türk in 1986.

The national repression which has been applied unceasingly since the beginning of the history of the Turkish Republic has reached unimaginable proportions in Kurdistan of Turkey since the September 12, 1980, takeover.

More than a third of the political prisoners in Turkey are Kurdish militants guilty of claiming cultural and national rights for their people. In this latter part of the 20th Century, Turkey, which occupies an important part of Cyprus in the name of defence of the rights of the Turkish minority on this island, and demands teaching in the Turkish language for Turkish workers' children in Europe refuses to recognize any cultural right of the Kurdish people who constitute one fourth of its population. It even denies the existence of the Kurds as a people having their own language, their own culture and their own history.

A former minister, Serafettin Elci, a deputy, Serafettin Yilmaz, mayors, academics and teachers are imprisoned in the dark cells of the military dictatorship for having mentioned the existence of Kurds in Turkey.

"Besides they do not fail to accompany this exemplary cultural genocide with large-scale and violent physical repression. Two-thirds of the total strength of the Turkish Armed Forces keep the Kurdish Provinces under close control and there regularly indulge in combing operations."

The Kurdish People have to fight on three fronts: first, against the military dictatorship in Turkey; secondly, against Baath's chauvinism in Iraq; and finally, against national repression in Iran, increasing day after day.

These repressions are in fact the result of a policy that consists in "dividing to reign," applied by imperialism for years on a large scale in the Middle-East. The monopolies, denying people the right to self-determination, dividing the Middle-East according to their own interests, have carved up the Kurdistan in a political plan since the beginning of the century. Each parcel of Kurdistan has been under the control of a state that does not correspond to the voluntary union of peoples, and the Kurdish people have suffered from chauvinism, assimilation and repression applied by the dominant classes of those countries.

The situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey is even more painful.

During the war of independence against imperialism, the Kurds fought within the

worker and peasant masses of Turkey, but at the end of the war, they faced one of the biggest perfidies in modern history. While non-Moslem minorities were recognized to have cultural, religious and social rights, the Kurds were deprived even of the right to say "I am a Kurd", to read and write in his mother tongue and to live according to national particulars.

The fact that in the Treaty of Lausanne non-Moslem minorities, such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews, were recognized as having some limited rights, does not change this truth. As a matter of fact, non-Muslim capitalists within the grand bourgeoisie of Turkey have always had some privileges... However, the toiling strata of these minorities such as workers, handicraftmen and little tradesmen, have always felt discrimination and national repression. Many of them have been obliged, especially after the events of September 6-7, 1955, to leave Turkey, the homeland where they were born and where they grew up. As a result of the repression, the number of the non-Muslim population in Turkey fell to less than 100,000.

Even the Moslem minorities have been touched by repression and discrimination. The Moslem Alevites, who constitute an important part of the population of Turkey, are still suffering from repression and massacres.

But for the Kurds, the Kurdish people, the situation is completely different.

Today, more than ten million people of Kurdish origin are living on the entity called Kurdistan, united through a link of language, culture and economic factors. That is the Kurdish people, the Kurdish nationality.

After the military victory against imperialism, the alliance between the young bourgeoisie and the big landowners of Turkey (who seized power by eliminating political representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the Kurdish people) have exercised two forms of repression throughout the history of the republic: class repression on the working class and national repression on the Kurdish people. While political and trade union organizations of the working class were forbidden, national repression on the Kurdish people became, in certain periods, massacre... on the pretext of "suppressing Kurdish riots."

The jingoist representatives of the Turkish bourgeoisie have even qualified the Turkish race as a "superior race, the origin of all other

racés" and treated the Kurds as "highlander Turks."

During the period of expanded liberties in the Sixties, along with the national question also came to the agenda of political discussions the organization of the working class on a political plan. After an interruption of more than half a century, Kurdish intellectuals attempted, with the risk of heavy punishments, to found cultural organizations.

During the semi-military repression period which started on March 12, 1971, the target of imperialism and its local collaborators was once again the working class movement and the Kurdish national democratic movement. The Workers' Party of Turkey was closed down for defending the democratic rights of the Kurdish people.

Another victim of the repression was the Organization of Progressive Culture of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO), whose leaders were also condemned to heavy punishments.

Since the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, the same play has been staged. With the military exercises code-named "Flying Gendarme," a dress rehearsal for national repression was already staged, even before the coup. After the proclamation of martial law, national repression was put into practice in the Kurdistan of Turkey. Kurdish villages were shelled, mass arrests reached the greatest dimensions in this area and those who resisted were either assassinated or jailed.

According to the International League of Human Rights, 81,634 Kurds were arrested, within the two-year period of September 1980 to September 1982. Many of them were subjected to torture at interrogation centers.

### Turkish Army's Expansionism

A well-planned raking operation against the Kurds in Iraq was launched on May 26, 1983, when two brigades of the special forces of the Turkish Gendarmery and parachute forces entered Iraqi territory. The troops were reinforced by two border-guard brigades and got "reduced" support from the Turkish Air Forces and some helicopters, according to Iraqi diplomatic sources.

The seven-day operation ended on June 2, "after being led successfully," the Turkish Foreign Office announced in a press release. The

Turkish authorities asserted that "talks have taken place on this action with the government of friend and neighbour Iraq."

This "right to pursue" is provided in the framework of a "co-operation" developed four years ago after an agreement between the Iraqi President Saddam Hoseyn and General Evren, Chief of the General Staff of that time.

Both had decided to "co-ordinate their plans in order to control Kurdish minorities in the two countries".

The Iraqi Ambassador to Turkey, Mr Taha Mahmoud Al-Kaysi, said that the operation by the Turkish forces had "likely resulted in the arrest of about 1,500-2,000 separatist adventurers".

According to an alarm-cry of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in London, the Turkish Army surrounded about 20,000 or 30,000 civilian Kurds, of whom a majority were women, children and old people, who had taken refuge in DPK camps.

Diplomatic sources in Ankara also confirmed the size of the operation, which had obviously passed beyond a "simple chase of a few Kurdish separatists." According to these sources quoted by the AFP, 15,000 Turkish soldiers reinforced by Iraqi troops penetrated 40 km inside the Iraqi border. Antipersonal bombs were reportedly dropped on the region.

The only "balance sheet" made public by the Turkish military sources noted the 6 military men killed and did not breathe a word about the victims of the operation or the prisoners, estimated between 1500-2000.

The Turkish newspapers reported the operation with victory cries. The daily *Tercüman*: "Execrable Nests Broken", *Hürriyet*: "Traitors Crushed", *Milliyet*: "Our Army Cleaned up Armed Groups Based in Iraq". On the other hand, they by no means mentioned how many people had been killed in the course of this "cleaning up" and "crushing" operation.

Many observers in Turkey asserted that by initiating this "police action", the Turkish military regime had taken the first step to realize an old dream that it discreetly cherishes: to recover the north of Iraq, the "Vilayat of Mosul" inhabited by Kurdish people.

At the end of the First World War, Britain forced the Kemalist regime to give up this province, and a British mandated state, Iraq, was created. Many of the Turkish military take it for granted that this region with rich petroleum

reserves should fall to them by full right, especially because of an important Turkish speaking minority living among Kurds.

According to *The Times* of May 28, 1983, "last year an article in the *New Statesman*, alleging the existence of a Turco-American plot to seize northern Iraq, aroused great interest and anxiety in the Arab World. Such a notion seems extremely farfetched, given the amicable cooperation existing between the Turkish and Iraqi governments, and it is most unlikely that what happened has anything to do with such a plan. But it does remind us that some hitherto unthinkable things might become thinkable in the event of a complete collapse of central government in Iraq."

Just after the raking operation, it was announced in September 1983 that the Headquarters of the 2nd Turkish Army had been shifted from the Central Anatolian city of Konya to Malatya in the Turkish Kurdistan. This headquarters commands two-thirds of the Turkish Army's effective forces controlling this region.

### Kurdish Armed Resistance and "Sun Operation"

Despite all the military control over this area, The PKK militants started an armed resistance in 1984, and on the night of August 15, they attacked many garrisons and gendarmerie stations in the Siirt Province. In retaliation, Turkish commandos launched a new combing operation code-named "Sun Operation." The Chief of General Staff went immediately to the operation area and extended the combing to other provinces.

In addition, Turkish troops crossed the border and once more entered Iraq. The agreement for this operation was reached following a sudden visit to the Iraqi capital, on October 14, by the Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Vahit Halefoglu, accompanied by Deputy Chief of Staff General Necdet Ozturun.

According to the European press, several reasons led the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to allow Turkish troops to cross the border. As the war with Iran deprived him of several of his outlets, he was determined to stay on the best of terms with his northern neighbour who offered him facilities for exporting his oil and conveying supplies. In domestic policies, the war with Iran

and the army's mobilization along the border also furthered a reawakening of the Kurdish opposition which suffered a fatal blow in March 1975, when the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein signed the Algiers agreement. However, the Barzanist PDK continued to wage armed struggle against the Iraqi regime. So, the regime of Saddam Hussein was "in such a state of weakness and powerlessness that he was forced to use foreign troops in order to quell the Kurdish rebellion on his territory."

Contrary to what had happened a year before, Iran now was opposed to the Iraqi-Turkish agreement aimed at fighting Kurdish guerillas. Talks between Teheran and Ankara on a possible penetration of Turkish troops into the border area with Iran collapsed.

The Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs on October 19 condemned the aforesaid agreement on "coordinated struggle" between Iraq and Turkey, considering that it "jeopardized the security of the region as a whole".

"We warn that this kind of move is likely to aggravate the crisis in this sensitive part of the world," a communique from the Iranian Foreign Affairs Ministry said.

In fact, Tehran actively supported the Iraqi Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) led by Massud Barzani. Contrary to the Kurdistan Patriotic Union (KPU) led by Jalal Talabani, which was more inclined to collaborate, the KDP was a staunch opponent of the Iraqi regime. Unlike the KDP, the KPU of Talabani negotiated for several months with the Iraqi government in an attempt to reach an agreement enabling it to rally, while President Saddam Hussein was making concessions as well. Therefore, Saddam Hussein, angry with Iranian assistance to the PDK, gave his support to the Kurds of Iran, rallying under the banner of the Iranian Kurdish "Democratic Party" (KDP) headed by Mr. Ghassemlu, and the banner of Komala (Kurdish Communists).

Faced with the Iranian Government's opposition, the Turkish regime did not hesitate to disown the Turkish press' triumphal headlines reporting the Turkish Army's penetration into Iraqi territory, while at the same time "Operation Sun" was actually going on on both sides of the Turco-Iraqi border.

Indeed, the combing operation unleashed in Turkish Kurdistan in August 1984 turned into a bloodbath. Since the regular Turkish Armed Forces remained powerless before the

Kurdish combatants who had a thorough knowledge of the mountainous regions, the Turkish Generals themselves were mobilized and went to the operation area to incite the Kurdish population to inform against the "peshmerge".

