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3. Nature of material (*A concise account of the nature of the propaganda material filed*)  
Executive Summary of Turkish Prime Minister's Address to Parliamentary Assembly of WEU  
Turkish Prime Minister's Speech, 3 Point Papers, 1 Newspaper Article

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| 4. Title of material, if any<br>See attached sheet | 5. Name of foreign principal on whose behalf this material was transmitted.<br><br>Republic of Turkey |
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| Date of report<br>June 28, 1995 | Name and title<br>Powell A. Moore<br>Sr. Principal and Managing<br>Director of Government Affairs | Signature<br> |
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ATTACHMENT TO U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DISSEMINATION REPORT

4. Title of material, if any

1. Executive Summary: Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller's Address to The Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union (WEU), Paris, June 20, 1995.
2. Prime Minister Tansu Ciller's Address to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union (WEU), June 20, 1995 -- Paris
3. In Support of U.S. Assistance to Turkey
4. Correction of Misstatements Regarding Turkey
5. Turkish Human Rights Excerpts from the Administration's Report.
6. Undervaluation of a key strategic asset.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

### Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's Address to The Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union (WEU)

Paris, June 20, 1995

Prime Minister Çiller speaks of her pride in Turkey's achievements since the inception of the Republic seventy years ago. She addresses allegations that Turkey has not met the minimum standards of democracy by emphasizing that Turkey operates on a multi-party system, holds open and free elections, has a free press, and has long been a beacon of religious freedom. The Prime Minister credits Turkey for sustaining a democratic system in a such a volatile region of the world. Turkey borders Iraq, Iran, Syria, and the former Soviet Union, and is the only true secular democracy of all 52 Muslim nations.

Prime Minister Çiller reaffirms that her first priority is democratization, and highlights her main initiatives for democratic reform, including the constitutional changes which are now before the Turkish Parliament. The Prime Minister's reforms encourage greater participation in the democratic process, transfer more power to local governments, and enhance freedom of expression by modifying Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law. Prime Minister Çiller also reports that she is enjoying mounting support for reform from other parties.

The on-going battle in Turkey against the Marxist-Leninist terrorist group, the PKK is also addressed. The Prime Minister points out that the majority of victims of PKK violence are of Kurdish origin. Kurds are targeted by the group for refusing to support their terrorist tactics. Prime Minister Çiller also refutes misconceptions concerning Turkish Kurds, and states that Turkish Kurds are full citizens of the Republic, and enjoy all social and political privileges of citizenship.

In addressing Turkish-Greek relations, the Prime Minister expresses a desire to improve relations with Greece through mutual accommodation. She asserts that greater cooperation between Turkey and Greece would be mutually beneficial and enhance the security and stability of the region. She also discusses the issue of Cyprus, stating that the principles of a fair and durable solution have been set. Prime Minister Çiller does not subscribe, however, to the perceived Greek Cypriot belief that membership in the EU can substitute for addressing existing problems.

The Prime Minister emphasizes the importance of Turkey's inclusion in the EU, pointing out that if the Customs Union is approved, it would accelerate further reform in Turkey. Because of Turkey's location, economic strength, diversity, and stability, inclusion in the EU would also help Europe in responding to the challenges brought on by the continuing ethnic, religious, and cultural conflicts currently plaguing Europe, the Middle East, and the NIS.

Throughout her remarks, Prime Minister Çiller speaks of Turkey's dedication to Western values, and its contributions to efforts in Korea, the Gulf War, and now in the Balkans. Turkey has been a proven Western ally and valued member of NATO whose international significance will undoubtedly be enhanced through the effects of democratization and inclusion in the European Union.

Following is the full text of the speech.

#### REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

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**PRIME MINISTER TANSU ÇILLER'S ADDRESS TO THE  
PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY  
OF THE  
WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION (WEU)**

**JUNE 20, 1995 -- PARIS**

**Mr. President  
Distinguished Delegates  
Ladies and Gentlemen,**

**It is a great privilege to address you today. During recent years both the Western European Union and the Assembly have gained increasing prominence while taking their rightful place in the security architecture of Europe. This is a welcome development. My country, from the beginning, has supported a European security and defense identity.**

**While today's world may not have large armies massed against each other, we still face serious risks. Radical nationalism, xenophobia and extremism are on the rise in some areas.**

**At the same time, human rights and democracy are playing an ever more important role in international relations. We join you in applauding this move toward the ideals shared by all civilized nations.**

