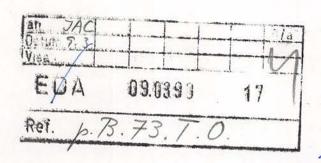


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Gegenstand/Objet Turquie/ attaques contre les Kemalistes

Presque tous les journaux européens ont fait état, il y a un mois, de l'assassinat à Istanbul du Professeur Muammer Aksoy, constitutionnaliste fort connue, ancien président du Barreau d'Ankara et fondateur de l'Association de la Pensée Kemaliste. Le jour avant sa mort, le quotidien Hurriyet avait publié un important interview d'Aksoy dans lequel il avait défendu le laicisme et la démocratie turque.

Hier, Hurriyet publiait un article d'un de ses principaux journalistes, Cetin Emec (membre du conseil d'administration du journal et son ancien coordinateur général). Dans cet article dont vous trouverez la version anglaise ci-jointe, Emec dénoncait la Syrie en tant qu'organisateur d'attentats dans les pays dont la politique lui déplait. Quelques heures après la parution du quotidien, ce journaliste, connu comme défenseur du Kémalisme, de la démocratie et de la sécularité, était abattu dans sa voiture en plein Istanbul. Cause et effet? Nul ne sait.

N'empêche qu'au fil des dernières semaines, la pression et les menaces contre les intellectuels turcs libéraux se sont accrus énormément. Depuis une dizaine de jours, Ozer Ozankaya, professeur de science politique à l'Université d'Ankara, occidentaliste et libéral, doit se déplacer avec une protection policière à cause des menaces proferées contre sa vie.

Un cas qui nous concerne de plus près est celui de la journaliste Leila Cambel, correspondante de plusieurs journaux turcs et depuis plus de 20 ans, de la NZZ. Le 22 janvier, elle publiait dans



le Turkish Daily News un article sur l'attitude d'Ataturk à l'égard de la tenue vestimentaire des femmes. Ses explications, pourtant bien innocentes (voir coupure ci-jointe), lui ont valu des menaces en pleine nuit et des menaces contre le journal, qui s'est vu contraint à publier des excuses.

D'où viennent ces pressions? Certains les atribuent aux mouvements religieux fondamentalistes, avec l'appui de la Syrie et de l'Iran, notamment. D'autres, plus imaginatifs, évoquent la possibilité d'actions menées par des groupes d'extrème droite qui veulent semer la terreur et justifier une intervention des militaires. Pour l'instant la situation n'est pas encore très définie, mais elle doit être suivie de près.

L'AMBASSADEUR DE SUISSE

Adolf G. Lacher

## By Leyla Çambel

TURKISH DAILY NEWS

trangely enough, an anachronistic debate is on the political agenda of Turkey today as if this country has no other problems to solve: Should university female students be allowed to show up in class or on campus wearing headscarves or so-called turbans to cover their hair according to Islamic tradition?

It is very obvious that political motives are lurking behind these apparently innocent actions of some university girls. It is a question, as Hamlet would put it, namely "to be or not to be" for the Renaissance movement introduced to the Republic of Turkey by its founder Mustafa Kemal. The idea is to push Turkey back into the dark ages of Medieval times in line with the political aspirations of Khomeini's Iran and some of Turkey's other Arabic neighbors. The campaign for the turban is just a battle-cry for the fundamentalists to wage war on the secularism principle as laid down in the Turkish Constitution, which constitutes the establishment of Atatürk's Republic. It is obviously supposed to serve as a first step in the escalation of the

fundamentalist movement in Turkey leading up to a more meaningful development -- namely the transformation of the Hagia Sophia.

Hagia Sofia is presently a museum as was decreed by Atatürk. It is currently being debated whether or not to re-establish it as a mosque, into which this Byzantine Church was converted in 1453 upon the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet Fatih. I will come back to the Hagia Sophia question in another article.

What would Atatürk say if he had lived to see these days in which his people are distorting his Kemalist Renaissance? One of his greatest goals in life was the emancipation of the Turkish woman, who he wanted to be as free and as independent as

Mirror of mosaics:

## Atatürk's views on women's attire

the American woman. This is what he repeatedly told my mother in evening conversations at the Turkish Embassy in Berlin during World War I when he accompanied the heir to the Ottoman throne, Vahideddin, who was to be the last Sultan, as military advisor during the latter's visit to the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II.