During a 5 days' journey to Turkish Kurdistan, ending on October 5, 1984, General-President Kenan Evren tried hard to persuade the local population that the Turkish Government did not contemplate remaining passive in the face of increasing activities by "separatists," without, however, mentioning the word "Kurd". The Turkish Government did not intend to abandon "the population in the hands of armed adventurers," he said.

During the same journey, the General-President referred with satisfaction to the "loyalist attitude" of the local population and launched the idea of distributing weapons to "carefully selected" peasants in order to drive "separatist" militants out of the villages. The Army commanders, however, regarded as quite dangerous the idea which had suddenly occurred to Evren, because the distributed weapons could be transferred by the "selected persons" to the Kurdish militants. Thereupon the idea was dropped.

Instead of this, the following decisions were taken:

- intensifying raids in Kurdish villages,
- clearing Kurdish border villages of their inhabitants and deporting them to the western part of the country,
- gunning down without warning anybody looking like a "separatist",
- mining border zones to prevent people in Iraq or Iran from crossing the Turkish frontier.

These exceptional measures were immediately carried out by Turkish commando troops.

During the combing operation, the West-German daily *Tageszeitung* reported, the villages of Pervari, Genzag and Zorova in Hakkari province were bombed and shelled, as the Kurdish tribe of the Jirki, living in this region, refused to collaborate with the military. According to the Turkish daily *Hürriyet*, the five tribal chiefs who fled into the mountains (apparently followed by their tribesmen) are wanted by the security forces. Furthermore, a prisoner camp was set up in the village of Esrik, near Hakkari province, where prisoners were flown over by helicopter.

On May 23, 1985, the Interior Minister in

Ozal's Government, Mr Yildirim Akbulut, referring to the resistance of Kurdish militants, said: "This is warfare, guerilla warfare... All imaginable measures have been taken against them. Specially trained teams are on the spot. Gendarme units and police forces are also there. But, this is a guerilla affair. They hit and escape. It is very difficult to estimate when and from where they come."

This statement by the top official in charge of internal security aroused strong reactions from those circles who sought to minimize the resistance. In its editorial, the daily *Günes* of May 24, 1985, said: "This statement, besides being regrettable, is not factual. Brigands who desire to imitate rural guerillas have thus been given an exaggerated status... To state that 'this is a guerilla war' is a tacit acceptance of a state of civil war in Turkey. Especially when the words belong to a person of authority such as the Minister of Internal Affairs. It should not be expressed, even if it were true..."

In the National Assembly, a spokesman for the Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP) approached the question from another point of view. He said: "If a minister of the Turkish State designates the incidents as guerilla warfare, our State will be obliged to act according to international conventions and to treat the captured persons as war prisoners."

As reactions broke out at his minister's statement, Prime Minister Ozal was forced to contradict him, on May, 29, 1985, stating that: "Their total number is about 400-500. Half of them have already been captured, the other half have surrendered. This is a matter of a few pillagers. I do not attach importance to them. This is not an affair to be exaggerated."

As the Ankara regime proved unable to quell the armed resistance of Kurdish militants, it stepped up the deployment of military units all over the Turkish part of Kurdistan. At the same time, Ankara signed an agreement with the Iranian Khomeiny regime to join their efforts in army operations against Kurdish combatants.

This new scheme by the Turkish Generals, playing the part of "wielding the big stick" in the Middle East while seeking at the same time to take advantage of the prevailing conditions in this part of the world, was disclosed and exposed in a press release issued on May 21, 1985, by the Foreign Delegation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran:

"According to information that we have just received, several talks have taken place between the Turkish and Iranian authorities, in particular on May 9, 1985, at Gavar (40 km from Urmieh), where a commander-in-chief of the 64th division at Urmieh had discussions with a high-ranking Turkish commander. At this meeting, the Turkish and Iranian authorities signed an agreement regarding the repression of the Kurdish peoples' movement in Iranian Kurdistan: this repression was to be carried out by their joint forces.

"Subsequently, units of the Turkish Army have entered Iranian territory, on the request and with the agreement of the mullah regime; after joining the Iranian forces, they have launched operations together against the bases of the Kurdish combatants. According to recent information, Iran and Turkey have landed forces in the region of Galibardarach, as part of a common plan. They have occupied a part of territory held by Peshmerga fighters of the PDKI.

"This attitude is in contradiction with national sovereignty and with territorial integrity so dear to the authorities of the Islamic Republic."

While the combing operation in the Turkish part of Kurdistan was going on, the Turkish government decided on June 28, 1985, that in 13 provinces mainly inhabited by Kurds, "Countryside Protectors" could assume their functions. According to a special law, these "Countryside Protectors," to be designated provisionally, should first be trained intensively and then provided with arms. About one thousand people assumed this function in the Siirt area. This province is due to be followed by Van, Agri, Kars, Mus, Bingöl, Tunceli, Bitlis, Urfa, Diyarbakir, Adiyaman, Mardin and Hakkari.

On the other hand, the Government launched a new campaign to build "Roads of Peace" in Kurdistan, so as to track down Kurdish militants more easily. All these roads, to be built along the Iraqi and Syrian border, will be permanently floodlighted by means of electric poles to be erected at regular intervals of 48 meters.

Moreover, all village heads throughout Kurdistan have been provided with transmitter-receivers, to allow them to inform on suspects as soon the latter are spotted.

The strained situation in the Turkish part

of Kurdistan roused some anxiety in Washington. According to a statement by the U.S. Foreign Secretary, published by the daily *Milliyet* on August 2, 1985, the U.S. Government advised its nationals to avoid the eastern area during their stay in Turkey "because the terrorist separatists are a scourge there and any kind of violence is to be feared there. In case a U.S. citizen still goes to that area, he should collaborate with the local authorities."

According to the General Staff's communiqué of December 31, 1985, the total number of those killed in armed clashes since August 15, 1984, amounted to 279, including 118 Kurdish militants, 74 military and policemen, and 77 civilians.

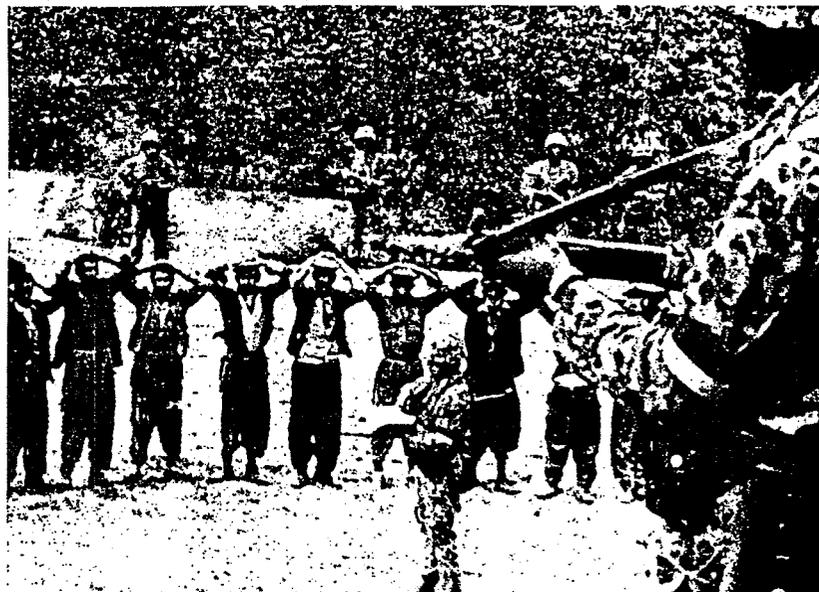
Other details concerning the military operation carried out in the Turkish Kurdistan in the same period:

Captured militants	309
Identified and wanted	641
Kurdish attacks	102
<i>Seized arms:</i>	
Pistols	836
Machine guns	8
Rifles	860
Automatic rifles	11
Hand grenades	157
Anti-tank mines	43
Anti-personnel mines	48
Small arms	47,314
Rocket launchers	2

Dimensions of the armed clashes in Kurdistan are getting more and more alarming for Ankara. The Armed forces recently, to better prepare their units for further sweeping operations, started on September 4, 1985 a big military exercise in the Turkish Kurdistan. These exercises were attended by general Evren himself, as well as the Chief of General Staff Necdet Urug, the National Defence Minister Yavuztürk and all commanders of the Army.

On the other hand, the Kurdistan Committee in Paris on August 28, issued a press communiqué in which it declared: "The Turkish General Staff, which has been silent until now on the war developing in Kurdistan, distorted in its press release all facts concerning the one-year period of actions, military operations, arrests and assassinations.

"All actions carried out in this period have been led by the HRK (Liberation Unity of Kurdistan), founded on August 15, 1984. Today it exists on a line of 1000 kilometers, from



Semdinli and Yüksekova (in the province of Hakkari) up to the north-west, passing through south-west, where fierce combats are being carried on. The following cities are in this fighting zone: Hakkari, Siirt, Bitlis, Mardin, Van, Mus, Bingöl, Diyarbakir, Elazig, Urfa, Adiyaman, Kars, Agri and Dersim (Tunceli).

"In all, 117 attacks, ambushes and clashes have occurred and 402 military personnel, policemen, guards and high-ranking officials (of whom 30 pc are Army officers or NCOs) have been shot dead and 188 others wounded in these operations.

"130 Turkish GIs were captured. They were later released, after being disarmed.

"46 well-known denouncers have been punished by death."

Since the very first day of the proclamation of martial law in Kurdistan, tens of thousands of Kurds have been taken into custody and tortured at interrogation centers, and thousands of them have been tried by the military courts and hundreds condemned to capital punishment.

As can be seen in the Table published in the chapter "Mass Trials", different Kurdish organizations have been hit, in different degrees, by the State terrorism.

The vast majority of the defendants are presumed to be militants of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK). In fact, the armed resistance of the last two years was launched by this organization.

According to the February 1985 issue of this party's central press organ *Serxwebûn*, up to that date, 121 party militants had already been sentenced to capital punishment.

After August 15, 1984, the date of the armed resistance's beginning, about 300 party militants have been arrested and brought before military tribunals. Ten of them have been sentenced to death, while others face the same punishment.

### Ideological brainwashing in prisons

The prison conditions in Kurdistan are much worse than in other military prisons in other regions of Turkey. Besides the physical and psychological tortures which are common in every military prison, the prisoners in Kurdistan are subjected to a special treatment aimed at annihilating their national conscience.

