
IV. Profiles

Assad's terrorists and drug-runners

In the 1970s and 1980s, Syria and Syrian-occupied Lebanon emerged as the safe haven for the most important Mideast terrorist organizations. All the Palestinian "Rejection Front" sects opposing the PLO are based there. So are the Kurdish and Armenian sects that are warring against Turkey. Assad has even provided a safe haven for groups as far away as the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka.

Even the U.S. State Department, in a rare display of honesty, has acknowledged this reality. "From the mid-1970s through 1983," its November 1986 *White Paper on Syrian Terrorism* reads, "Syrian personnel are known to have been directly involved in terrorist organizations. These organizations were primarily directed against other Arabs, such as Syrian dissidents, moderate Arab states such as Jordan, and pro-Arafat Palestinian as well as Israeli and Jewish targets. By late 1983 Damascus had curtailed use of its own personnel. Instead, it began to rely more heavily on terrorist groups made up of non-Syrians. As long as Syria does not stop terrorism from its own territory, or areas of Lebanon under its effective control, the security of all the states in the region is jeopardized."

This remains the case 10 years later, because no action has been taken against Syria for its protection of these groups.

Two of the most important terrorist groups that Assad protects are the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and the Hezbollah of Lebanon. We provide profiles of these below. Both are deeply involved in the dope trade, and are currently and accurately classified as "narco-terrorist," by the U.S. government.

The PKK and Hezbollah are not merely supported by Assad; both also find support in the capitals of Europe, and among Bush's circles in the United States.

Since 1983, the PKK has been leading a brutal civil war in southeast Turkey, which has claimed 18,000 lives. Its actions, in the border region of Turkey, Iran, and Iraq, have provided a nice handle for the imperial powers to block any economic development of the region. Without the continuous support provided by the French and British governments, especially, as well as from key factions in Russia and the United States, the PKK would not exist. French President François Mitterrand's widow, Danielle Mitterrand, is one of the PKK's patrons. Her objective is frankly imperial: It is to use the PKK to create the conditions for implementing those features of

the Sykes-Picot accords, which had been blocked by Turkish leader Kemal Ataturk back in the 1920s. Among her allies in this venture, are Lord Avebury of Britain, Newt Gingrich of the United States, and numerous parliamentarians from throughout Europe.

The Hezbollah, which was created by Syria and Iran in Lebanon, in the aftermath of the 1982 Israeli invasion, is another one of these terrorist pawns. It has been especially used to prevent a comprehensive peace in the region. Hezbollah has been instrumental in keeping Lebanon in a state of turmoil, through its militarily senseless rocket attacks on northern Israel. Its 1980s kidnapping spree against Americans, gave Bush and Thatcher the pretext to arm Iran, in exchange for the hostages' release. Last spring, it teamed up with Islamic Jihad and Hamas, to launch a series of rocket attacks and bus bombings, which created the hysteria in the Israeli population needed to put Benjamin Netanyahu and Ariel Sharon in power.

The narco-terrorist Kurdish Workers Party

Name of group: Kurdish Workers Party (PKK).

Headquarters: Bekaa Valley, Lebanon; Damascus and Latakia, Syria; important representative offices in London, Paris, Brussels, Moscow, Athens, Teheran, Washington, and throughout Germany.¹

Founded: The PKK was formed in 1974, as the offspring of the Federation of Revolutionary Youth (Dev Genc) of Turkey, which was banned following the 1970 military coup. Abdullah "Apo" Ocalan, the PKK founder who still leads the group, was a political science student at the University of Ankara. The group moved out of the universities and into the Kurdish marshes in 1975, and became a formally distinct revolutionary party in 1978. Its military arm, the People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan (ARGK), was formed in 1984. The PKK formed the Kurdish Peoples Liberation Front (ERNK) in 1985, whose European center of operations was in Cologne, Germany until Germany banned the PKK and ERNK in 1993. In 1994, the PKK formed the Kurdish Parliament in Exile, headquartered in Brussels, Belgium. It has also

1. Unless otherwise indicated, sources include interviews, PKK literature, and press accounts. Other published sources, of varying reliability, include "Transnational Sources of Support for the Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey," a speech delivered at the 25th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, on Nov. 24, 1991, by Prof. Michael M. Gunter; *The Kurdish struggle*, by Edgar O'Ballance (St. Martins Press, 1996); and *Modern History of the Kurds*, by David McDowell (London, Minority Rights Group, 1966).

established "Kurdish Information Bureaus," or similar front groups, throughout Europe and the United States.

Location of operations, areas active:

Primary operations:

- *Turkey:* The PKK is primarily active in the Southeast Anatolian region of Turkey ("Kurdistan"), especially in the provinces of Van, Hakkari, Bitlis, Siirt, Sirmak, Batman, Marden, Diyarbakir, Bingol, and Tunceli. The PKK has led a brutal civil war there since 1984. The region is infiltrated from PKK bases in neighboring Syria, Iran, and northern Iraq.