**Yet, we must recognize that expanding human rights can involve complex issues. We must be careful not to oversimplify matters, to look at problems out of context, or to gloss over explanations that are not fashionable.**

**Today, I want to explain Turkey -- our progress, our challenges and our hopes for the future.**

**I am proud of the achievements of the Turkish Republic since its establishment 70 years ago. Even more so because they were achieved in a region not conducive to such reform.**

**Yet, during recent years, there has been a lot of criticism of Turkey from European sources.**

**The main accusation has been that Turkey fails to meet the "minimum standards" of a western democracy. What are the "minimum standards" of a democracy? Many of us would agree on certain basic principles:**

- **open and free elections;**

- an orderly transition of power;
- an independent legislature;
- an independent judiciary operating under the rule of law;
- a free and vibrant press, free to criticize the government;
- and religious freedom.

Each of these important criteria is firmly established in Turkey:

- we have an open political system with a full range of parties of the left and right, who compete vigorously;
- our elections are hotly contested and honestly run;
- our legislature, the Turkish Grand National Assembly, is the ultimate repository of national sovereignty;
- we have an independent judiciary with a fully developed legal system based on the European model;
- our press is vibrant and vociferous and anyone who visits Turkey knows that neither the Prime Minister nor the government are immune from attack on either personal or official grounds -- and I have the scars to prove it;

and

- we have a long standing tradition of religious freedom, welcoming many who fled from oppression elsewhere.

With this background, perhaps you can better understand the confusion of the Turkish people at the broad attacks on our system that have been coming from Europe. Ironically, if you look closely you will see that some of these complaints are actually caused by the very complexities of our democratic process.

Some critics wonder why it is taking us so long to change our constitution. Yet that is the responsibility of our parliament. Like all democratically elected legislatures, it has its own rules to ensure full debate and to protect against hasty, ill-considered changes in the nation's fundamental structure. I am certain that these same critics readily understand the deliberative process and frustrating delays of their own parliaments. Yet they refuse to accord that same respect to Turkey's legislature.

Some critics complain about our failure to modify quickly our Anti-Terrorism Law, but again, this decision must be made by our parliament. And on this very complex issue of balancing the right of free speech against the advocacy of violence and terrorism, there are deep and passionate divisions not just within the opposition parties, but within my own party as

well. I am certain these critics would be more understanding if the debate were in their own home country.

Some critics express indignation at the restrictions imposed by our Anti-Terrorism Law on certain types of speech. But they fail to acknowledge that in each of their own countries there are special laws that restrict speech relating to violence, terrorism or group defamation. Not all of these European laws are neat and sensible, and not all of Europe's recent history enforcing these laws and combating terrorism has been exemplary.

And finally, some critics romanticize the activities of the PKK. They are sometimes called "guerrillas," implying that they are involved in some heroic struggle, but these critics ignore the thousands -- yes, thousands -- of innocent civilians brutally murdered by PKK terrorists. They ignore that most of these victims are of Kurdish origin, including many women and children, and they ignore that among those targeted by the PKK have been teachers and village leaders solely because they refuse to support PKK terrorism.

This is not romantic. It is not heroic. It is vicious cowardly terrorism. And it should be seen as such by every civilized nation. If there is one thing of which I am certain, it is that any European state faced with a similar terrorist threat to its own people and a similar effort to divide its own nation through violence and intimidation would respond as we are doing.

Some people hold that more democratic rights are, per se, an antidote for terrorism. Nothing is further from the truth. Even in a "perfected" democracy, if such were attainable, human dignity can be placed at risk by terrorism. Indeed, countries deemed "most democratic" all too often experience terrorism at its worst. Acts of terrorism in Europe, in Tokyo or in Oklahoma, correlate not at all with the conditions and degree of democracy present. Whatever else the various terrorist movements have as their root cause, dedication to strengthening the democratic ideal is never one of them.

This, then, is our deep frustration; when we measure our system against these "minimum standards" of democracy, we see that Turkey has established a strong, vibrant democracy with powerful democratic institutions.

Indeed, we have done it in a region that has too often been characterized by political and social instability and repression. Few democracies have

survived here. Indeed, of the world's 52 Muslim nations, we are its only true secular democracy. Our challenges have been enormous and our record, by any objective standard of 20th century history, has been outstanding.

That is not to say our democracy is perfect. Of course it is not.