To better illustrate this ideological condi-

tioning, we are reprinting below some excerpts from a report written not by an opponent of the present regime, but by one of its notorious propagandists, Tokay Gözütek; this report was published on August 2, 1983, by the rightist daily *Tercüman* with the permission of the military authorities:

"In the military camp of special confinement in Diyarbakir, over two thousand prisoners belonging to eighteen different organizations are being held. As ornaments, everywhere there are Turkish flags and Atatürk's portraits, which have been hung up by prisoners.

*Treachorous thoughts pass through my body,*

*I am a descendant of brave heroes,  
Pain and disgust oppress my heart,  
Your enemies are not brave people,  
Only a Turk is a friend for a Turk;  
he has no other friends.*

"These words, which were heard in the camp at Diyarbakir, resound in our ears. We had thought these were soldiers singing marching songs while training. We were mistaken. We met these people who serve their prison terms here, as they were striding along like soldiers, singing in unison. Previously, they used to display marxist, leninist and separatist ideologies and wanted to divide our country and our people. We moved step by step forward through the prison's corridor, restraining our emotions. We lived history over again while moving forward from the canteen to the dormitory. Turkish flags had been hung on the ceiling as well as banderoles describing the part played by Turks and their greatness. No part of the wall had been left uncovered. What we were seeing helped us to relive history, and through what we were reading, we get to know the greatness of the Turks. We read catchwords such as: *'One Turk is as strong as the world' - 'I am so happy to be able to say that I am a Turk!' - 'Oh young Turk, what strength flows through your veins!'*"

Political prisoners have resorted many times to resistance actions such as hunger strikes in protest against this humiliating treatment, which very often have resulted in death.

On February 8, 1986, during the PKK trial before a military tribunal in Diyarbakir, the military prosecutor confirmed that 32 detainees died in the military prison of the same city. According to him, eight of these 32 victims committed suicide, six died after a hunger

#### Does the Kurdish language exist or not?

Despite the fact that the Turkish authorities deny the very existence of the Kurdish people and the Kurdish language in Turkey, a military court in Diyarbakir was obliged on August 26, 1983, to yield to reality.

Twenty-eight persons, mainly Kurds, were brought before the military tribunal on the accusation of having been involved in arms traffic. During their interrogation, most of them were unable to answer the questions in Turkish, because they knew only the Kurdish language. Thereupon, the judge was forced to interrogate them with the help of a Kurdish interpreter.

strike, and as for the sixteen others, they died from natural causes.

Taking into account that the majority of the detainees are young militants, the pronouncement of "natural" death is far from convincing. The defendants at trial said that the number of the victims is higher than 32 and most of them had been killed either through torture or because of ill-treatment in prison.

Although some Kurdish prisoners are accused of having resorted to armed actions, the great majority are tried only for having defended the fundamental rights of the Kurdish people or simply for saying that they are Kurds.

One of the most significant examples of this kind of prosecution is the condemnation of Turkish sociologist Ismail Besikçi. As has been detailed in the preceding chapters he has been condemned many times for writing articles or books proving in a scientific manner the existence of a Kurdish nation and a Kurdish language.

Many distinguished Kurdish intellectuals, such as Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, author of a Kurdish Alphabet, publishing house director Recep Marasli, lawyers Mümtaz Kotan, Hüseyin Yildirim and Serafettin Kaya, have been pursued and condemned for having made publications in the Kurdish language or on Kurds, or for assuming the legal defence of Kurdish prisoners.

The former Mayor of Diyarbakir, Mehdi Zana, has been in prison since the very first day of the military regime and has been sentenced many times. Diyarbakir is the chief town of Turkish Kurdistan. Zana is the first Kurdish mayor of a Kurdish town asserting his national identity. But, in addition, he is the first socialist mayor of an important city of the country. In

## DOCUMENT

### THE SUPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The International Writers' Reunion was held on June 15-19, 1981, in Lahti, Finland. During this meeting, Mr. Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, Kurdish author of Turkey who is actually in Sweden, gave the following speech on the oppression of the Kurdish language and literature in Turkey:

"Please let me first ask you some questions:

"Can you imagine a language in which it is completely forbidden to write?

"Can you imagine a literature which is not allowed to be written or read?"

"Can you imagine a culture that has been threatened by extermination for more than half a century?"

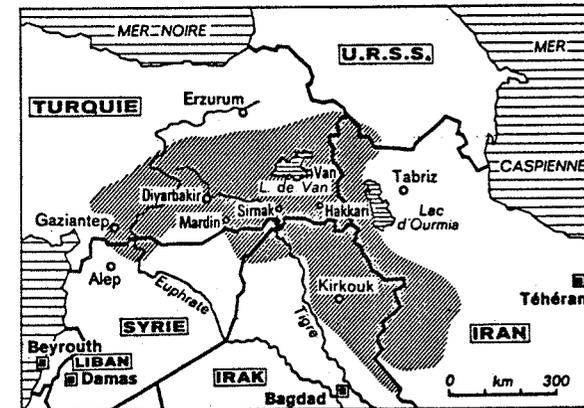
"Can you imagine a people with a population of more than 10 millions, that is not allowed to use its own language, its literature and its culture?"

"Can you imagine millions of children who are not allowed to study in their own mother tongue in school, but have to use a foreign language?"

"Can you imagine a nation that has signed even international law and treaties on Human Rights but yet tries to exterminate a culture, kill a literature and forbid a language before the rest of the world with all its democratic and Human Rights organisations?"

"Perhaps these questions and their implications seem unbelievable and untrue. Perhaps you begin to think that these questions belong to some ancient mythological tales from some barbarian days of long ago.

"But neither those questions nor their content belong to prehistory. They belong to our days, the twentieth century, and they are about the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and the Kurdish literature, that has been totally forbidden by the Turkish state against the Kurdish people, the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and Kurdish literature.



#### A Totally Forbidden Language

"The Kurdish language is an Indo-European language that is one of the three old major languages in the Middle East (the two others being Arabic and Persian). After 1701 when Turkish tribes began to settle in Anatolia, the Turkish language became the fourth major tongue in the Middle East.

"The Kurdish language is spoken by about 20 million people living in Kurdistan, that has been divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Kurdish minorities also exist in the Soviet Union and Lebanon. Since the middle of the 1960's many Kurdish immigrants live in every country of western Europe and Australia.

"About 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan, a Turkish colony since 1923. That is more than half of the total Kurdish population. There are also about 1 million Kurds living in different parts of Anatolia because they were exiled from Kurdistan by the old Ottoman empire and the Turkish republic. Some of them also moved there during recent years in search of employment.

"As I have already said, about 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan although their language has been completely forbidden since 1923. During the feudal Ottoman empire, every language spoken within the territory of the empire, including Kurdish, was allowed. But when the Turkish republic was formed, the Kurdish language was forbidden throughout northern Kurdistan. This situation has continued until today, and the Kurdish language is still forbidden.

"It is not allowed to write or to publish books in Kurdish. It is not allowed to do any research on the Kurdish language.

"The Turkish government has continually attempted to exterminate the Kurdish language and assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks. The Turkish government also uses all possible facilities, such as education, mass media and different kinds of oppression, to fulfil this aim.

### The Only Forbidden ABC-Book

"In my country you are not even allowed to write and publish an ABC-book in Kurdish. I am fully aware that it is not proper to use oneself as an example. But since in northern Kurdistan there is only one example of an ABC-Book and this example involves myself, I simply have to use myself as an example. And this is the case:

"As a Kurdish author I felt a responsibility to my people and my language and I decided in the middle of the sixties to write an ABC-book in Kurdish for Kurdish children and illiterates. The book called ALFABE was published in 1968 in Istanbul, Turkey. This was a great event for the Kurdish people and the Turkish government. Because this book was the only Kurdish ABC-book in northern Kurdistan, every Kurdish child and adult greeted it with great joy. On the other hand the Turkish government reacted strongly towards me and the book. After two days, two courts, one in Istanbul, the other in Diyarbakir (the main city in Kurdistan), banned the book and declared it illegal throughout Turkey. Also, the Turkish authorities accused me of trying to split Turkey and form an independent Kurdish state with this little ABC-book of only 64 pages. Because of this accusation I was kept in prison for four months. The book is still forbidden in Kurdistan and all of Turkey. All this for only one reason: the ABC-book is written in Kurdish and the Kurdish language is forbidden in Turkey.

"So, this Kurdish ABC-book is, as far as I know, the only ABC-book in the world that has been forbidden. I have never heard of anything like it anywhere in the world, not even in South Africa. This is a scandal and a black sin against Humanity and Human Rights and the responsibility rests on the Turkish government.

"Last year the second edition of this ABC-book was published in Sweden, thus becoming the only Kurdish ABC-book in Europe. Kurdish children and adult analphabets in Europe began to use it too.

### Oppression of the Culture

"It is not only the Kurdish language that is suppressed in northern Kurdistan and all of Turkey but also the ancient Kurdish culture. Like all people throughout the world, we too have special traditions and folklore, which the Turkish state is trying to exterminate. Because of the Turkish government's racist policy, a Kurd is even not allowed to say 'I am a Kurd'.

"Because the Turkish government decided to assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks, they want the Kurdish people to forget their culture, their traditions, their folklore and lose their national identity in order to feel like Turks.

"This is another crime that the Turkish government commits against Humanity and Human Rights. We consider all cultures to be common goods, belonging to all human beings throughout the world. Everyone, regardless of country and culture, can learn to know each other by giving and taking from each other's culture and by knowing and studying each other's traditions and folklore. Thus culture forms a very big part in creating friendship and a wider understanding between people from different countries.

"This is why the crime committed by the Turkish government against the Kurdish people is a crime not only against the Kurdish people but against all human beings in the whole world.

### The Forbidden Literature

"Kurdish literature is forbidden in northern Kurdistan as well as in the rest of Turkey. We have a very rich folk literature and a very old classical literature. Folk tales and classical poems are the two basic elements in Kurdish literature. But it is not allowed to develop the old literature and create modern Kurdish literature. The younger generations are not allowed to write short stories, novels or poems in Kurdish.

"If a Kurd does write and publish in Kurdish, he or she will risk prison, oppression, etc. The Turkish authorities will immediately ban the Kurdish publication and the Kurdish people will not have the opportunity to read it.

"In recent years some collections of Kurdish poems and short stories have been published, but they were all banned and burned by the Turkish police. There are some Kurdish books published abroad, for instance in Europe, but the Kurdish people in Kurdistan are not allowed to import and read them. It is not only forbidden to publish Kurdish books in Turkey, but it is also forbidden to receive Kurdish books, papers, records, cassettes, etc. from abroad. The Turkish government decided in 1967 to forbid the import of anything of Kurdish origin published abroad.

"This suggests that the Turkish government has decided to exterminate Kurdish literature. This is a crime against Humanity and Human Rights. We all know that literature, any literature, is an important platform where people meet, learn to know one another, understand the problems of one another and explore the traditions of other people. Through literature there is a creative exchange of cultures between nations, and therefore literature is of common interest for every human being in the world. Because of this, the crime committed by the Turkish government by forbidding and attempting to exterminate the Kurdish literature is a crime not only against the Kurdish people but against all human beings.