"Kurdistan" is a vast, largely mountainous area straddling Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran, with a total population of some 20 million ethnic Kurds. The number of Kurds living in Turkey is about 12 million, out of a total of 65 million people in Turkey. The Kurds are an Iranic people divided into over 50 primary tribal confederations, who speak mutually incomprehensible dialects. Most of the Kurdish population are exploited peasants and shepherds, who work for the sheikhs and aghas (feudal landlords) of their tribe. Since the beginning of the civil war in 1984, many of these peasants and shepherds have fled to the rapidly growing cities of the region, where most are unemployed. Smuggling, banditry, and mercenary activities are other primary occupations.

Regional operations:

- *Syria:* Since the Turkish military coup in 1980, Syria has provided a haven for PKK founder and leader Abdullah "Apo" Ocalan and the PKK, and has allowed the PKK to launch raids on Turkish territory. Without Syrian support, the PKK would not exist. In 1985, Turkey constructed an electrified wire fence along its entire border with Syria, protected by mine fields and patrols. Somewhat less than 10% of the Syrian population is Kurdish, primarily living on the border with Turkey.

In July 1987, Turkey's Prime Minister Turgut Özal signed a security protocol in Damascus. Syria agreed to prevent the PKK from raiding Turkey from its territory, and to close down the PKK camps. Turkey, which in the meantime had nearly completed the Ataturk Dam on the Euphrates, which flows into Syria, agreed to supply Syria with no less than 500 cubic meters of water per second. A request for the extradition of Ocalan, however, was refused.

Syria's compliance with the accord, however, took the form of moving PKK camps to the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley in Lebanon, supposedly outside its legal control, where they remain to this day. Since September 1992, Syria has claimed that these camps have been closed down. According to an October 1989 Turkish government statement, Ocalan is a good friend of President Assad's brother, Rifaat Assad, one of the regime's top narcotics capos.

In January 1995, Turkey's Prime Minister Tansu Ciller admitted, for the first time, that Turkish Armed Forces had recently entered Syrian territory while on "anti-terrorist" missions. Syrian support of the PKK is a primary cause of Turkey's tense relations with Syria.

MAP 9

PKK area of operation



PKK terrorism has led to emergency rule in 10 Turkish provinces.

- *Iran:* Iran has provided support for the PKK, but covertly, and at a much lower level than Syria. In 1989, Apo Ocalan's brother, Osman Ocalan, established a liaison office in Teheran, and in the following year negotiated the creation of 20 operational bases on the Iranian border with Turkey, targeting especially the Turkish provinces of Van, Agri, and Kars. Simultaneously, the PKK, which is ideologically opposed to Islamic fundamentalism, began to publicly praise the Iranian revolution for the first time. Turkish government sources in 1991 reported that the PKK had important camps in Selvana, Rezhan, and Ziveh in Iran.

In the aftermath of Turkish attacks on PKK bases in Iraq in summer 1995, the PKK established eight more camps in Iran, close to the border with Turkey, according to the Turkish daily *Sabah*. The PKK reportedly now has several offices and safe houses in Teheran. The paper reports that the Iranian agency responsible for aiding the PKK is the Komiteh ye Panahandehgan, a committee established to aid those who want asylum in Iran.

- *Iraq:* The 1991 Anglo-American war against Iraq eliminated the Iraqi government's control over its northern, ethnic Kurdish region. Since that time, Britain and France, with the support of the Bush administration, established and administered a Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq, under the provisions of the UN's "Operation Comfort." The enclave has also provided safe haven for the PKK.

This Kurdish region has always been a problem for Iraq, and was a target of Iranian-organized insurrection, even prior to the Iranian revolution, under the Shah. During the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War, Iran armed the Barzani clan's Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), which occupied much of the 550-mile Iraqi-Turkish border. Iran also armed the Talabani clan's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which operated around Kirkuk. The Iran-instigated attacks on oil pipelines and the like, were used to pin down Iraqi troops in the north.

Simultaneously, Iranian ally Hafez al-Assad established

PKK camps in northern Iraq, on the border with Turkey, in the same general area dominated by the Barzani clan, which has since been allied with the PKK. As a result, virtually the entire border region between Iraq and Turkey fell under the control of Kurds controlled by Syria and Iran. It is unclear what effect the Barzani clan's September 1996 ouster of Talabani forces from northern Iraq will have on the PKK, and whether Barzani will continue his alliance with the PKK.

International operations:

The PKK deploys a vast network throughout western Europe, which is used to safehouse cadre, raise funds through narcotics trafficking, and engage in propagandistic operations.

- *Germany:* The external base of PKK operations (outside of its regional safe haven in Syria) is Germany. There are some 1.6 million Turkish nationals in Germany, of which 400,000 are ethnic Kurds.