That is not to say that more progress in our democracy is not needed. Of course it is.

And no one knows that better than the people of Turkey. We are working on these reforms literally as we speak.

We are struggling with solemn questions about the delicate balance of conflicting rights -- the rights of individuals to speak freely versus the right of society to protect its citizens.

I submit that this very debate, now taking place in Turkey, is the hallmark of a democracy. Our difficulty, our uncertainty, our conflict on this issue is what separates us from authoritarian regimes.

Let me describe to you our main initiatives for democratic reform.

First, there are changes in 21 articles of our constitution which have been agreed upon by the main parties. These changes will encourage greater participation in the democratic process. They are now before the parliament. The voting will be secret and a two-thirds majority, namely 300 votes, is needed.

The second change is the devolution of more powers to local authorities. We are moving away from a long-standing tradition of centralized government whose concentrated power has frustrated and alienated citizens in all regions. By bringing democracy down to the grassroots level, we will allow all our citizens to participate more fully in local decision making.

The third change involves freedom of expression. We must modify our Anti-Terrorism Law by abolishing or changing Article 8 under which highly publicized prosecutions have been brought against writers, journalists and academics.

These judicial proceedings have been a growing source of contention...both at home and abroad. They must and will end. We are striving for a

consensus on a carefully crafted provision that conforms to Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights so that the non-violent expression of ideas will be protected.

Each of our nations has, at different times, debated the limits to be placed on individual speech in order to protect public safety and national security. Today, as the Turkish public grapples with this issue, we do so in the midst of a murderous terrorist campaign. This bloodletting has caused understandable anxiety among our citizens and has complicated our task. But I am nonetheless certain that these fundamental reforms will be enacted in the months ahead. I will personally lead the fight in our National Assembly. Just as I did last year with passage of the historic privatization legislation.

My position has now been strengthened by the support of other parties, including my coalition partner, the newly merged Republican Peoples Party. Democratization is my first priority and the essential principle of our coalition government.

If anything can be said of a common attitude among Turks, it is that we are optimistic, moderate, individualistic, yet social and dynamic. One place this is most obviously reflected today is in our media. When I became Prime Minister I initiated the opening of electronic media to privatization by saying "I want my radio." The resulting diversity has been astonishing. Today, Turkey has 15 national television stations, 360 local tv stations and over 1500 local radio stations. I wish that all of you could tune in and listen; it is truly democracy in action. Our airwaves are filled with a vigorous and lively national debate as our citizens assess for themselves the risks and benefits of these democratic reforms.

We are in the midst of reform process. No Prime Minister in a parliamentary democracy has a magic wand to eliminate dissent -- especially on the very question of dissent. While I am passionately committed to these reforms, I have no unilateral powers. In a parliament where no party has a majority, we can only succeed by persuasion. The democratic process is sometimes long and slow, but it cannot be forsaken -- even in the name of further democratization.

Let me now dwell on some of the problems we face in Turkey, which, I believe, are sometimes dealt with in a simplistic manner by our critics. Perhaps the most misunderstood, misreported and misinterpreted is the so-called "Kurdish Problem."

Officially, in Turkey there are three minorities -- Greek and Armenian Christians and Jews. This official minority status is a legal legacy of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne which viewed Muslims in the newly formed Turkish Republic as a whole, and defined minority status strictly to protect the religious rights of these three groups. But as a unitary nation-state built from more than twenty ethnic backgrounds, who have completely intermingled, no special privileges have ever been attached to any group because of ethnic background, race or geographical location. We are all first class citizens.

Among these groups are Kurds. Full citizens of the Republic, active in every walk of life, living in every region, and fully integrated publicly, privately and politically. The PKK terrorist campaign for separatism cannot relate to their needs or aspirations. Indeed, they continue to be the greatest victims of PKK brutality.

Our goal is greater liberty for each and every individual. For each local administration, greater authority. For each person, the right to cultural self-expression.

We are committed to safeguard and expand individual rights without undermining the territorial integrity of our national. Like each of your nations, we have a unique cultural and political history. Our legendary founder, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk built our nation by joining together people of different backgrounds through a unity of purpose, one language and a common commitment to progress and freedom. In Turkey, we will fight to hold the nation together even as we fight to expand individual rights within it. The two must and will go together.