### The Children Have to Study in a Foreign Language

"Kurdish is the mother tongue and spoken language throughout Kurdistan. Every Kurdish child uses it at home with his family and in the streets with his friends. But when they become seven years of age and begin school, they are forced to talk and read in Turkish, although Turkish is a completely foreign language to them. Kurdish and Turkish are two entirely different languages. Kurdish belongs to the Indo-European language family while Turkish is like that of English and Arabic or French and Swahili.

"I do not think that it is very hard to understand how difficult it must be for the school children to be forced to talk and read in a completely foreign language. This is a severe form of torture against children and this is another crime against humanity. It is hardly to be found anywhere else in the world, but this is the situation the Kurdish children have to face in northern Kurdistan. This crime is committed against them before all peoples in the world and before all organisations defending democracy and Human Rights."

1979, he was elected mayor as the independent candidate supported by all left-wing and Kurdish movements. While he was at the head of the municipality, 20 buses were granted to Diyarbakir by left-wing municipalities of France. On the arrival of the military, he was arrested on the charge of "separatism". He has been tortured, and the death penalty is being requested for him. The Mayor of Nantes (France), M. Alain Chénard, in an open letter published by *Le Monde* of February 9, 1982, drew attention to the trial of Zana by claiming that he had been brutally tortured by the military during his detention.

### Christian Minorities in Turkey

During the 5-year period of military dictatorship, the subject of Christian minorities in Turkey has been one of the main topics in the international mass media as well.

First of all, a series of politically motivated attempts on the lives of Turkish diplomatic representatives abroad, carried out by young Armenian people, have drawn world attention to the demands of the Armenian population in diaspora.

Secondly, the massive arrival in European countries of Christian asylum seekers from Turkey has given rise to questions on the Christian minorities in this country, mainly Armenians, Assyrians, Nestorians...

According to a survey entitled "Christian Minorities in Turkey," published in 1979 by the *Churches Committee on Migrant Workers in Europe*, different Christian communities of Turkey comprised at that date an estimated 100,000 people. This was only a small remnant of the communities present at the end of the 19th century, when the Christians amounted to 30% of the total population of the Ottoman Empire. The distribution of the 100,000 into different Christian groups was estimated at 10,000 Greeks, 42,000 Armenians, 44,000 Assyrians and 4,000 Arab Christians.

While Armenians once constituted the major population of Eastern Anatolia, historically their fatherland, their number fell from more than 1.5 million to a few ten thousand today, because of genocides and deportations carried out by the Ottoman rulers at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th cen-

tury. The majority of this population now lives in Istanbul.

In Eastern Turkey we find mainly Christians belonging to the so-called Syrian Church. Known as *Süryaniler* in Turkey, they are called *Assyrians*. They live in the area between the River Tigris in the north and east, the Syrian border in the south, and the Diyarbakir-Nusaybin-Mardin line in the west. This area is an important part of Kurdistan. Also within Kurdistan there lived another Christian minority, the *Nestorians*.

The majority of each ethnic group of Christians belongs to the original Orthodox Church. A small group within each ethnic community has united with the Roman Catholic Church.

A small Greek Orthodox minority still exists in Istanbul.

Of the aforementioned groups the Armenians and the Greeks, along with the Jews, are the only religious minorities having non-Moslem minority status in Turkey. The other Christian denominations are not considered to be non-Moslim minorities, and therefore do not enjoy the protection of the Turkish State.

Whatever their particular status, all Christian minorities, without exception, have been submitted to discrimination since the foundation of the Republic.

First of all, they do not have the right to jobs as public servants, except degrading work, despite the fact that they, like other Turkish nationals, do military service and pay taxes.

During the 18-month military service, they are generally ill-treated by their commanders because of their ethnic or religious origin.

As for those who live in the south-eastern part of the country, they are under the absolute and arbitrary domination of the local power structure. The big landowners, called *Aghas* in Turkish, very often have control of the whole village and its population, and they exploit the people who work for a minimal wage or share of products. Acts of violence against Christian minorities are a daily practice carried out by the *aghas'* gangs. Legally, some Christian families are the official owners of the lands that they cultivate, but the *aghas* resort to every means of violence and intimidation to force them to leave the region in order to take over their land and other properties. Because of this pressure, tens of thousands of Assyrians have been for-

ceded to flee Turkey and to seek asylum in neighbouring countries or in Europe.

As for the Armenians, a recent draft report drawn up on June 26, 1985, by *Mr. Vandemeulebroucke*, reporter for the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament reads:

"Seventy years after the dramatic events concerning the Armenians, the Armenian question is kept alive both by the Armenians and by the Turks because both 'parties' are literally diametrically opposed to each other in terms of current relevance as well as with regard to the historical analysis of the events in question.

"This conflict is accentuated by the unacceptable phenomenon of Armenian terrorism, by the Turkish denial of massive Armenian deportations in time of war and the official Turkish justification of such deportations and by the unique existence of an Armenian identity that has remained a link throughout the entire world.

"The first phase of the emigration of Armenians from the Ottoman-Turkish empire occurred at the end of the 19th century and the second phase as a result of the tragic events of 1915. Those who dispersed throughout the world after this date have, together with the first wave of Armenian emigrants, introduced the concept of the 'Armenian diaspora'. In most of the host countries, the Armenians have been given the status of refugee as laid down by the United Nations.

"In Turkey, there are today 50,000 Armenians, which is all that remains of what was once an intellectually and economically advanced 'nation' of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the non-Russian Armenians now live scattered throughout the world:

- 575,000 in the Middle East (mainly in Lebanon, Syria and Iran)
- 335,000 in Europe (mainly in France),
- 600,000 in North America (mainly in the United States),
- 170,000 in Latin America (mainly in Argentina),
- 50,000 in other parts of the world.

The 'diaspora' thus amounts to some 1,730,000 persons.

"The events of the First World War forged a new link between the first generation of Armenian refugees and the refugees that survived the Turkish deportation. Religion, language and culture have remained the bond linking the

'Armenians in the diaspora' despite the fact that they have plainly become assimilated in the host country.

"According to the minimalist Turkish position, there were still 1,300,000 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1914. Today the Armenian presence in Turkey must be estimated at 50,000. As a minority, their identity, education and religion are recognized and relatively well safeguarded by the Turkish authorities.

"A younger generation in the diaspora, which can be called the third generation, is again stressing the Armenian identity. This generation harks back to the harm done to the Armenian nation, and to the promise of a separate Armenian State stipulated in the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which was however reversed by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

"Some of them recognize objectively the reasons for the Armenian nationalists' failure to form a separate Armenian state. These are threefold. There was the *moral reason*: the young nationalist intelligentsia, educated in the mission schools, was too isolated from the masses. Then there was the *political reason*: Russia incited a number of Armenians to revolt in order to weaken Turkey, although it had no interest at all in their emancipation. Finally, there was the *geographical reason*: Armenian nationalism always lacked the geographical framework needed to foster the struggle for independence. The Armenian nation was too dispersed between the stronger Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Even in the diaspora a distinction is still made today in peoples' mind between the pan-Armenian nationalists, the Soviet Armenians and the non-Communist Armenians. Other Armenian young people of the third generation, with the moral support of older generations and keenly aware of the harm done to their own families, want the Turkish State to recognize the events of 1915 to 1917 as genocide. Their first demand is for the moral recognition of the fact of genocide for them-

#### Condemnation of an Armenian Priest

An Armenian priest, Hrant Küçüküzelyan, was condemned by Military Tribunal No. 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Command to a 16-month prison term. He is charged by the military prosecutor with "having made racist propaganda and having weakened national feelings." (*Cumhuriyet*, February 27, 1982).

#### MOTION ON ARMENIAN QUESTION

On behalf of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament, Chairman Ernest Glinne and Mrs Dupont tabled on September 20, 1983, a motion for a resolution on a political solution to the Armenian question.

"Having regard to the upsurge in terrorist attacks organized by groups of Armenians, who claim responsibility for them,

"whereas the necessary suppression of terrorism will not eliminate the injustices on which these groups base their actions,

"whereas violence is not the principal means of expression of the Armenian communities, their major political organizations having proposed other solutions which have so far been rejected,

"whereas the right of cultural and linguistic ethnic minorities to recognition of their identity presupposes recognition of their history,

"whereas the Armenian people have been deprived of their history by the Turkish Government, which, by refusing to admit to the genocide of 1915, is obliterating the historical reality of Armenia,"

The Socialist Group proposes:

"To protest strongly at the attacks which discredit the cause they claim to support,

"To express solidarity with the victims of these attacks,

"To call on the Council of Ministers of the EEC

a) to declare its recognition of the genocide,

b) to obtain recognition by the Turkish Government of the historical fact of the 1915 genocide,

c) to convince the Government of Turkey that a just and lasting solution to the Turkish-Armenian problem can only be found by establishing a political dialogue, and

d) to obtain an identical declaration from the UN."

selves and for the victims of the events of the First World War. Their moral demands become more vociferous the more the Turkish Government minimizes the Armenian reality or questions their loyalty towards the Ottoman Government. Lastly, there is the other 'third generation', a faction of which engages in acts of terrorism against everything emanating from the Turkish State. The main terrorism army movement is called ASALA. It has carried out many attacks and, according to reports, lost all links with the Armenian nationalists in the Diaspora after the attack at Orly in 1982."