PKK headquarters in Germany is located in Frankfurt. There are also important offices in Mainz, Offenburg, Rüsselsheim, Oldenburg, Cologne, and Dortmund. In 1989, the PKK began publishing a newspaper, *Serxwebun (Independence)*, in Germany. Its front organization in Germany, the Kurdish Peoples Liberation Front (ERNK), began publishing *Berxwedan (Defense)*. Copies of both publications were smuggled back to Turkey. Germany is also a primary source of PKK income, through narcotics trafficking, and through extortion of the Kurdish ethnic population. According to German police (BKA) statistics, the PKK has a \$27 million war chest in Germany at its disposal.

In November 1993, the German government declared the PKK to be an illegal organization, in the aftermath of PKK-coordinated attacks on Turkish diplomatic and commercial facilities in 18 European cities on June 24, and then again on Nov. 4. As a result, the PKK moved its external command center to London, Brussels, and Paris. Nonetheless, the main PKK cadre force remains in Germany.

Turkish government officials have, on occasion, condemned Germany's handling of the PKK. For example, Gen. Kenan Evren, the former President of Turkey, told the Turkish daily *Milliyet* on Nov. 13, 1991: "The country that offers the best sanctuary to this organization [PKK] is; unfortunately, Germany, with whom we have historically friendly ties. During the time that I was President, 700 million marks were raised for the PKK in Germany. I spoke about this to German President [Richard von] Weizsäcker and expressed our dismay. They were cautioned repeatedly, but they always gave their constitution as an excuse. He said: 'We cannot stop them as long as they are not engaged in violence here.' They do not engage in violent acts in Germany. They do it here, but organize it there."

- *Britain:* The movement to create "Kurdistan" has been based in Britain since the 1890s. In the recent period, operations of the Kurdish insurrectionary movement in general, and the PKK in particular, have been coordinated by Lord

Avebury (Eric Lubbock), who is routinely in touch with all of its leaders. In October 1994, the European representative of the PKK, Kani Yilmaz, was arrested in Britain, en route to meet Lord Avebury, on German charges that he conspired to commit arson in Germany.

British support became more overt in 1993, after Germany had banned the group. Britain gave the PKK access to the satellite TV broadcasting station MED TV, which broadcasts every day into Germany between 5 and 11 p.m. The yearly budget of the station is estimated at \$7 million. The station routinely airs interviews with Ocalan from his headquarters in the Bekaa Valley, and issues marching orders to PKK cadre. Programs of the station are, in part, produced by the so-called "exile council" of the PKK, which was established in the Netherlands in spring 1994. According to the German press, the Bonn Interior Ministry stated, in respect to the station: "We have requested our colleagues in neighboring countries in Europe to put measures into effect in order not to compromise internal security in our country." In a March 1996 interview with the station, Ocalan called for the assassination of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

- *United States:* The PKK has maintained an office in Washington, D.C. since 1993, under the name American Kurdish Information Network, which has been used to lobby Congress, often drawing on propaganda published by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

On April 12, 1996, the head of the PKK's U.S. office, Kani Xulam, was arrested for holding a false passport, and for entering the country illegally. On April 26, Ocalan denounced the arrest of his "friend," in an interview on MED TV, saying it "may shed light on the U.S. position." He said that the arrest indicated that the United States "will want to accelerate the Turkish-Israeli strategy, pressure will be applied to Syria."

One of Xulam's collaborators is U.S. Rep. John Porter (R-Ill.), who is also a top advocate for the U.S. Greek and Armenian lobbies. Porter's wife, Katherine, defended Xulam's use of false papers, in comments to the press on April 16, saying that such activities were necessary to protect his relatives back home from Turkish government reprisal. She also testified as a character witness for Xulam. According to his personal papers, seized by police, Xulam had been scheduled to have lunch with Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) the week following his arrest.

The Turkish government, and Turkish media, have occasionally condemned U.S. support for the PKK.

On Aug. 17, 1991, the Turkish daily *Hurriyet* carried a government leak entitled "Aid Dropped to the PKK by Air," which reported that on Aug. 15, 1991, a Turkish mobile gendarme unit saw a U.S. C-130 transport aircraft drop supplies by parachute in the foothills of Mount Cudi, Turkey, where the PKK is known to be active. The paper reported:

"Several of the PKK militants captured during recent operations in the region were carrying U.S. aid supplies, which

they claimed to have received from American troops in the region. It is believed that this information, as well as other factors, was behind State of Emergency Governor Hayri Kozakciolu's statement that foreign elements were active in the region and that the 'area was full of agents.' According to various allegations, several foreign elements contacted the PKK militants shortly after arriving in the region. It has been established that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the General Staff had been receiving information on these contacts with the PKK militants for some time before they asked the command headquarters to take appropriate action."

The "appropriate action" decided upon included a temporary ban on U.S. military flights in the region, unless their cargo was inspected by Turkish military authorities.

In February 1992, Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel met with President George Bush in Washington. According to a Turkish State Radio and TV network report on Feb. 16, 1992, Demirel raised charges about U.S. support of the PKK. "Demirel indicated that both President Bush and other officials firmly denied allegations about U.S. aid to the PKK," according to the report.