Mustafa Kemal was known at that time as the "hero of the Dardanelles" and had been sent on this journey by Enver Pasha, the leading figure who pushed the Ottoman Empire into the disastrous World War I, because he was so jealous of Mustafa Kemal and wanted him to be out of the picture. Seemingly, Mustafa Kemal did not think of marriage in those days. After his dazzling victories during the War of Independence freeing the country from foreign invasion armies, he did marry Latife Usakijade, an emancipated young girl endowed with Western culture from a prominent family in İzmir, where he routed the enemy. He thought that she would assume a pioneer role in his bid for the emancipation of the Turkish woman. Somehow, she failed to carry out this mission and the marriage came to an end.

When he got married, a deputy friend asked him: "You always said that you would remain a bachelor. Well then, why did you get married?"

This his was his reply:

"Henceforth, we shall engage in many reforms. One of these reforms will be the emancipation of women. We will start by reforming their attire. We will do away with the veils (charshaf) worn by our women. The beauty of our girls will be revealed. The black charshaf and the pece (veil covering the face) are not suitable



TDN File Photo

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Adviye Hanım

for a good-looking nation. But how can I ask my people to allow their wives and daughters to open up their faces? Would they not say, "How can he, a mere bachelor, demand that our wives and daughters throw off their veils?" That is why I got married, so they would not be able to put forward such an argument."

Let me now discuss the history of the Islamic veil. The last wife of the Prophet Mohammed was Ayşe, a daughter of one of his four disciples, Ebubekir. He had already married one of her sisters, but also wanted to marry the very pretty, youngest daughter of his friend.

She was 13 years old and greatly enjoyed the company of men. The prophet was over 60 years old. They migrated by caravan from Mecca, where the Kureysh tribe made their stay there practically impossible, to Medina.

Ayse would very often visit one of the tents and on her return she would claim that she had lost some piece of jewelry where she had been and had to rush back. Ebubekir was very irritated by his daughter's ways and suspected her of having affairs here and there. As for the prophet, he decided to take action against her frivolous ways. He said he had received a message from God (Vahiy) ordering women not to dress up in a spectacular fashion when in the company of men. As Ayşe continued her dubious ways, he said he had received a second message from God, ordering women to keep quiet in men's company. But as Ayse remained unreasonable, he said he had received a third message from God concerning the demeanor of women: God had

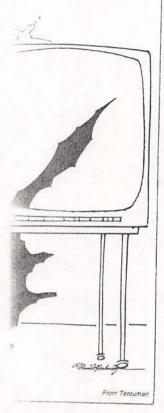
given the order for women to be veiled when in the presence of men.

According to this story, the covering of the hair and face was not prescribed to women during the first vears of the rise of the Islamic religion. The prophet, as we know, had many wives and none of them conducted themselves in a way that would invite drastic measures in the form of divine orders. The veiling of women was seemingly introduced as a retaliatory measure against the behavior of the prophet's youngest wife. The whole story brings to one's mind Napoleon's reaction to Josephine's frivolities. While waging his glorious Italian campaign as a young general, Napoleon Bonaparte wrote the most amorous love letters to her, entreating her to join him. But she could not care less.

According to members of the Bonaparte family who could not stand beautiful Créole from Martinique, she spent her days in the company of a certain Monsieur Charles. Napoleon, who's manly pride was hurt, reacted in just about the same way Mohammed did. He introduced a Code Napoleon (Code Civil), which included severe restrictions on the rights of married women. Unfortunately, even the Swiss Code on which the Turkish Civil Code is based, has endorsed these laws. And what is happening in Turkey today -- continuous demonstrations in favor of the turban and headscarf for university girls. These problems are obviously being stirred up by people with ulterior motives under the guise of the teachings of Islam.

As this trend has turned into an emotional campaign, which has not responded to any kind of logical reasoning, it may be blown out of all proportion, get out of control. Playing with people's religious feelings is like playing with fire. What did Schopenhauer say?

"Religion is like glowworms, it is in need of darkness in order to be able to shed light."



aught himself something in the 16

From Cyprus to Turks abroad unes Teoman Erel emphasizes Democratic Left Party leader sulent Ecevit believes that Cyprus should be considered an autonomous state within Turkey and therefore should not be evaluated only as the Cyprus issue.