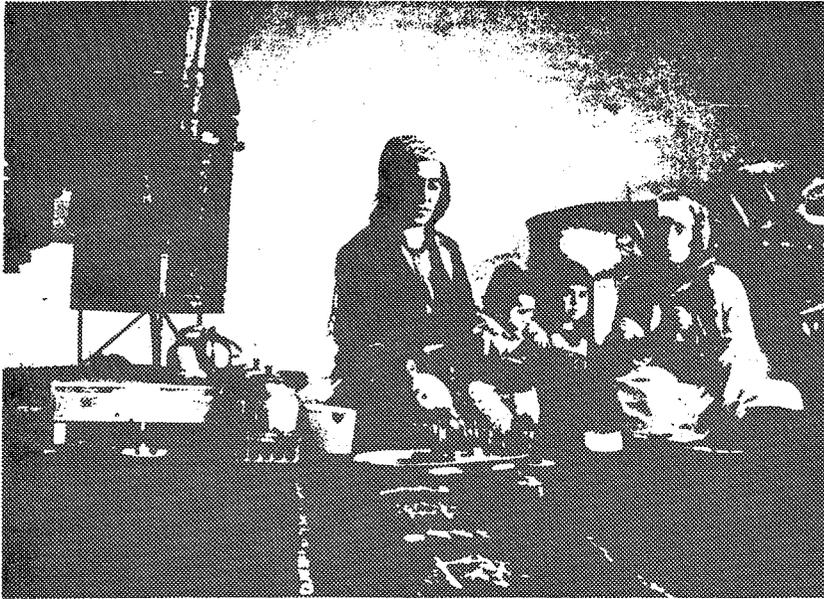
After analysing the positions and arguments of the different parties, the rapporteur comes to the following conclusion:

"The events in Turkey affecting the Armenians during the war period of 1915-1917 must be described as *genocide* within the meaning of the UN Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

"Recognition of these facts by the European Parliament, as the only directly elected international parliament in the world, is in keeping with its mission to regard violations of human rights and rights of peoples as a matter of international concern and to expose such violations. It is plain that the present Turkish government cannot be made at all responsible for the acts of genocide committed by the Young Turks. The present rulers are, however,

the heirs of the Turkish State on the territory of which these events occurred. In view of this fact, the Turkish Government can no longer deny the history of the Turkish-Armenian question and the element of genocide. Recognition of these events will of course only have moral consequences but Turkey would thereby implicitly play a special preventive role in consolidating respect for human rights in the international community. Moreover, such recognition would eliminate one of the main reasons for the senseless, desperate and inexcusable acts of terrorism committed by splinter groups from the Armenian diaspora.

"In this process of recognition the various states also have a special, albeit indirect, responsibility on account of their interests at the time which did not do enough to prevent the crime or even indirectly facilitated the crime. Furthermore, the role of the European Community should not be confined solely to moral recognition of the Armenian genocide. Within the framework of European Political Cooperation, the Ten should speak out with one voice in the United Nations to ensure that the Human Rights Committee includes the Armenian genocide in its report on the prevention and punishment of genocide. This is the appropriate international forum where, seventy years after the events, a political solution is possible to the Armenian question."



In Eastern Anatolia, whatever their origin, all people, Kurd, Turk, Armenian or Assyrian, live in an absolute poverty while a handful landlords are getting richer and richer by mercilessly exploiting them



## CHAPTER II

The powerlessness of the Turkish army before the Kurdish guerilla movement which has been developing since August 1984, on the one hand, and on the other, the penetration of Iranian forces in Iraq's oilfields have given rise to speculations regarding the possible plans of the Turkish Army to invade Northern Iraq. After the Iranian penetration in Iraqi territory straightaway, several *scenarios* relating to the future of the Iran-Iraq war and Turkish implication in this war began to appear in the most prestigious dailies of the West.

On the other hand, the National Liberation Front of Kurdistan (ERNK) its decision to pass from the phase of local armed actions up to the phase of a guerrilla war throughout Kurdistan. As for the Christian minorities, while the religious and ethnical pressures are being carried out as before, the European Parliament has adopted a resolution recognizing Armenian genocide and calling on the Community Member States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews.

This chapter groups the information given from September 1986 up to September 1987 in the monthly Info-Türk newsletters.

An article appeared in the *International Herald Tribune* of November 1st, 1986 reads:

"Turkey borders the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union supports Syria, while conducting a war in still another Moslem country, Afghanistan. Turkey's two other neighbors, Iran and Iraq, are in the sixth year of a pitiless war. 'What other country has neighbors like ours?' a Turk asks.

"Turkey's insecurity is real, as is its interest in alliance with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United States. It maintains a half-million-man army (in a population of 52 million), the largest NATO military force outside the USA. It is justified in doing so.

"But insecurity and dependence produce a sense of victimization as well, which takes as its object the United States, this indispensable ally which —Turks say— nevertheless does too little in support step for which Turks will have to pay the price.

"Earlier this month, a commando from Iran, apparently acting with help from autonomy-minded Kurdish tribesman, raided the Kirkuk oilfields in Iraq. These fields are roughly equidistant from Iran and Turkey, some 150 miles (243 kilometers) into Iraq. Turkey, gets much of its oil from Kirkuk, has a substantial pipeline income from the oilfield, fears Kurdish autonomy, and has a historical claim to the Kirkuk region, which is peopled by Turks.

"The Iranian raid prompted what a leading Turkish daily called 'a scenario being discussed in the diplomatic and political lobbies of Ankara.'

"The scenario goes as follows:

"1. Iran's forthcoming offensive breaks through Iraqi defenses.

"2. Turkey invades Iraq to take Kirkuk before Iranian forces arrive.

"3. The Soviet Union threatens Turkey.

"4. The United States sends its Rapid Deployment Force, ostensibly to defend the Turks, actually to support their preemptive seizure of Kirkuk and its oil for the West.

"The Turkish opposition replied 'this scenario looks as if it is cooked up by the

USA'; America, opposition figures aid, wants to punish Iran as well as to deny Kirkuk's oil to Iran and its ally, Syria. The outcome, these Turks say, would be US forces permanently in Turkey, and 'Tur-key's independence reduced to zero.'

"On October 16, the Turkish foreign minister denied that his country had any intention of invading Iraq and restated Turkey's neutrality in the Gulf War."

However, that same day, the daily *Milliyet* referring to reliable sources, publicized the "national motives" for Turkish intervention:

"More than one million Turks live in Mosul and Kirkuk regions. At the beginning of the National Liberation War of Turkey (1919), these regions figured inside the borders claimed by the national liberation movement. But, after the war, this question could not be resolved in a favorable way because of Turkey's weakness at the time, and the Mosul and Kirkuk regions were left to Great Britain. However, Turkey historically has right to these regions.

"o Turkey imports a large part of its oil needs from Iraq. Most of Iraqi oil comes by way of a pipe-line. Furthermore, Turkey annually receives \$300 million in exchange for the location of this pipeline to third parties. Ankara cannot accept a threat to its economic interests.

"o In case of the collapse of the rule of Saddam Hossein, Iraq could fall apart. By profiting from this situation, the Kurds could obtain a more advantageous position in northern Iraq. They have already been strengthened thanks to the lack of power in this country. Moreover, the separatists of Turkey are based in this region."

In another article, *Milliyet* reported that the amount of petroleum transported from Kirkuk in Iraq to Yumurtalik in Turkey by means of the pipeline annually rises to 46.5 million tons. This exportation of petroleum furnishes Iraq with an annual revenue of six billion dollars. The length of the pipeline crossing Turkish territory is 641 kilometers. Turkey has already ordered the enlargement of the pipeline by an association of Turkish and Ital-

ian companies. After the realization of this project, the volume of petroleum to transport will rise to 70 million tons and Turkey's annual location revenue will climb to \$500 million from the present 300 million.

According to another report, Turkey also has vital interests on the Habour-Bagdad route which assures Turkish exportation to Middle East countries. This route is also well exposed to threat from Kurdish partisans supported by Iran.

On August 15, 1986, the Turkish army, without taking account of Teheran's possible reaction, bombarded Kurdish villages, and some days later, a unit of the special forces entered Iraqi territory with the aim of arresting Kurdish militants taking refuge in this region.

This air operation was done as a "hot pursuit", affirming that one country can send its armed forces into another "in the case of compelling necessity."

Although the Turkish Consultation requires parliamentary consultation before any military action be undertaken outside national territory, this "hot pursuit" operation was decreed by the government using its "special powers" without consulting Parliament.

This *fait accompli* was the subject of a parliamentary debate two weeks later and the government on September 3, 1986, introduced in the National Assembly a motion aimed at making deputies approve this operation.

During debates on the motion, it was warned that reference to the right of "hot pursuit" was a very risky blunder in the international arena, because this right could only be used on the high seas. According to experts, recourse to this principle in air or ground operations can justify a possible hit back from the neighboring country and can drag Turkey into an unforeseen war.

March 4, 1987... Turkish jets attacked three villages in northern Iraq which Ankara claimed were Kurdish guerilla bases. International press agencies report that at least 100 people were killed. The Turkish Minister of State, Hasan Celal Güzel, said the 30-minute air raid was carried out un-

der an agreement with the Iraqi government for hot pursuit of "rebels" by Turkish forces. He said the 30 planes bombed camps, hide-outs and caches in the Sirat, Era and Alanis areas.

However, a spokesman of the guerilla movement (BRNK) led by the PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan) said that their fighters carry out their struggle within the territory of the Republic of Turkey and there were not any *pesmergers* in the said region; "Those who were killed by using napalm bombs are not our fighters, but only innocent peasants," he said.

The Kurdish guerilla attacks and the Turkish air raid represent a serious escalation of the undeclared war between the Turkish Army and the ERNK. The guerillas stage hit-and-run attacks on Turkish military garrisons and settlements near the border.

An electrified fence flanked by watch-towers and minefields runs along the unbroken length of the order. But in the high mountains between Turkey and Iraq it is almost impossible to maintain a closed border. During the last six months, as the Iran-Iraq War has escalated in the south, there has been a build up of Turkish forces close to the Iraqi border in the north. Hundreds of West German-built Leopard and upgraded American M47 and M48 battle tanks have moved by rail to bases at Siirt and Tatvan in the Kurdish region.

According to the *Financial Time* of March 5, 1987, "the attacks have dented the assumption that Turkey's military hold on the area was too strong even to challenge."

In reality, the Turkish army is already present in Iraqi territory, thanks to the weakness of the Bagdad regime. According to the German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, with the Iraqi government's consent some 2,500 Turkish soldiers have been given orders to protect this route in Iraqi territory against Kurdish attacks. The Turkish seizure of northern Iraq will only be a simple formality if the Bagdad government collapses in the face of new Kurdish-iranian offensive.

The National Security Council, an organ above the government composed of top

commanders of the army and certain ministers, met on October 27, 1986, under the presidency of the General Evren and evaluated in depth the situation in the region.

Taking account of the inevitable reaction against annexation of the Mosul and Kirkuk region in world opinion, the expansionist milieu in Turkey speak of another formula, one more digestible: the proclamation of a Turkish Republic of Kirkuk.

This solution has already been applied in Cyprus in proclaiming the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus under the presidency of Rauf Denktas, confidant of the Turkish generals. For the latter, it will not be difficult to find a new Denktas from the Kirkuk region.

The idea of proclaiming a Turkish republic in this region under the omnipresence of the Turkish Army found a theoretician in the person of Professor Aydin Yalçin, one of the civilian brains of the 1980 military coup.

However, whatever the formulas to be implemented may be this adventurist idea has already been the object of violent reaction in political circles. For example, the former minister of foreign affairs Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil attributed this idea to the Turkish neo-fascist movement and expressed his anxiety in these terms: "In the present conjuncture such an action would be obviously adventurist. Turkey should never be expansionist."