- *Russia:* The PKK's Parliament of Kurdistan in exile convened its third session in Moscow on Oct. 30-Nov. 1, 1995, in the context of increasing Russian anger over Turkish covert military and logistical support for Chechen insurgents. Viktor Ustinov, chairman for the committee on geopolitics of the State Duma (parliament), called on Kurds and Russians to engage in "joint work" to create an independent Kurdish state.

The U.S. State Department immediately issued a sharp blast at Russia for hosting the session: "The activity of the Kurdish Parliament in Exile is financed and led mainly by the PKK, an organization composed of inveterate separatist terrorist elements, whose operations in Turkey and Western Europe represent a threat to the lives of citizens of the U.S., Turkey, and other countries. We have stated repeatedly our unequivocal position, which is that, owing to their terrorist focus, neither the PKK nor the KPI [Kurdish Parliament in Exile] should be recognized as legitimate entities."

A few months earlier, on July 10, 1995, the newly founded Russian-Kurdish Friendship Society held a press conference at the Moscow Kurdish House. The Ekspresskhronika press agency reported that "the society's purpose is to inform Russians as to the problems of the Kurds living in Russia, the CIS countries, and abroad and also as to the Kurdish peoples' national liberation struggle for the creation of the independent state of Kurdistan. Another purpose of the creation of the society is assistance to Kurdish refugees from the zones of armed conflicts." The meeting was organized by Makhir Belat, the Moscow-based "representative of the Kurdistan National Liberation Front," a PKK front.

On Oct. 20, the PKK established its own Radio Voice of Media radio station in Moscow, at the old site of the Soviet TV and Radio agency, complementing its broadcasts from London. The stated purpose of the station, which broadcasts

in Kurdish, Turkish, and Arabic, is "the unification of the 40 million Kurdish people."

- *Greece:* In the spring of 1995, the deputy speaker of the Greek Parliament, Panaviotis Sgouridis, led a Greek delegation to the Bekaa Valley to meet with PKK leader Ocalan. Accompanying Sgouridis were Pasok party operatives Costas Bantouvas, Dimitris Vounatsos, and Leonardos Hatziandreous; Ionnis Stathopoulos, a deputy from the New Democratic Party; and Mari Machaira, a deputy from the Political Spring Party.

Athens News Agency reported in May that "an informal inter-party parliamentary committee responsible for issues concerning Hellenism and Orthodoxism visited Kurdistan National Liberation Front President Abdullah Ocalan at his hideout several months ago. The Kurdish leader told the Greek deputies that Turkey's effort to quell the Kurds' struggle not only failed, but showed Ankara's intransigence over the Kurdish issue. Mr. Ocalan said he would not allow an oil pipeline to cross through Kurdistan unless the parties involved negotiated with the Kurdish leadership."

In April 1996, the Clinton administration raised the issue of Greek support of the PKK, during the visit of Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis. At a press briefing on April 10, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns confirmed that these concerns were raised with the prime minister, and added: "There's no evidence that the Greek government supports the PKK . . . with logistical or financial support . . . but we are concerned that private groups in Greece may be supporting the PKK. That there are PKK operatives in Greece is a source of concern to us."

- *Armenian diaspora:* On April 6, 1980, the PKK, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) held a press conference in Sidon, Lebanon, to announce a "declaration of cooperation" between the three Syrian-based terrorist organizations. Armenian guerrillas joined with the PKK in battles against Turkish troops who were trying to oust them from their northern Iraqi sanctuary in May 1983 and October 1984, according to the *Armenian Reporter*, a New York City-based ASALA mouthpiece.

ASALA, which was formed in Lebanon in 1973 and was headquartered in Syria, assassinated 30 Turkish diplomats or their family members at Turkish embassies and offices throughout the world, between 1975 and 1985. The group, which is now defunct, was financially based on heroin smuggling.

This Kurdish-Armenian alliance was editorially endorsed by the London *Economist* in its June 18, 1983 issue, in an article entitled, "The Common Enemy": "It may be that a tactical alliance between Kurds and Armenians, said to have been concluded three years ago, is in operation on the ground. Armenian brains and world-wide links combined with Kurdish military experience would produce a formidable guerrilla liberation movement."

This is not the first time that the British have promoted a Kurdish-Armenian link. In August 1927, Dashnag, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (which was set up by British intelligence in the 1890s), sent an envoy to French Lebanon to participate in the creation of the “Khoybun,” a Kurdish separatist organization which soon led an uprising in the Mount Ararat area of Turkey. The purpose of the revolt, which was coordinated by Lord Cornwallis, was to bring down the new Turkish republic of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. The Dashnag actively participated in this Kurdish revolt in hopes of creating a Greater Armenian state.