Erel says we should remember that

Ecevit had said Turkey should play a more active role towards events in

more active role towards events in Azerbaijan. He comments that his has been Ecevit's style since the becoming of his political career.
Ecevit's approach regarding the mutation of Turks abroad should be asen into consideration along with ne major developments in the Solet Union and the role the United lates is asking us to play. It will then understood that the Turkish left ave started to be interested in the arks abroad along with the extreme ahtists who have been defending e idea of gathering all Turks under

We see that the United States is trywe see that the United States is try-ng to understand Turkey's future ap-troach towards Turks abroad. While resident Bush tries to guess what had's attitude is, the American offitals who welcomed Finance and ustoms Minister Ekrem Pakdemirand former Izmir Metropolitan unicipality Mayor Burhan Ozfatu-You are not the leader, but country to observe the develop-is from the outside. You can not enefit much from the events in

Turkey is asked to lead the Turkish



Cetin EMEC

## The scenery...

Turkey: A productive country where seeds of terror can find suitable ground to

seeds of terror can find suitable ground to spread in the soil...

It's water and air... belief and regional differences... gaps in value judgements... and all those people who can be lured easily from poor surroundings, create the basis of a soil where terror can find root.

And of course courage increases as the stitches of the abominable act remain as profit in the hands of the

Among them is the assassination that put an end to Professor Muammer Aksoy's life... That day, is actual-ly today... The blood of three victims of terrorist acts is still on the ground...
People who set the streets and vehicles on fire in un-

predictable hours... People who raid universities and turn everything upside down... People who rob jewelers and get money from the small-scale retailers... Some maybe are excited youth who have reached boiling point.

Some maybe are excited yourn who have reached boiling point...
But on his head is a fringed...black handkerchief over his mouth which covers up his disgrace along with his chin... In his hand is a Molotov cocktail of a Palestinian slingshot... These are: the city bandits... if not their puppets.. On the other side are field monsters... They wander around in our southeastern borderline... They get presumptious by neighboring countries... get presumptuous by neighboring countries...
You investigate where the source of this is... It most-

ly reaches to the highest authorities of the govern-ment... Especially in Damascus...

Let's leave the water gun in Turkey's hand aside...

Let so three years back...

The whole world knows Rifat the brother of President Let's go.

dent Hafiz Esat as the biggest terrorist...
But Ankara cannot accept this truth... or maybe it

does not suit its interests..

Our capital becomes restless all of a sudden when an our capital becomes restless all of a sudden when an article targeting the Esat brothers is published here and there in the newspapers...

What do they say? Our relations will ease sooner or later... Prime Minister Özal has the attitude of, "There is no need to corner the men."

is no need to corner the men..."

We will not disturb them... We will see the measure

of their goodwill in the end ...

He went to Damascus with that aim... Then he came back, blurted out...

Then he came back, blurted out...

\*\*\*

He said he proved our restlessness and pains with documents to the men of Hafiz Esat...

So we were restless...

The same Özal came back with an agreement in his pocket from that visit... He took pains to keep the content secret behind closed doors... tent secret behind closed doors...
The only things he said during that period of time was

that we eased our relations...

The attempts to hamper our security and interior order of both sides would be hindered...
The result is obvious... They keep on opening their arms to the bandits... The trace of their damned fingers stuck in the movements towards Turkey, can be found in our intelligence reports... They kidnap the armed attendant of the Turkish

ports... They kidnap the armed attendant of the Falkish Embassy in Beirut... They torture him... I do not think that the Turkish Foreign Ministry undersecretary would burst out like that if we had even a little fault.. During a cocktail party... He scolded the Number 1 to Ankara of Beirut ...

The West accepts this now

It says Damascus has taken the place of Tehran in the valley of terror...

The world has experienced two big plane disasters lately... They crawled out from under the stone in both... Apparently they punish the states they are angry at... The first event was in the December of 1988... On the 21... a Pan Am plane crashed in Scotland... 270 people died... They called it an "accident" for a

What was happening could not be brought into the daylight from behind dark curtains...
The weird thing is... the White House did not want to

provoke the snake knowingly... It fled from going over it... In the end, everything was understood... The United States was the object of Esat's rage for

The United States was ....
recognizing Arafat...
And there is Jan. 19 of last year... A UTA plane with
it's 170 passengers blew up over Nigeria and crashed...
\*\*\*

Damascus government...