As for another former foreign affairs minister, Mr Hasan Esat Isik, he is of the opinion that behind the whole scenario is the United States: "Turkey's interest depends on stability in the region. We should not change our policy of neutrality regarding the Iran-Iraqi war. Although the Turks in Greece are under pressure, the United States makes a big deal only about the fate of Turks in Bulgaria. And recently added to that has been the fate of Turks in the Soviet Union. The Kirkuk affair is an American trap. The West wants to stop Iran and punish it. To this end, they wish to use Turkey. Perhaps Israel and some moderate Arab countries wish to say 'yes' to such a solution. But on the international scale, Turkey will find itself isolated.

Our state should not be based on race and religion. Such an action can drag us into an affair whose end is uncertain."

During the past two years the Turkish Government has been extending its policy of arming village "protectors" (korucu) and paying them to root out "separatist" elements in the countryside. ERNK fighters have been waging a campaign against these people who "collaborate" with the Turkish authorities. Recently, peshmergas raided on February 21 and 24 in the provinces of Siirt and Hakkari, the houses of two "protectors" and killed 16 people in total and wounded 13.

On February 20, a Turkish engineer working at a construction in Northern Iraq was kidnapped. Turkish Government claims that it was an act of Kurdish "separatists".

Ankara justifies the last air raid as a retaliation for these Kurdish attacks.

However, it does not seem logical to gather two third of Turkish troops in this region for cracking down on a handful Kurdish guerillas and the anxiety grows that all these preparations, in fact, aim at the occupation of Kirkuk and Mousul oil zones in Iraq by the Turkish Army.

### State Terrorism in the East

After the first bombing of Iraqi territory by the Turkish Phantoms under the pretext of wiping out the last pockets of resistance by Kurdish militants, the Turkish Army let loose a new wave of terrorism in the Kurdish of Turkey.

A group of populist deputies (SHP) after having made an inquiry visit in this region, announced on September 5, 1986, to the press that reigned on atmosphere of horror and intimidation without precedent in the East of Turkey. According to the opposition deputies observation:

- Intimidation and fear is attaining such a level that the citizens, fearing that they will be harassed by the security forces for what they say, refuse to speak, even with the deputies they themselves elected.

- The militia, charged by the govern-

ment with preventing Kurdish militants from entering the villages, abuse their power. Even people who have nothing to do with the Kurdish resistance are killed or threatened by this militia for a simple rule of personal account.

- Since the government promised a premium of 2.5 million TL for each information leading to identifying a suspect, one has noticed a sharp increase in the number of denunciations which often have no basis. In an area where average annual income is hardly TL 250,000 (\$350), such a high sum incites citizens to be stool pigeons.

- Corruption and contraband are becoming more and more widespread among the state officials in the region.

- The citizens (Kurds) who don't know the Turkish language are submitted to arbitrary pressure and are constantly humiliated and maltreated.

- The underdevelopment in the region continues as before and the State only exists there as a coercive force. Consequently, the confrontation between the population and the army is taking on an alarming scale.

A few months after another parliamentary mission had a similar conclusion. Two populist deputies (SHP), Vecihi Atakli and Kenan Nehrozoglu, after having made a series of on the spot contacts with people, announced at a press conference on November 30, 1986, that the security forces, under the pretext of pursuing partisans, submitted the peasants to ongoing terrorism. In areas under martial law especially, this terrorizing had reached intolerable dimensions.

According to the two parliamentarians, 25 peasants of the district of Idil in Mardin province were taken as hostages by the commander of the region as a way of obtaining information about a suspect.

These peasants were kept from 8 o'clock in the morning to 8 in the night. An old man of 105 was also among them.

As for the other peasants, they have been obliged to obtain special permission to be able to work their land.

The parliamentarians added that along with these practices of terror and especial-

ly the arming of certain peasants as militia, the State contributes to the aggravation of traditional hostilities between certain local tribes. Certain tribes whose members have been designated as militia abuse their power to get even with opposing tribes. (*Info-Türk*, September 1986)

### All People of a Village are Beaten up

The population of the village of Güzelöz, in the district of Gercüs of the Mardin province, revealed in a common petition addressed to the Chairman of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) that security forces had raided their village on April 9-10, 1987, and beaten up all adult people for obtaining information on the whereabouts of Kurdish guerillas.

During the investigation carried out by the members of Parliament, the villagers told the following facts:

"In the afternoon of April 9, the gendarmes entered in our village and gathered all men in garden of the school. Then, they took twelve of them to the gendarmerie station in Ulas. After being completely naked there, they were beaten up until 3 a.m. by gendarmes. Among those beaten up were also two school teachers and the village headman.

"Next day, after the release of them, about 500 gendarmes raided again the village. While all people were being taken again to the school garden, gendarmes searched every house of the village. When they failed to find anything related to Kurdish militants, they released women, but beat one by one all men gathered in the garden. This brutality continued until 3 p.m. During the beating, they completely naked a man and exhibited him to all women through the window. They tortured also four children by giving electric current to their mouth in order to obtain any information about the wanted militants. Because of bleeding from mouth, we had to take these children to a hospital in Batman after the razzia ended."

### Super Governor and Super Commander to the Turkish Kurdistan

Elazığ, Bingöl and Van were immediately placed under the authority of a "super-governor", Hayri Kozakcioglu, who has taken over all arbitrary powers of martial law commanders.

Claiming that neither regular army units nor local police forces can crack down on the Kurdish Guerilla who carries out a series of attacks on the security forces and pro-government villages, the Government set up, on August 19, 1987, a special Army Corps in the Turkish Kurdistan and named a super-commander to the head of this special war unit.

### Deportation of Kurdish Villagers

A new repressive measure aimed at Kurdish people was unveiled by the daily *Cumhuriyet* of February 15, 1987: Deportation of 50,000 villagers of Tunceli (Dersim) to the western provinces of Turkey. To provide them with lands to be opened to agriculture in the provinces of Antalya, Mersin, Mugla and Izmir.

Dersim has been the center of many Kurdish uprisings in the course of the Republic's history and thousands of Kurdish villagers have been massacred by the Turkish Army. Since the last military coup, most repressive practices have been carried out in this province; Even after the foundation of civilian government, the governor of the province dismissed all public servants of Kurdish origin, by claiming that all of them were connected with outlawed Kurdish organizations.

On the other hand, so as to better put Kurdish villagers of other provinces under State control, the government has implemented a new plan aimed at grouping together the villages in the East.

Although martial law ended on July 19, 1987, throughout Turkey, the same day, eight provinces of the Turkish Kurdistan, Diyarbakir, Hakkari, Mardin, Siirt, Tunceli,

Originally, this was an idea of former social-democrat prime minister Ecevit, but with another aim: to give more effective social services by including the little hamlets in "urban villages".

The government decided to put this plan into practice in the aim of creating some sort of big concentration camp. According to the press, 4,350 villages will be grouped into these new residence zones.

### A Foreign Reporter's Findings in the Turkish Kurdistan

Following are the extracts from an interview given to CEDRI in March 1987 by a European journalist who is the Turkey correspondent for several well-known daily newspapers:

*Question: In Europe there is much talk of the "democratization" of Turkey. You have travelled a lot in the country and particularly in Turkish Kurdistan. What then are your impressions?*

"There is no way that one can speak of democratization. The measures introduced by the government could be compared to those taken during the Second World War. People have no rights. The presence of policemen and soldiers is so overwhelming that there are about three soldiers for each civilian. In certain villages the population is not allowed the right to possess sufficient provisions. The press reports that each peasant only has the right to the food he needs on a day to day basis. Otherwise, he is suspected of supporting terrorists or separatists.

"Two weeks ago, the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* wrote that 9 million persons were to be evacuated. That is probably not true, but it is safe to assume that over 100,000 persons will be transferred by force. The government is trying to establish a dead zone along the border with Iraq and Iran, what they call a security zone. There exists a plan to relocate these people in new towns which would be built in the plans where there are no forests or mountains -so that it is easy to control the population, even by plane. The hous-

es are generally built out of corrugated iron and life is impossible in them. There is another plan to turn these deported Kurds into a sub-proletariat in the large cities of Western Turkey -Izmir, Istanbul, Ankara and Adana, where there are no means of gaining a livelihood. Unemployment in Turkey is over 20% and there is no accommodation, work, nothing. They can only vegetate there.

*Question: We have heard that there is a curfew in many regions...*

"Over 1500 special units were brought to the region three months ago. They are called the "black beetles" or "super-commandos". Many of them have been trained in West Germany or in the United States and are equipped with ultra-modern weapons. They are also notorious for their Alsatian dogs. After 10 o'clock at night or midnight, depending on the area, the civilian population is not permitted to leave their houses. According to the Chairman of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP), these dogs are not fed throughout the day and are let loose in the villages at night. The one who leaves his house is attacked by the dogs.

*Question: What happens during a razzia in a village?*

"Early in the morning, policemen and soldiers surround the village. The entire population is assembled by force on the village square where some are tortured and the women are often raped. Worst of all for the peasants is that all of their harvest is confiscated, their possessions are stolen, even family heirlooms. These objects are later sold by the soldiers to supplement their miserable wages. These razzias are no more than torture, rape and robbery. I was not able to visit these villages myself as it is forbidden for foreigners to enter these regions and I was kept under constant surveillance by the police. But I have met many inhabitants of these villages who have sought refuge in towns.

*Question: What is the situation in the prisons in Kurdistan?*

"There is Mardin prison which has a sinister reputation. It is situated on a hill above the Syrian plain. Right at the top

there is a NATO base from which one can see the whole of the Syrian plain and far into Iraq. This base was attacked by the PKK last August. The prison is just below the base. There is not one single tree in the area around the prison. The cells measure one meter by two meters and temperatures rise to 50 degrees in summer while the winters are very harsh. Recently a new prison was built in Kurdistan about which nobody speaks. It is at Siirt and is to become the new torture center for Kurds. Up until now, Diyarbakir prison fulfilled this function, but many European delegations have come to Diyarbakir. This is the reason why the new center was opened at Siirt six months ago. Siirt is near the Syrian border. Kurds from this region have told me that there are already over 3000 prisoners there. Hardly anyone knows about the prison, even Amnesty International. In Diyarbakir prison there are now about 4000 prisoners, in spite of the fact that it was built for only 360 inmates.

*Question: What do you think of the recent bombing raids by the Turkish air force against Kurdish villages in Iraq?*

"400 civilians were killed in the recent bombings on Kurdish villages in Iraq. The explanation given of a revenge action against the PKK is absurd. The PKK and Barzani's men are guerrilla armies operating outside the villages. The last bombings in 1986 had already caused civilian victims. Many villages have been destroyed and winter is very hard at the moment. Where are all the inhabitants of these villages to go? Here in Europe nobody is interested. It seems to be accepted that it is an act of vengeance.