• *France:* The British movement to create Kurdistan, which dates back to the nineteenth century, also involved Britain’s junior partner, France, operating out of French Syria. Reflecting this tradition, the government of President François Mitterrand was instrumental in providing propagandistic, diplomatic, and military support to Kurdish insurgency against Turkey and Iraq, including to the PKK. Among France’s operations on the Kurds’ behalf, was its authorship and sponsorship of UN Security Council Resolution 688, which established “Operation Provide Comfort” in March 1991.

The resolution created a PKK-dominated Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq, under Anglo-French patronage, outside of the control of the Iraqi (and Turkish) governments. Mitterrand Humanitarian Affairs Minister Bernard Kouchner was the author of the resolution.

Danielle Mitterrand, the widow of President Mitterrand and the head of the “Fondation France Libertés,” has long aided the PKK. In the winter of 1995, Mitterrand testified before the U.S. Congress Human Rights Caucus, on a foundation report which was an account of her so-called fact-finding trip to “Kurdistan” in August 1994. Katherine Porter, the PKK-supporting wife of Representative Porter, was one of four officials who accompanied Mitterrand on the trip.

The Mitterrand report complains that “after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920 recognized the Kurds, and promised them their own state. However, this was not implemented.” (Ataturk made the treaty a dead letter.) However, “since this time, the Kurds have battled to achieve some form of self-determination.” The report demanded that Turkish, Iraqi, and Iranian “Kurdistan” be protected from “genocide” carried out by their respective governments, and called for the creation of an International Criminal Court to try Turkish, Iraqi, and Iranian government officials.

Major terrorist actions: Since 1984, the PKK has carried out a terrorist, guerrilla war in southeast Anatolia, involving hundreds of small incidents per year. Thousands of villages have been evacuated, fields abandoned, and schools shut down.

According to Turkish Interior Minister Nahit Mentese, speaking in June 1995, more than 19,000 people have been killed in the war since 1984—most since the 1991 Anglo-American war against Iraq. In 1993, there were 7-10,000 full-

time PKK fighters, supported by another 50,000 part-time militia, according to unofficial Turkish government estimates. In October 1994, a PKK spokesman in Athens estimated its total guerrilla force at 30,000. The government estimates the PKK’s total sympathizer-base at 375,000.

Beginning in the early 1990s, the PKK also began to carry out arsons and bombings in western Europe, often targeting Turkish sites there. In November 1993, the German government declared the PKK illegal, after it attacked, and in some cases briefly seized, Turkish diplomatic sites in 18 European cities on June 24, and again on Nov. 4. In March 1996, one hundred and fifty policemen in Dortmund, Germany were injured in a PKK-instigated riot. Banners of the rioters termed Germany “the number-two enemy,” after the number-one enemy, Turkey.

The PKK has also increasingly integrated its operations with those of a new generation of German terrorist organizations, particularly that of the Anti-Imperialist Cells (AIZ). The AIZ has carried out numerous bombings and arson attacks against selected politicians, and it has threatened, in a manifesto in 1995, to “carry the war unto the doors of the private homes and working-places of the power elites.” According to October 1996 reports of German Channel 2 TV news and the Germany weekly magazine *Focus*, the PKK has been training AIZ members in Lebanon. Some are sent back to Germany for actions there; others remain in the region to take part in PKK operations against Turkey.

Leaders’ name and aliases: Abdullah Ocalan (nicknamed “Apo”—uncle) has led the group from its 1974 inception, when he was then working in the Political Science department of the University of Ankara.

Groups allied to nationally and internationally:

The PKK has relations with a number of other narco-terrorist organizations and front groups, and anti-Turkish parties. These have included the ruling PASOK party of Greece; the Greek terrorist EOKA-B; the Party for Democratic Socialism of Germany (former East German SED); the Greens of Europe; the now-dormant Armenian ASALA; and the Turkish Workers Party Marxist-Leninist, with which, however, the PKK is occasionally involved in shoot-outs over control of narcotics-trafficking routes.

The PKK was a founding member of the London-based Revolutionary Communist Party’s Revolutionary International Movement, which had been established by former Kissinger National Security Council agent and Maoist ideologue William Hinton.

The PKK’s involvement in the Central Asian-Afghan narcotics trade has also brought it into business relations with the diverse Islamic- and Turkic-formatted terrorist organizations, including groups hostile to Kurds. For example, the PKK has business ties with the Grey Wolves and the Nizami Alem, both “Pan-Turkic” terrorist organizations, which often kill Kurds. All three groups are involved in arms- and drug-trafficking operations in the former Soviet Caucasus, aiding the

Azeri and Chechen separatist movements.

Motivating ideology: The PKK is Marxist-Leninist in ideology, calling not only for freedom for “Kurdistan,” but also freedom from “feudalism, colonialism, and class distinction.” It is the only Kurdish party (of which there are at least a dozen) which does not have a tribal chief on its central committee, or is not merely a mouthpiece for a particular clan or tribe.