Let me also address the issue of the convicted DEP parliamentarians that many of our friends here seem to focus on. It has been suggested on a number of occasions that the Turkish Government should free the DEP parliamentarians who have been tried and sentenced to various prison terms. Let me be direct -- if the government of Turkey had such authority, Turkey would no longer be a parliamentary democracy. It would undermine and politicize our independent judiciary and the rule of law, which are at the foundation of a democratic state. Instead, we will strictly honor their right to appeal, not only in Turkey but also in Strasbourg. And let me emphasize that according to the decision of the courts, they have not been jailed on account of the ideas they expressed, but due to their proven affiliations with and actions supporting a terrorist organization.

Some of the DEP parliamentarians are themselves confessing it in Europe in front of the European press. Indeed, one of the leaders said the following, and I quote: "The movement which is carrying out the armed struggle is developing its own diplomacy. We particularly are carrying out these activities. The PKK movement has diplomacy on behalf of the party. We are performing this diplomacy." End quote.

The Chairman of the Democracy Party, which has been closed down, said the following in Vienna on the 7th of June:  
"We are the PKK."

Let me also point out that Turkey is not the only European country where the immunity of parliamentarians has been lifted and where parliamentarians have been tried and sentenced for illegal activities. I need not list the cases, they can easily be found. But it does seem that when it happens in Turkey, the clamor is great. When it happened in another European country, there was accommodating silence.

We are all imperfect societies. For each of us, the environment and the neighborhood have a bearing on the pace of development of our own political system. Turkey, unfortunately, is not blessed, as is Spain, with a friendly neighboring country, such as France, to help her in the fight against terrorism. On the contrary, in the case of Turkey, the nature of the regimes surrounding us, the goals of fundamentalists in the region have added fuel to terrorism. Turkey's alliance with the west during the Gulf War is another reason for encouraging terrorism by outsiders. In that context, Turkish incursion into Iraq to stem terrorism has ended as promised by the Turkish government.

We share our frontiers with eight countries who extend from the Mediterranean...to the Black Sea...to the Persian Gulf. This is a "rough neighborhood."

The one solid rock at the center is Turkey...stable, democratic, tolerant, modern. The map vividly demonstrates why the survival of Turkish democracy is so remarkable.

There are reasons why Turkey is the only secular democracy among the world's 52 Muslim states. Turkey's democracy is not an aberration or an accident. It is rooted in a long-standing tradition of openness and diversity. For hundreds of years Turkey has welcomed people fleeing religious persecution and wars. It was therefore only natural that when Western

Europe was expelling the Jewish community 500 years ago...and again 50 years ago...Turkey opened its doors. While the west was debating women's rights, Turkey acted decisively. Six decades ago, we were one of the first to grant suffrage to women.

And in our struggle for democracy, our bond with the west and the nations of Europe has been special and long-standing.

Let me say a few words on our relations with Greece. The problems between Turkey and Greece essentially relate to the status quo in the Aegean. We are for the delicate balance of rights and interests between the two countries as established by the Treaty of Lausanne. Greece want to change it unilaterally in ways which would adversely affect Turkey's vital interests. We cannot accept that. Yet, I believe that in case Greece reciprocates our goodwill and political will, we can find solutions through mutual accommodation. We, as a nation, bear no enmity toward Greece. On the contrary, we believe that if our two countries cooperate, it will greatly benefit us both and enhance the security and stability of the entire region and indeed, all of Europe. A historic reconciliation is needed. We must end these age-old disputes. Turks stand ready for a comprehensive dialogue.

I know that for many of you the problem of Cyprus is of particular interest. I will not try here to summarize the historical background, except to note that its origins precede 1974 by more than a decade. The principles for a fair and durable solution have been established, accepted in the past by both sides, and continue to be accepted by the Turkish Cypriots. Yet, lately it seems that the Greek Cypriots have seen membership in the European Union as a substitute for a solution. I believe this approach is unacceptable. Unfortunately, Greek Cypriots may have been encouraged to pay less attention to an overall solution by last-minute accommodations within the EU. That would be unacceptable and contrary to the basic agreements on Cyprus. Both sides must now move toward a fair and final resolution. We are prepared to do our part.