"I think that the Turkish airforce's bombing raids against the Kurds in Iraq are in fact the first step in the invasion of Kirkuk and Mosul. This plan to control the Kirkuk region became known in Turkey six months ago when a retired general revealed it. This resulted in considerable discussion in the press and in parliament and, ever since, there have been regular articles explaining Turkey's legitimate claim to the region. In order to justify this claim to public opinion they say that

there are a million Turks living in the area. Over the last three months there have been many newspaper reports saying that this Turkish minority suffers oppression. It is possible that the Turks will once again play the role of liberators of their minorities abroad; such an argument would certainly find approval at least in Turkish public opinion.

"There was recently an important meeting of various NATO generals at Diyarbakir which received no publicity. A detailed plan was established: should the Iraqi army no longer be able to resist against Iran, Turkey would occupy Kirkuk and Mosul; the Soviet Union would oppose this and this would provide a pretext for the United States to send their Rapid Deployment Force in order to support their Turkish ally. They would be able to publicly establish military bases in the region, using the pretext of the Soviet threat. They have already begun the construction of certain infrastructures, but only in this way could they justify the sending of the RDF."

### Passage to the Phase of Guerilla War

The representative of the National Liberation Front of Kurdistan (ERNK), during a press conference held on May 6, 1987, in Brussels, announced that the Central Committee of the front decided on April 30, 1987, to pass from the phase of local armed actions up to the phase of a guerrilla war throughout Kurdistan, and with this end in view, to equip the Popular Liberation Army of Kurdistan (ARGK), issued from the Liberation Unity of Kurdistan (HRK).

ERNK underlines that this popular war is being carried out under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK).

The ARGK guerilla units carry on to give serious blows to the Army detachments as well as to the villages supporting the government forces.

According to the daily Tercüman of September 24, 1987, since the beginning of this year, Kurdish guerillas have killed

165 people in total during their raids on pro-governmental villages:

January 21, in Uludere: 8 dead and 8 wounded,

January 23, in Midyat, 10 dead and 5 wounded,

February 22, in Uludere, 14 dead and 9 wounded,

March 14, in Sirmak (Siirt), 8 dead,

April 28, in Semdinli (Hakkari), 13 dead,

June 5, in Hozat (Tunceli), 4 dead and 8 wounded,

June 21, in Pinarcik, 30 dead and 3 wounded,

July 9, in Hakkari, 29 dead,

August 19, in Eruh (Siirt), 25 dead,

August 21, in Dargecit (Mardin), 5 dead,

August 30, in Sirmak (Siirt), 4 dead and 4 wounded,

September 3, in Omerli (Mardin), 8 dead,

September 22, in Sirmak (Siirt), 11 dead.

The Government accuses the Kurdish guerilla of killing children and babies as well during raids. In response, the ARGK, the guerilla unit led by the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK), argues that it is a state of war in which accidental deaths are always possible and that first the Turkish Army should give the account of the innocent people massacred during raids.

### Last Figures on the Losses in Armed Conflicts

According to the official figures, the death toll in the guerillas' campaign, started on August 15, 1983, has reached over to 542 of whom 168 are soldiers or policemen and 374 villagers. A further 285 Kurdish militants have been killed and 9,512 "suspects" detained. Of the latter, 2,811 have been sent to military tribunals and 1,612 others to criminal courts.

As for the 8 and a half year period from the proclamation of martial law in 1979 up to now, according to official figures, 4,053 people died in armed confrontations and 59,701 tried before military tribunals in the Turkish Kurdistan. In the same period, Kurdish militants have carried out

10,110 armed attacks, 6,790 sabotages and 1,288 demonstrations or protest actions without official permission.

### Arrest and Condemnation of Kurdish Personalities

18.6.86: Eleven public servants of the National Statistics Institute are tried before the State Security Court on the charge of "separatism". They are held responsible for having introduced the Kurdish language among languages under the heading of "What languages do you speak?" on the forms which had been used during the 1980 and 1985 censuses. The public prosecutor accuses them of listing "a dialect

of the Turkish language" as a distinct language of itself.

24.6.86: Professor Abdulmecit Dogru, chairman of the Alpinism Federation, was forced to resign from his post for having given guide certificates to Kurdish militants and for having assigned them to the Ararat Mountain.

10.9.86: In Izmir, a tourist guide, Ersin Konuk is brought before the State Security Court for having posted up a historic map in his office, a map showing regions inhabited by Kurds and Armenians. He faces a prison term up to 15 years for separatist propaganda.

24.2.1987: Famous folk singer Ibrahim Tatlis was indicted by public prosecutor for having sung two Kurdish ballads at a cultural soirée organized in Sweden. Facing

### LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION IN TURKEY

The Socialist Party of the Kurdistan of Turkey (TKSP) publicized information which gave evidence of linguistic and ethnic discrimination in Turkey. This concerns Law N° 2832, adopted by the National Assembly on October 19, 1983, and published in the Official Journal of October 22, 1983.

This law about publication in languages other than Turkish describes the Turkish language as the mother tongue of all citizens of Turkey.

"Article 3 - The mother tongue of the Turkish citizen is Turkish. It is forbidden:

"a) to develop any form of activity in which any language other than Turkish is used or spread as the mother tongue;

"b) to carry, in demonstrations or parades, banners or placards or other signs written in languages other than Turkish or to send out broadcasts or emissions on records, music-cassettes, video-cassettes or other media in language other than Turkish, even if these languages are not forbidden, without permission from the highest authority in the region."

Languages which cannot be used for the communication and spread of ideas are defined by the law in these terms:

"Article 2 - It is forbidden to communicate, propagate, or diffuse ideas in languages other than those which are the first official languages of the States recognized by the Turkish State, under reservation of the provisions of the treaties or accords of which the State of Turkey is a party and the provisions of the legislation relating to the publications of educational, scientific research or public organizations and institutions."

The law declares that whoever goes against these bans will be liable and may receive prison terms of up to three years and that all publications in languages other than Turkish will be confiscated on the decision of justices of the peace. In case of delay, the administrative authorities can order confiscation without waiting for the judge's decision. (*Info-Türk*, October 1986)

a prison term of up to 5 years for "harmful propaganda" abroad, he is tried at the State Security Court in Istanbul.

2.6.1987: The Governor of the province of Izmir bans folk singer Hasan Papur to sing in public places and prevented his concert in Izmir. Papur who sings his songs in Turkish words had been indicted some time ago for having sung some songs in Kurdish. However, his trial at military tribunal had been ended in acquittal. Despite this judgment, the Governor of Izmir considers Papur suspect.

### New Discrimination Against Kurds

The weekly *2000'e Dogru* made public a circular of the Land Forces Headquarters ordering all military units to give no more duty of guard in critical zones to those soldiers whose birth place is in Eastern Anatolia.

The circular carries the date of June 30, 1986, but General Necdet Öztörün, the then commander of the Land Forces and recently retired, said that he was not aware of such an order and threw the responsibility to some other staff officers.

Whosoever is the responsible, this circular has been in force for one year and constitutes a new discrimination against the Kurdish origin citizens of Turkey. Since the existence of a Kurdish people is officially denied and there is no official register showing the ethnical origin of citizens, all those who were born in the the eastern and south-eastern part of the country are suspect in the eyes of army chiefs. (*Info-Türk*, July/August 1987)

### Motion on the Oppression of Kurds

Two members of European Parliament, Vandemeulebroucke and Kuijpers, tabled on January 29, 1987, a motion of a resolution on the consequences of the Iran-Iraqi War and general Turkish oppression of the Kurdish population in the neighboring Turkish regions. The motion reads:

"The European Parliament,  
"A. whereas the situation in the Iran-Iraqi war currently favors Iran,

"B. whereas this situation offers the Turkish Republic the opportunity to carry out earlier plans in connection with the Mosul and Kirkuk region of Iraq,

"C. Referring to the Turkish dream of annexing this region, which is rich in oil and where Iraq mines 2/3 of its petroleum, which it transports via a pipeline through the Kurdish region (South and Northwest Kurdistan) to the Turkish ports of Adana and Yumurtalik, allegedly to protect it against invasion by the Iranians,

"D. whereas certain circles in Turkey recently made repeated claims to the effect that the region of Mosul and Kirkuk (really a part of south Kurdistan) belonged to the Turkish Republic and that they had lost it only through 'a historical injustice',

"E. whereas these same circles now announce that the moment has come to right this 'historical injustice',

"F. whereas a number of observers have already strongly contended that the United Nations has the firm intention of holding Iran in check and wants to use Turkey to that end,

"G. whereas, at the same time, this gives Turkey the chance to act against the Kurdish freedom fighters, for whom this region is something of a hinterland,

"H. whereas the freedom movements in Northwest Kurdistan regularly succeed in striking serious blows against the Turkish Republic,

"I. Referring to earlier reports of Turkish terrorist activities in the Kurdish regions,

"J. whereas the Kurdish inhabitants of the Mardin province, for example, are harassed in all possible ways: the ban on sowing during the sowing period, with impoverishing effects, arbitrary arrests and torture, intimidation and niggling controls etc., and this in reprisal for the activities of the freedom movements,

"1. Condemns in the strongest terms any invasion by Turkey of the region of Mosul and Kirkuk,

"2. Calls on the United States not in

any way to incite or approve of such an invasion;

"3. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to protest strongly against the occupation by Turkey of the region in question;

"4. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation likewise

to protest to the Turkish authorities against the repeated violations of human rights affecting the civilian population in the so-called Kurdish regions;

"5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation and to the Turkish and US Governments."

### A Magazine Confiscated for Publishing Atatürk's Words on the Kurdish Question

The pressure on the publications of opposition has attained, in August 1987, to an unimaginable level with the confiscation of the weekly magazine *2000'e Dogru* for having published Atatürk's words on the Kurdish Question. The fact that even the words of the founder of the Republic of Turkey can be censored has given rise to a big reaction in Turkey as well as abroad.

On January 16, 1923, just after the victory of the National Liberation War, Mustafa Kemal (later on named Atatürk, father of Turks), held a press conference in Izmir and said:

"Our new constitution provides that a kind of autonomous local administrations will be set up. So, if the population of a province is Kurdish, they will have self-government. Besides, when we talk of the people of Turkey, we should mention them (Kurds) as well. If it is not done, they (Kurds) may create some problems for this reason. In present, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) is composed of both Kurdish and Turkish deputies."

Though appeared in the newspapers of January 16 and 17, 1923, this declaration of Atatürk has never been reprinted, even in the academic works edited by the Turkish History Institution (TTK), for 64 years.

The left-wing *2000'e Dogru* has, thanks to an insistent work, found the minutes of this important interview written in Arabic letters and put them in the August 30-September 5, 1987, issue.

However, the public prosecutor, apparently informed beforehand, immediately reacted and order the police to confiscate all copies in printing house. Two days after the confiscation, the State Security Court of Istanbul issued a warrant for the confiscation of the magazine.