An April 21, 1996 interview with PKK chairman Ocalan, broadcast on London’s MED TV, is illustrative. “What is important is that the struggle being waged against the peoples since the 1960s is continuing. The PKK emerged from the fire of this struggle. Just as the special war incorporated the counter guerrilla and the civilians in the aftermath of the 1960s, so have the peoples established their army. The Turkish Peoples Liberation Army is one step taken in that direction. So are the Turkish Revolutionary Youth Federation, and the Turkish Worker Peasant Liberation Army and Marxist-Leninist Youth. Instead of viewing them as opposing movements or movements within an ideological chaos, I believe that they should be assessed as individual movements with the class struggle that developed in the aftermath of the 1960s. I would like to add that the PKK is a manifestation and sum of all these movements.”

Current number of cadres: An estimated 7-10,000 full-time fighters in the region, supplemented by a 50,000-man militia, according to unofficial Turkish government sources. There are an additional 4,000 cadre abroad, mostly in Europe, according to estimates of the Turkish defense minister in April 1995.

Training: The PKK is trained in Syria, the Bekaa Valley in Syrian-controlled Lebanon, and Greek Cyprus. It also receives secondary training in Iran.

The primary training camps for the PKK since 1980, have been in Syria and the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon. Instructors at these sites are composed of Syrian military personnel, and, previously at least, instructors from the Syrian-based Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Nayif Hawatmeh. According to a 1988 Turkish government press statement, the PKK has also received instruction at these sites from Soviet, Bulgarian, and Cuban instructors. In 1989, the Turkish press quoted a former PKK member saying that the PKK maintained a training camp on the Greek island of Lavrion, and that General Matafias, a former commander of the Greek Cypriot National Guard, trained the PKK in Syria. The Russian press reports that the PKK continues to maintain training camps in Greek Cyprus.

Drug connections: The PKK is one of the few groups formally classified as a “narco-terrorist” organization by the U.S. government. It has one of the most important cannabis and opiate production and distribution networks in Europe.

- At a March 1, 1996 State Department press conference, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs Robert Gelbard said, “We are

quite concerned about the involvement of the PKK in trafficking in heroin. And, as you’re well aware, I have said that before, in some previous years. But I think there has been some reliable information that has been developed over the course of this last year, which really proves it.”

- According to a Turkish government statement of May 17, 1995, “The PKK smuggles narcotics brought from South-east Asia and the Middle East to Europe. Surprisingly, perhaps for the first time, a terrorist organization is involved in all aspects of the drug connection, namely, the acquisition, importation, and distribution of drugs, mainly to Europe. The money generated from drug trafficking amounts to hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars. Some of this amount is used to purchase firearms and other equipment, while the rest is pocketed by those who carry out these illegal activities on behalf of the PKK. The PKK exerts sustained efforts to keep its involvement in the drug trafficking under cover, in order not to attract public reaction, particularly in Europe. However, the evidence suggesting the PKK’s involvement in drug trafficking is continuously increasing.”

- In January 1994, the Turkish commissioner in charge of anti-narcotics activities stated that narcotics smuggling into western Europe was dominated by the PKK, and that in 1993, Kurds had been involved in 70% of the cases in which heroin had been seized on its way from Turkey to western Europe.

- Vox TV, Germany, February 1993: “The estimated figure the PKK earns from the narco-trade is more than 56 million deutschemarks [more than \$35 million].”

- Focus magazine, Germany, Oct. 24, 1994: “In the last eight years, 315 PKK members were involved in drug trafficking around Europe, 154 of whom were captured in Germany.”

Turkish police reports, according to the Turkish government, indicate:

- “Some Afghans in Iran cooperate with the PKK to provide drugs from Afghanistan and hand the drugs to PKK members in the border between Iran and Turkey.”

- “The police have strong evidence that a network composed of PKK militants is involved in drug trafficking in Zaho, northern Iraq [under U.S./British/French occupation]. . . . During the operation against the PKK, the Turkish Army discovered a large farm where the terrorists cultivated hemp . . . near the PKK’s Pivela camp in Bihara Valley. . . . The amount of drugs captured during the operation in northern Iraq reached 4.5 tons.”

- “Turkish Police found that hemp seeds had been cultivated by the order of the PKK in villages and hamlets of Hakkari, Diyarbakir, Van, Sirnak, Bingol, and Batman.”

Arms suppliers: Arms are supplied from Iran, Armenia, and Syria, but are primarily purchased on the open market in Europe, the Mideast, and Central Asia, through the proceeds earned from narcotics trafficking.

Known political supporters, advocates: The PKK is historically a “derivative” operation of British, NATO,

French, and Russian intelligence, with added input from Israel, Greece, Iran, and the United States—all of which work through Syria.

This support was increased in 1995, when the PKK formed a government in exile. The main external support for the PKK is provided by Britain, with propaganda coordinated by Lord Avebury and his Parliamentary Human Rights Group.