Later this year, the Customs Union will be before the European parliament. I want to say this to my friends in the European Parliament:

I know of no precise formula or measurement to weigh the changes and improvements in Turkey. This is an on-going process for us, as it is in all countries. In making this judgment, you must also weigh the alternatives: If the Customs Union is approved, it will unquestionably accelerate further

**change in Turkey...it will strengthen the forces of reform and encourage the large majority of Turks who want integration with Europe.**

**But you must understand that a "nay" vote is bound to strengthen the hands of rejectionists who tell our citizens that European bigotry and prejudice against Turks will prevail regardless of what we do, and that Turkey's aspiration of integration will be rejected in any case.**

**Europe should also consider the impact of this historic decision on its own future. Consider what Turkey has done for European stability and security in the past -- and what we can do for European prosperity and economic strength, as well as for its stability and security, in the years and decades ahead. Over the past decade, we have had an average of the fastest growing economies in the OECD. And with 60 million people, and access to the Black Sea, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia, we are poised to be one of the world's ten big emerging markets at the beginning of the next century.**

**The collapse of the Soviet Union has left a security vacuum throughout this region. There is the danger that the very complex ethnic, cultural and religious mosaic straddling this area may be set with strife and violence. We have seen the traumatic consequences of this even in the heart of Europe in Bosnia.**

**This situation has produced a new type of security dilemma. It cannot be addressed with orthodox defense or military structures from without. The problem must be tackled from "within."**

**Our challenge together is to bring peace, prosperity and security to those areas threatened by a continuation of the ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts and passions of the past. The solution we know must lie in a policy mix of economic cooperation and political and security alliances.**

**Turkey's unique location, our economic strength, our historic diversity and our political and social stability can help Europe respond to these challenges.**

**Turkey has stood by her allies during times of trial -- be it in Korea or the Cuban Missile Crisis...be it in the Gulf War or now in the Balkans. The economic burden of the aftermath of the Gulf War has been heavy for Turkey: 20 billion dollars. We have stood with you for peace and stability**

for more than half a century, bringing the strength and diversity to NATO that helped achieve victory in the Cold War.

Now is a fateful time for Europe to decide if it will expand on that success and include Turkey's strength and diversity in the economic affairs of Europe and ultimately in its full political and social life.

We believe that we will bring a special perspective to your endeavors. Unlike others in our region, Turkey promotes hope and partnership. By reaching out to peoples of different ethnic backgrounds, races, cultures and religions, we have been able to play a pivotal role for peace.

We vigorously support the Middle East Peace Process...and we are one of the few nations with solid ties to all three parties. We were the first Muslim nation to recognize Israel in 1949. We maintain good relations with Arab states. And we are providing over \$50 million in aid for the struggling Palestinians.

We initiated the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Council bringing together 11 countries, with 320 million people, often at odds...to find common ground. Turkey is also backed by a hinterland of 200 million Turkish speaking peoples.

We have helped encourage talks between Armenians and Azeris -- two historic antagonists -- locked in a tragic conflict.

We are providing aid to newly independent Asian republics including \$4 billion in private investment, \$900 million in Eximbank and other bank credits and supplies, and over \$600 million in trade.

All of these efforts seek to replace historic antagonisms with open dialogue and joint endeavors. They demonstrate how Turkey accepts responsibility to exercise a leadership role in our region. And looking forward, we see dramatic opportunities for regional economic cooperation.

We are planning for an oil and gas pipeline from the Caspian basin of Azerbaijan and Central Asia, across Turkey to the Mediterranean. It would expand world oil supplies, reducing European reliance on existing sources. It would protect the fragile Bosphorus from lurking environmental catastrophe. And it would bring together old antagonists in common prosperity.

## **IN SUPPORT OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY**

**The Administration's FY96 request for Turkey is \$450M in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) loans and \$100M in Economic Support Fund (ESF).**

**U.S. assistance to Turkey strengthens Turkey's ability to act as a stabilizing force in a region where diverse western foreign policy concerns intersect.**

**\$450M in FMF will contribute to defense modernization, including the F-16 program.**

**\$100M in ESF will help counteract part of the losses incurred through Turkish support for sanctions against Iraq.**

**As the front-line state in Europe, future developments in Turkey will inevitably affect the Western world. Turkey's geopolitical contributions include:**

**Turkey is an integral member of NATO. The United States and Turkey have enjoyed over 45 years of cooperation through the alliance.**

**Turkey contributes to UN peacekeeping efforts and assists in enforcing the embargo and no-fly zone in Bosnia.**

**Turkey is the only secular democracy with a free market economy that has a predominantly Muslim population.**

**A strong supporter of the Middle East peace process, Turkey can help bridge the divide between Muslim and Western worlds.**