In addition to the material losses of the magazine, its responsible editor, Mrs. Fatma Yazici risks a heavy prison term by virtue of Articles 142/3 and 312/2 of the Turkish Penal Code, borrowed from the Penal Code of Mussolini.

The confiscation of a periodical even in printing house before distribution has been made possible with the modification of the Turkish Press Code in 1983.

On the application of this censorship even on Atatürk's own words, editors and renowned writers of Turkey's main newspapers and news agencies such as Sabah, Bulvar, Zaman, Tercüman, Cumhuriyet, Günes, Milliyet, Dünya, Yeni Gündem, Nokta, Söz, UBA, ANKA as well as the journalist associations have issued a joint communiqué protesting against this practice and asking for modification of the Turkish Press Code. (*Info-Türk*, September 1987)

### A French Guide Accused of Separatism

A French national, Mr. Michel Caraminot was arrested in the eastern city of Sanliurfa for carrying some touristic material showing some parts of Turkey as Armenia and Kurdistan, and brought, on August 26, 1987, before the State Security Court of Diyarbakir.

The public prosecutor requested for the defendant a prison term up to 12 years for separatist propaganda

### Demolition of Christian Edifices

The weekly 2000'e Dogru of August 9-15, 1987, reports that many Armenian edifices in Turkey are not protected as historical monuments and all of them are subjected to natural destruction or pillaging.

According to the article, Yedi Kiliseler (The Seven Churches) and the Varak Monastery in the province of Van, built in the 16th Century as an education center, are now used as stable.

Also the Churches of Kacit and Elmacik have turned out ruins. As for the bridge over the Catak stream, the Armenian inscriptions on this edifice have been erased on the order of the Committee for the Protection of Historical Monuments.

The daily Cumhuriyet of May 13, 1987, reports that, in the district of Nusaybin of the Mardin province, the Assyrian Monastery Meryakup has been abandoned by the local Christian population who have fled Turkey in last years. Presently, a Moslem family with 9 children live in this edifice.

### Europe's Armenian Resolution and Ankara's Counter-attack

After a series of debates at its commission on Mr. Vandemeulebroeck's report, The European Parliament, on June 18, 1987, in Strasbourg, adopted a resolution recognizing Armenian genocide committed in 1915-1917 by the Young Turk Government of the Ottoman Empire and calling on the Communi-

ty Member States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews.

Adopted by 68 votes against 60 and 42 abstentions, the resolution also accuses the Turkish Government of refusing to acknowledge this genocide, being reluctant to apply the principles of international law to its differences of opinion with Greece, maintaining occupation forces in Cyprus and denying the existence of the Kurdish question.

#### The Resolution reads:

"The European Parliament, "convinced that recognition of the identity of the Armenian people in Turkey as an ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious minority follows on from recognition of its own history,

"whereas the Armenian side regards these events as planned genocide within the meaning of the 48 UN Charter,

"whereas the Turkish State rejects the charge of genocide as unfounded,

"whereas, to date, the Turkish Government, by refusing to recognize the genocide of 1915, continues to deprive the Armenian people of the right to their own history,

"whereas the historically proven Armenian genocide has so far neither been the object of political condemnation nor received due compensation,

"whereas the recognition of the Armenian genocide by Turkey must therefore be reviewed as a profoundly humane act of moral rehabilitation towards the Armenians, which can only bring honor to the Turkish Government;

"profoundly regretting and condemning the mindless terrorism by groups of Armenians who were responsible between 1973 and 1986 for several attacks causing death or injury to innocent victims and deplored by an overwhelming majority of the Armenian people,

"whereas the obdurate stance of every Turkish Government towards the Armenian question has in no way helped to reduce the tension,

"1. Believes that the Armenian ques-

tion and the question of minorities in Turkey must be resituated within the framework of relations between Turkey and the Community; points out that democracy cannot be solidly implanted in a country unless the latter recognizes and enriches its history with its ethnic and cultural diversity;

"2. Believes that the tragic events in 1915-1917 involving the Armenians living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide within the meaning of the convention on the prevention and the punishment of the crime of genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948; recognizes, however, that the present Turkey cannot be held responsible for the tragedy experienced by the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and stresses that neither political nor legal or material claims against present-day Turkey can be derived from the recognition of this historical event as an act of genocide;

"3. Calls on the Council to obtain from the present Turkish Government an acknowledgment of the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915-1917 and promote the establishment of a political dialogue between Turkey and the representatives of the Armenians;

"4. Believes that the refusal by the present Turkish Government to acknowledge the genocide against the Armenian people committed by the Young Turk government, its reluctance to apply the principles of international law to its differences of opinion with Greece, the maintenance of Turkish occupation forces in Cyprus and the denial of the existence of the Kurdish question, together with the lack of true parliamentary democracy and the failure to respect individual and collective freedoms, in particular freedom of religion, in that country are insurmountable obstacles to consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community;

"5. Conscious of those past misfortunes, supports its desire for the development of a specific identity, the securing of its minority rights and the unrestricted exercise of its people's human and civil rights as

defined in the European Convention on Human Rights and its five protocols;

"6. Calls for fair treatment of the Armenian minority in Turkey as regards their identity, language, religion, culture and school system, and makes an emphatic plea for improvements in the care of monuments and for the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey and invites the Community to examine how it could make an appropriate contribution;

"7. Calls on Turkey in this connection to abide faithfully by the provisions for the protection of the non-Moslem minorities as stipulated in Articles 37 to 45 of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne which, moreover, was signed by most Member States of the Community;

"8. Considers that the protection of monuments and the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey must be regarded as part of a wider policy designed to preserve the cultural heritage of all civilizations which have developed over the centuries on present-day Turkish territory and, in particular, that of the Christian minorities that formed part of the Ottoman Empire;

"9. Calls therefore on the Community to extend the Association Agreement with Turkey to the cultural field so that the remains of Christian or other civilizations such as the ancient classical, Hittite, Ottoman, etc., in that country are preserved and made generally accessible;

"10. Expresses its concern at the difficulties currently being experienced by the Armenian community in Iran with respect to the Armenian language and their own education in accordance with the rules of their own religion;

"11. Condemns the violations of individual freedoms committed in the Soviet Union against the Armenian population;

"12. Condemns strongly any violence and any form of terrorism carried out by isolated groupings unrepresentative of the Armenian people, and calls for reconciliation between Armenians and Turks;

"13. Calls on the Community Member

States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews;

"14. Commits itself to making a substantial contribution to initiatives to encourage negotiations between the Armenian and Turkish peoples;

"15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the European Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the BEC/Turkey Association Council and the Turkish, Iranian and Soviet Governments and the UN Secretary General."

### Reactions from Turkey

The adoption of this resolution in spite of all efforts of the Turkish lobby in Strasbourg has given rise a fierce campaign against the European Communities. Headlines such as "Europe becomes Armenian!", "A new crusade against Turkey!" or "New European treason!" covered the first pages of Turkish newspapers.

But it is on the killing of 31 villagers, including 16 children and 7 women, by Kurdish militants in southeast Turkey on June 21 that the Turkish Government and the Turkish press launched a furious campaign against the allied states and hinted at pulling out of NATO.

At an emotional rally held in Sivas on June 22, General Kenan Evren, voicing his frustration at the European Parliament's resolution, said: "The terrorists have taken courage from this resolution. I hope Europe is happy with the results. Some of our NATO allies, while praising our strategic role in the alliance, want to give away our territory to others. Even the Warsaw Pact does not make such requests of us. There is clearly a need to reconsider the meaning of the NATO alliance."

This campaign was supported with full page advertisements given by some Turkish organizations to American and European newspapers. Signed by Turkish Atlantic Treaty Association (TAAD), Union of Turkish Parliamentarians (TPB), Confeder-

ation of Turkish Labour Unions (TURKIS), Promotion Foundation of Turkey (TTV), Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association (TUSIAD), Confederation of Turkish Employers' Unions (TISK), Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), Turkish Journalists Association (TGC), Foreign Policy Institute (DPE), Turkish Press Industry Employers' Union (TBSIS), Economic Development Foundation (IKV) and Turkish Journalists Union (TGS), the text, after refuting Armenian Genocide, voices the following views:

"Armenians have lived with Turks in peace and harmony almost a millennium. But in 1915 those who lived in the Northeast revolted against the Ottoman Government... Armenian terrorist bands massacred tens of thousands of innocent people in order to eliminate Turks from the territory in question. The colonialist and imperialist powers of the time supported the Armenians in their efforts.

"The Ottoman Government relocated the Armenians from the war zone to other parts of the Empire... It is true that the relocation was carried out under war conditions, with a very poor transportation infrastructure, in an exceptionally rough geography, during a period of epidemics and famine. It is deeply regretted that under these conditions many Armenians lost their lives.

"But the same conditions, apart from the Armenian armed attacks, equally affected the Turkish population whose losses were almost three times as high as those of Armenians. Aren't they considered equal human beings or are Christians 'primus inter pares'? Why is it no one utters words of compassion about Turkish victims?"

"We know what lay behind the near extermination of Jews, Gypsies and invalids, with the active and moral complicity of others.

"Furthermore, racist pressures have been resurfacing, even mounting once again, this time against foreign workers who seem to serve as easy substitutes for Jews.

"Those who unwittingly betray their

own guilts have no lesson to teach the Turkish nation.

"Ironically, the resolution of the European Parliament links the removal of obstacles to Turkey's accession to the EC to the condition that Turkey becomes 'European' by confessing to genocide. But we are determined to take our place in a Europe which is totally cured of its past afflictions. The best proof to this effect will be for Europeans to be able to live with Turks as their equals.

"This resolution will encourage Armenian militants to resume terrorism as they already publicly announced. It also provides justification for their demands for compensation and territory. The responsibility for terrorist incidents will be yours.

"Turkey stands between you and the chaotic, war-stricken Middle East, the only stable and strong country in the region which now enjoys a rapidly growing liberal market economy and which is a member of all Western Institutions, including the Atlantic Alliance in which it maintains the largest army among European members. Don't take Turkey for granted."

The menace of pulling out of NATO was

aimed not only at the European Community, but also at the United States, because a similar resolution on the Armenian genocide was to be debated by the House of Representatives in August 1987. The Turkish Government already linked the conclusion of new military and economic accords with the United States to the condition that the White House prevents the U.S. Congress from adopting the Armenian resolution.

However, this menace, according to the many diplomatic observers, is very far from being applicable. In the past, former Turkish governments, including that of social-democrat Ecevit, resorted many times to similar blackmails, but gave up at the end. Furthermore, the government of today is being headed by a staunch friend of the United States. Prime Minister Turgut Özal owes his power to the active support of the United States and the international finance organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank.

In fact, a few days after General Evren's angry declaration, Turgut Özal said such a withdrawal from NATO was "out of question."