The so-called Kurdish Parliament in Exile held its founding meeting in The Hague, Netherlands, on April 12-16, 1995, and established its headquarters simultaneously in Brussels, Belgium, (also headquarters city of NATO). The group reports that it held elections for seats for its parliament in Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, North America, and Australia, electing 65 delegates.

Sixty members of parliament and party figures from Europe attended the founding parliament, and another 100 sent messages of support. The following list includes the more important individuals; those who personally attended are in bold type.

- **United Kingdom:** Lord Hylton, Parliamentary Human Rights Group; Marc Philips, parliamentarian, Wales; Lord Avebury, chairman, Human Rights Group; Baroness Gould; Alice Mahon, member of Parliament (MP); David Martin, member of the European Parliament (MEP); Peter Crampton, MEP; Harold Pinter, writer.

- **Germany:** Martin Seelig, parliamentarian, Party for Democratic Socialism (PDS); Matthis Gartner, parliamentarian, PDS; Sigrun Steinborn, parliamentarian, PDS; Stefan Trippach, MEP, PDS; Anke Biesterfeld, manager, Green party; Hans Branscheidt, manager, Medico International; Angelika Beer, MP; Angelika Graf, parliamentarian; Christa Maria, the Greens; Eva Bulling Schrater, MP; Friedel Grotzmacher, state legislator.

- **Serbia-Yugoslavia:** Dobrica Cosic, former President, Yugoslavia

- **Greece:** Panayotis Sgouridis, deputy speaker, Greek Parliament, Pasok; Dimitris Vunatsos, parliamentarian, Pasok; Kostas Badouvas, parliamentarian, Pasok; Leonardos Hatziandreu, parliamentarian, Pasok; Kostas Hatzidimitrius, parliamentarian; Nikolas Ikonomopoulos, parliamentarian; Panaiotis Kammenos, parliamentarian.

- **Cyprus:** Christos Mavrokordatos, parliamentarian, AKEL; Demetris Eliades, parliamentarian, EDEK; Demtris Odysseos, parliamentarian.

- **Belgium:** Claudia Roth, leader of the Green faction of the European Parliament. Roth is also vice president of the EU's Turkey Committee, and in September 1995, opened an office in Istanbul to deal with the "Kurdish question"; Jan Meesters, senator; Jef Sleenck, parliamentarian, SP; Michel Maertens, senator; Nelly Maes, senator; Paul Pataer, senator, MP; Yves de Seny, senator, PSC; Rob van de Water, external affairs secretary, Party of European Socialists; Leo Tindemans, MEP; Leoluca Orlando, MEP; and Ursula Schleicher,

MEP.

- **Italy:** Angela Bellei Trenti, parliamentarian, Rifondazione Comunista (Party of Communist Refoundation); Danieli Franco, parliamentarian, La Rete (The Network); Massimo Marino, CRDP; Maurizio Menegon, MP; Theodore Pangalas, MP, Socialist Party.

- **Sweden:** Karin Starrin, MEP; Per Gharton, MEP; Per-nilla Frahm, parliamentarian.

- **France:** Alain Callès, general secretary, MRAP; Etienne Pinte, National Assembly; Alain Boquet, GR, Communiste.

- **India:** Romesh Chandra.

- **Spain:** Joaquim Xicoy, chair of the Catalnya Parliament.

Thumbnail historical profile: The PKK was created as an offspring of the Federation of Revolutionary Youth (Dev Genc) in 1974, and by 1978 was involved in significant terrorist operations in southeast Anatolia.

Abdullah "Apo" Ocalan, the founder of the group, was a Turkified Kurd, who did not even speak Kurdish at the time the group was founded. During the 1970 military coup, he was a student in the political science department of the University of Ankara, and was involved with Dev Genc, which had been founded in 1969, and served as a mother organization for most of the revolutionary movements of the 1970s. He was also involved in the Ankara Higher Education Association, another leftist sect. Dev Genc was closed down by the coup, but its adherents regrouped; the PKK is one of those regroupings.

Following the amnesty of 1974, Ocalan formed what became the PKK, as a Marxist-Leninist Kurdish liberation movement. In 1975, Ocalan and his first followers concentrated on the regions of Urfa, Elazig, Tucei, Gaziantep, and Maras. Unlike the other Kurdish separatist and revolutionary groups, Ocalan's initial recruits came exclusively from the working class, rather than the peasantry.

The 1980 Turkish military coup, and the declaration of martial law in the Kurdish provinces (in some cases remaining to this day), sharply curtailed PKK activities. At that time, the PKK moved many of its operations to western Europe (especially Germany and Belgium), as well as to Syria and the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley in Lebanon. Germany and Lebanon remain its main bases today.

From its bases in Syria, the PKK attacks Turkish military installations and other Kurds. Since 1980, the PKK has also received help from the Barzani clan's Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq, and established bases in northern Iraq, used for launching operations into Turkey.