**Turkey has been working closely with the United States to generate a new era of peace in the Caucasus.**

**Turkey shares a common language, culture, and history with the peoples of such newly independent states of the former Soviet Union as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgystan, and Turkmenistan. Turkey's western orientation serves as a role model for these countries.**

**Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller proposed, and Parliament will consider a package of constitutional amendments for democratic reform along with a modification of the anti-terrorism law to protect fully non-violent expression of ideas.**

### **REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**

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**Turkey again proved its value as an ally by opposing Iraqi aggression in Operation Desert Storm. It is the only Gulf War partner which continues to bear the consequences of the war.**

**\$20B in revenues were lost by closing down the Iraqi oil pipeline crossing Turkey, halting trade in the area, and increasing unemployment.**

**The PKK terrorist organization used the no-man's land on the Iraqi border as a launching pad for terrorist attacks against Turkey.**

**Several times in the past, Turkey accepted thousands of Iraqi citizens who fled their homeland, providing them with food and shelter. Turkey continues to assist them in their own country, furnishing food and electricity. Turkey pledged \$25M in humanitarian aid this year.**

**Turkey supports Operation Provide Comfort, a multilateral program which provides humanitarian assistance and protection from Saddam Hussein for Iraqi Kurds. The program operates from Turkish soil.**

**Turkey is an important energy and business partner.**

**Turkey is a critical component in meeting future western energy needs. Petroleum and natural gas pipelines through Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan can pass through Turkey to the Mediterranean and Europe.**

**Turkey has been cited by the U.S. Department of Commerce as one of the top ten big emerging markets. It is projected that by the year 2000, the U.S. will be exporting more to these ten markets than to the EU and Japan combined.**

**The U.S.-Turkish Tax and Investment Treaty has been negotiated and was initialled this month.**

**Turkey's new privatization law makes it even more attractive to U.S. businesses.**

**The Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, a Turkish initiative, promotes trade and investment among countries around the Black Sea, a market of 320 million people.**

**Turkey will enter into a customs union with the European Union next year. This will multiply existing and potential opportunities for U.S. businesses in Turkey.**

**June 1995**

## CORRECTION OF MISSTATEMENTS REGARDING TURKEY

**Wrong:** Speaking Kurdish is illegal in Turkey.

**Fact:** The law banning publications in languages other than Turkish (No. 2932) was abolished in 1991. Kurdish newspapers, tapes and books are freely sold in Turkey.

**Wrong:** Kurdish Parliamentarians were expelled from Parliament and jailed for being Kurdish.

**Fact:** The DEP parliamentarians' immunity was lifted by their colleagues in the Turkish Parliament. They were convicted based on evidence that they were aiding and abetting PKK terrorists.

**Quotes:** "Currently, as many as 25 percent of the members of the 450 seat parliament are Kurds." (State Department Report to Congress, June, 1995)

"...six [of the DEP deputies] are in self-imposed exile in Europe, and most of these have associated with the PKK..." (State Department Report to Congress, June, 1995)

**Wrong:** Turkey disregards human rights

**Fact:** Turkey has the unenviable task of reconciling human rights and democracy with the fight against terrorism. The Turkish constitution and Turkish laws prohibit torture in any form. Those individuals accused of torture are prosecuted in the courts.

During 1994, 314 government officials were taken to court on charges of alleged torture and mistreatment of citizens. As of February 1995, 35 of these cases were finalized and 11 offenders were convicted. Deliberations on the remaining cases continue. Thirty new cases were filed in January 1995. To date there have been five convictions and three acquittals, with the remaining cases pending.

In May 1995 the Constitutional Committee in the Turkish Parliament approved a series of constitutional reforms which now must be approved by the full Turkish Parliament.

The Turkish government recently mandated that a human rights curriculum be instituted in high schools in Turkey.

**Quote:** "The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law; bearing in mind the concepts of public peace, national solidarity and justice; respect for human rights; loyal to the nationalism of Ataturk, and based on the fundamental tenets set forth in the Preamble." (Article 2 of the Turkish Constitution)

**Wrong:** Freedom of speech does not exist in Turkey.

**Fact:** Turkey is a free society with independent institutions. Freedom of speech and expression are safeguarded by the Constitution and the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 10).

However, Turkey is the only NATO ally facing a separatist terrorist threat. Article 8 of the anti-terror law forbids advocating separatism and inciting terrorism. The Turkish Government has proposed, and Turkish Parliament is considering modifying or eliminating Article 8.