During those days nobody thought of blaining the Damascus government...

On the contrary they were looking at it with sympathy... The people of Damascus had whispered in the ears of Western countries about illegal associations which prepare sabotage... It was said, the people who struggle with terror cannot be the source of it... People believed in this children's story for a long time...

But the color of Esat and his team is obvious... They are masters of what they are doing as well as hypocrites... They go on leaking intelligence without showing anybody... An experienced judge's nose gets the Syrian smell about the sabotage of the UTA plane...

The rest are still fooling the public... But they are restless... However they are trying to defame the judge... But to our luck, they cannot...

\*\*\*\*

The man is small in structure... but he is a hard nut...

The man is small in structure... but he is a hard nut...
He had every peace of the plane collected... He had them transported to his home country of France... They brought all the pieces together there... They rebuilt the real fuselage of the plane the way it was before it crashed.

crashed...
The pieces of the bombed suitcase, which caused the

assassination, was then found...

Both events are carbon copies...

The only thing that was known until then... was that

the perpetrators were from the Middle East...

There is only one country in the region that has such developed sabotage technology and fras the ability to shoot the determined target in a determined period... and that is Syria ..

Its mask falls off all of a sudden.

Its aim is to punish again... with the excuse that France supported Christian Lebanese...

A crazy mentality that becomes an animal... if it had made up its mind just because its neighbor Turkey has been playing with the water faucets... Should we not expect unpredictable trouble from it?

From the most treacherous murders.... to the most damned cooperations that target us...

Two steps ahead of him is Saddam... He is both crazy and sick of the water ...

He wants new rights, new orders on the subject of the Euphrates... He sends a representative to Ankara for bargaining...

Secretly... he sends messages saying let's put our re-lations in order...

What should the defense targets of Turkey be? I tried to explain yesterday...
Let's go through the structure of our forces once more.... An army with 800,000 soldiers... but it's armament is old... slow with it's ability to maneuver... terrible with the annual structure. ble with it's equipment ..

It takes a share from the budget which has drawn the attention of the civil government after the military takeover... but it's 1990 subsidy is cut, although by very

However it spends almost all of its income on daily expenditures.

For the staff salaries... for food, clothing, drink and accommodation for the staff...

The Turkish Armed Forces is organized within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO)... but its standards are far out-of-date...

I mentioned what kind of people they at the beginning of my article... Two states at the wings of our pedestal... Actually two heads of boils...

They ache at every opportunity...
There is a country which should stand fast more than anybody else with its soldiers, its tanks, artillery, missiles, squadrons of planes: Tur-

key... Put aside obligations... We are

sentenced to this ...

some Brit editorials. Germany

Extracts |

A ing of C mut Koh ish/German border chapter in the drama fication is due to opwhen officials of the when officials of the wartime allies - the Soviet Union, Britain are expected to meet from West and East Bonn..."...Everyone ment which will promit the potentially fur ahead. One of the Waims will be to convey Union that to appear. Union that to anchor many firmly in NAT the European Comm viet interests. Soviet that would represent a the West but for Euro and for realism."
THE IND

Having dame and his contained by h of the German-Polisi moment yielded to from inside his party emerged Tuesda smoke-filled room tomorrow's debate on a proposed joint declaration. "This wa-not a rout, for Herr Kor course, imposed provo tions for signing a fur which a united German firm in perpetuity the border. The Poles wer Herr Kohl's presumption entitled to demand however reasonable promise to respect Pola al integrity which Was as long overdue. West peals to the judgmen preme court in Kar fuelled Polish fears

"By what Mr. Mazowhis 'ambiguities and in Herr Kohl has induce government to echo the attitudes exploited si its Communist prede Poles will now believ day's tactical retreat w change of heart by the

India

he results state assemt are disapport V.P. Singh, the Prime \

V.P. Singh, the Prime V almost impossibly bad dandhi, the jaded oppos But it is India itself which the biggest loser... "... November's gener pattern has been largel further widespread reject Gandhi, qualified supposineh's Janata Dal and as Sineh's Janata Dal and as sineh s Singh's Janata Dal and e success for the right-wir vivalist party, the Bhar

Party...
"...One of the great with not only the day's India is not only that as the union but that it of multiethnic society government.

"To pander now to chauvinists would be to