During 1984-91, Turkish military operations against the PKK had some success. However, the 1991 U.S.-British-French war against Iraq, and the elimination of Iraqi authority from northern Iraq, under the guise of Operation Provide Comfort, led to a massive expansion in Kurdish insurgent operations there, especially that of the PKK.

In mid-April 1995, former Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit called for a new military alliance with the United States, replacing Provide Comfort, and expelling British and French forces. According to *Hurriyet*, which interviewed him on April 16, "The British and French forces serving the Provide Comfort force would leave, since the [proposed U.S. defense] agreement pertains only to American forces. With the departure of the British and French forces from Provide Comfort, it will be possible to control the attempts to set up a Kurdish state in the region that would be independent of the central administration in Baghdad. Behind the suggestion that the British and French forces should be left out is the uneasiness Ankara feels in the activities in northern Iraq of the non-governmental organizations. These organizations, benefitting from the security umbrella provided by Provide Comfort, are claimed to be attempting to establish an independent Kurdish state using 'humanitarian relief work' as a pretext."

The Hezbollah

Name of group: Hezbollah (Party of God).

Alias: Hezbollah is a federation of some 13 different organizations, including Jundallah (Soldiers of God) and Islamic Amal (a split-off from Amal, a Shiite militia). It is a political party which currently holds 8 seats in the 128-seat Lebanese parliament; a militia, engaged in combat with Israeli forces occupying southern Lebanon; and a terrorist organization, which operates under the name Islamic Jihad.¹

Headquarters: Hezbollah's political headquarters are in Beirut; its military headquarters are in the northern Bekaa Valley, in Baalbeck and the Hermel district, which is also the center of its opium plantations. It also has important military bases in southern Lebanon, where many of its heroin refineries are located. Historically, Hezbollah has been directed out of its representative offices in Damascus, Syria and Teheran, Iran.

Founded: June 1982, in the aftermath of the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon.

Location of operations, areas active: Lebanon and Israel, with sporadic activity in Kuwait. According to unconfirmed reports, Hezbollah may have also been responsible for

the July 18, 1994 bombing of the Buenos Aires headquarters of the Argentine-Israeli Mutual Association, which killed over 100 people.

Major terrorist actions: Hezbollah has been the primary Syrian-run terrorist group active in Lebanon, targeting U.S. diplomatic and military installations, and kidnapping U.S. diplomatic personnel.

- April 18, 1983: Suicide car-bombing of U.S. embassy in Beirut, killing 63 (including 17 Americans). The dead included R. C. Ames, the CIA's top Mideast expert, and four of his deputies, who had arrived that day from Washington for a meeting with the CIA Beirut station chief and four other CIA officials (who were also killed).

- Oct. 23, 1983: Suicide truck-bombing of U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, killing 245 and wounding 146.

- Oct. 23, 1983: Suicide truck-bombing of French military headquarters in Beirut, killing 58 and wounding 15.

- January 1984: Saudi diplomat kidnapped (released May 1985).

- Jan. 18, 1984: President of American University of Beirut (AUB), Malcolm Kerr, assassinated.

[February 1984, U.S. evacuates Marines from Beirut.]

- February 1984: AUB professor Frank Regier kidnapped, rescued in April.

- March 1984: CNN bureau chief Jeremy Levin kidnapped (escaped February 1995).

- March 16, 1984: CIA Beirut station chief William Buckley kidnapped, and killed in June.

- May 8, 1984: Rev. Benjamin Weir kidnapped (released September 1985).

- Sept. 20, 1984: U.S. Embassy Annex in Beirut car-bombed, killing 14.

- December 1984: Kuwaiti flight hijacked to Teheran; two USAID officials killed.

- Jan. 8, 1985: Father Lawrence Martin Jenco kidnapped (released July 1986).

- March 16, 1985: AP bureau chief Terry Anderson kidnapped (released December 1991).

- March 22, 1985: Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine, consuls at the French embassy, kidnapped.

- March 26, 1985: British journalist Alex Collet kidnapped (killed in April 1986).

- May 28, 1985: AUB professor David Jacobsen kidnapped (released November 1986).

- May 22, 1985: Two French citizens, Kaufmann and Seurat, kidnapped (one killed in March 1986, the other released).

- June 10, 1985: AUB professor Thomas Sutherland kidnapped (released November 1991).

- June 14, 1985: A TWA flight from Athens to Rome is hijacked, and flown back and forth across the Mediterranean. A U.S. Navy diver on board is killed. The hijackers demand the release of detainees, mostly Lebanese Shiites, from an Israeli detention camp. Thirty-nine U.S. citizens held as hos-

1. Sources for this report include interviews, Hezbollah literature, and newspaper accounts. Other sources, of varying reliability, include: *Militant Islamic Movements in Lebanon*, by Marius Deeb (Center for Arab Studies, Georgetown University, November 1986); *Terrorism: National Security and the Homefront*, Stephen C. Pelletiere, editor (Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1995); *Amal and the Shia*, by Augustus Richard Norton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* by John Esposito (London: Oxford University Press, 1992).