**Wrong:** Turkey is involved in genocide in northern Iraq.

**Fact:** On March 20, 1995, Turkish Armed Forces launched a preventive military operation against Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) terrorist camps in northern Iraq. Considerable evidence gathered by the Turkish government indicated that the PKK had planned to undertake widespread terrorist activities in Turkey from their base camps in northern Iraq: Turkey acted purely in self-defense. Turkish troops completed the withdrawal from northern Iraq on May 2, 1995.

**Quotes:** "We understand the steps that the government of Turkey would wish to take against the PKK, a group that we- our own government has listed as a sponsor of terrorism, has conducted and is responsible for acts of terrorism in which there's been significant loss of innocent civilian life." (Michael McCurry, Press Secretary to Pres. Clinton, March 20, 1995)

"But when Prime Minister Ciller came here, she assured the President and the Secretary that the Turkish Government would keep this operation limited in scope and duration; and she has done so." (Nicholas Burns, U.S. State Department Spokesman, May 5, 1995)

"We support Turkey's fight against the PKK. It is absolutely necessary to protect the Turkish population from terrorist attacks and also the Kurdish population in northern Iraq and in Turkey from the activities of the PKK." (Nicholas Burns, U.S. State Department Spokesman, May 5, 1995)

"According to our information, no civilians have been harmed. Neither

around Zacho nor in the mountain villages." (Poul Dahl, Chief of UN Peace Guards in northern Iraq, March 22, 1995)

"The terrorist group PKK continues to train in the Bekaa Valley, and its leader, Abdullah Ocalan, resides at least part-time in Syria. The PKK in 1994 conducted a violent campaign against Turkish tourist spots frequented by foreigners, as well as other terrorist violence across Europe." (State Department Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1994)

**Wrong:** Turkey is not helpful regarding Cyprus.

**Fact:** Turkey strongly supports a lasting negotiated settlement on Cyprus and the establishment of a bizonal, bicomunal federal state in which the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities are represented on an equal footing.

**Quotes:** "The Government of Turkey has, over the years, stressed its support for the UN efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem. Since the beginning of 1994, the Government of Turkey has been particularly supportive of the UN proposed package of confidence-building measures. Subsequent to acceptance of the CBMs by the Greek Cypriots in March 1994, Ankara strongly encouraged the Turkish Cypriots to accept the CBMs." (State Department Report to Congress, June 1995)

"Turkey has also actively supported the Turkish Cypriot announcement in January 1995 of several unilateral measures to increase contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots." (State Department Report to Congress, June 1995)

June 13, 1995

**TURKISH HUMAN RIGHTS  
EXCERPTS FROM THE ADMINISTRATION'S REPORT**

The Administration recently submitted a report to Congress on human rights in Turkey, complying with PL 103-306, the FY95 Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill.

Certain news coverage omitted the overarching thrust of this report as contained in its Introduction and Summary sections. Some relevant excerpts:

"The report reaffirms Turkey's continuing importance as a long-standing U.S. treaty ally which projects NATO and Western values into the Middle East as well as southeastern Europe. Since the end of the Cold War, Turkey has replaced Germany as the frontline European state. It confronts the most serious threats to its integrity and well-being of any Western ally. Continuing U.S. support for Turkey's security is essential.

"The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) presents a major threat to Turkey's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is a ruthless terrorist group which receives support from Syria, Iran and some sources in Europe and has terrorized the population of southeast Turkey and destabilized the region."

"Turkey, as the recipient of U.S. security assistance, has the right to use U.S.-supplied weapons for legitimate self-defense and for internal security. This includes use to combat terrorism by forces such as the PKK."

"The Government of Turkey has recognized the need to improve its human rights situation and has made proposals which, if adopted and implemented, could lead to important and positive changes in the situation in the southeast. These proposals include measures for the orderly phase out of the state of emergency in the southeast and constitutional amendments to broaden participation in the political process.

"Finally, the report notes that democracy and human rights are and will continue to be a prominent feature of the ongoing U.S.-Turkish high level dialogue. The democratization measures recently introduced into the Turkish parliament, the new willingness to make public the code of conduct promulgated by the Turkish General Staff, and what appears to be the serious effort to protect civilians during the operation in northern Iraq are indications of the value of sustained discussion with the Turks on the issue of human rights. The United States can and should expect progress."

June 5, 1995

# Undervaluation of a key strategic asset



Tansu Ciller

Years ago, a Turkish general was quoted as saying that the trouble with being allied to the Americans was that you never knew when they would stab themselves in the back. This half-serious observation expressed the U.S.-Turkish relationship well. It was solid overall but subject to inexplicable actions, often on Washington's part, that simply negated America's own self-interest.

That is in fact what we are doing once again today: American aid to Turkey has been steadily reduced. Much of it is no longer grant aid at all but loans that since 1994 have been financed at market interest rates. For 1995, even this package has been subjected to restriction, including attempts to tie it to Cyprus, various human rights issues and Turkey's relationship with Armenia.

The generally punitive approach of these amendments reflect American politics at their worst — totally bereft of any consideration of our own strategic interests. A familiar complaint about our relationship with Turkey is that it should be re-examined in light of the end of the Cold War. The implication, of course, is to devalue the alliance as no longer so necessary in the absence of a Soviet threat.

The alliance should be re-examined but the critics will be disap-

pointed. A strong U.S.-Turkish partnership remains fundamental to American interests.

First, Turkey's geographical position puts it in a bad neighborhood that is still vital to U.S. security. This was illustrated dramatically by the Persian Gulf war. There should be no doubt that without Turkey's help in closing Iraq's pipelines, allowing use of North Atlantic Treaty Organization air bases and general political support we could not have defeated Saddam Hussein. Turkey was and is fundamental to an anti-Saddam coalition.

Second, the outcome of the war, as we know, was not to create a new world order, much less a new Gulf security order, much less a new four years of broken-back warfare against Saddam's regime. For this Turkey has paid a very large economic price exacted through disrupted trade and oil flows. The consequences for the Kurdish-populated regions of Turkey and Iraq

have been even more troublesome. Operation Provide Comfort, run from Turkey, has averted the worst for the northern Kurds but not established security or peace.

Instead the PKK, an authentic terrorist movement helped by such human rights activists as the Assad regime in Syria, among others, has found safe haven in northern Iraq. Turkey's recent military incursion was intended to settle this issue or at least to diminish the problem. But whatever the outcome this is indisputable: The failure of American policy to settle with Saddam has been borne very heavily by Turkey.

To this trouble must be added another: The newly independent states of the former Soviet-run Central Asia see new economic and political relationships with such countries as Turkey and Iran as the best route to secure their future. The oil and gas of Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan must flow through these countries or be controlled again by Russian hands on the tap.

Whatever the potential today the Caucasus is torn by war; the Chechnya slaughter; the Russian-manipulated civil war in Georgia; and the Russian-influenced contest between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Seen from Ankara, the once-promising prospect of a less dan-

gerous Central Asia has dissolved into bloodshed and a revival of Russian ambitions. The Turks must view with great alarm, and so should we, the idea that the Russians will be allowed to station large forces there in violation of the conventional arms-reduction treaty (CFE) about to come into force. It is inexplicable that at the recent Moscow summit President Clinton supported revisions in these force levels in the name of stability; in virtually every instance, Russian military action has made things worse not better.

Finally, there is the frightening consequence of continued mismanagement of the Bosnian crises by the United Nations and NATO, and especially the US failure to act clearheadedly in this crisis, which risks the continuation of essential secular leadership in Ankara. A worst case outcome of Bosnia could well broaden the conflict in a way that might result in Turkey's involvement, with unforeseeable consequences for Western interests.

Against this geopolitical backdrop, the paragons of human rights have rallied against Turkey's democracy — and Prime Minister Tansu Ciller has admitted that Turkish democracy is a less-than-perfect mechanism with plenty of rough edges.

We must all be alarmed at the growth of anti-Western sentiment disguised as a return to Islam. In Turkey, as in many other countries, the end of the Cold War has given rise to a struggle for national identity. But whose side shall we take? That of the less-than-perfect democrats or that of the authentic anti-democrats?

At this critical juncture, those who support cuts in assistance or in support for Turkey are willfully blind to U.S. strategic interests. The Turks are a hardy people; they will survive as best they can. But this is not the time for America to stab its own interests in the back. The stakes are too high.

In the absence of an effective U.S.-Turkish partnership, the entire U.S. position in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East will be the biggest loser. The winners will be neither pro-Western nor those interested in human rights. It is high time that we recovered from strategic amnesia.

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REPUBLICAN OF TURKEY  
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